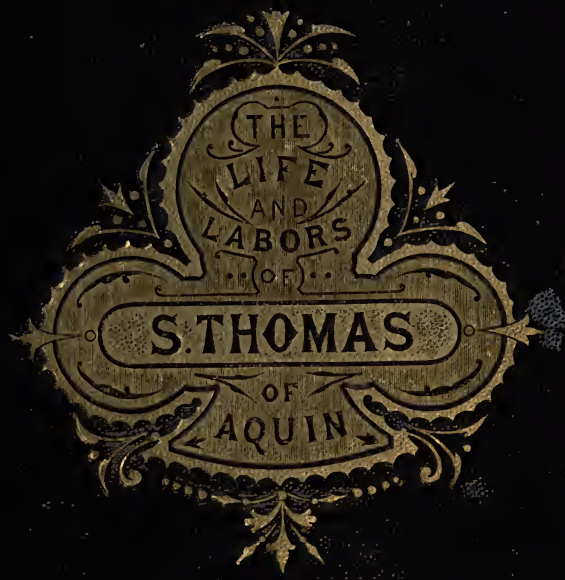
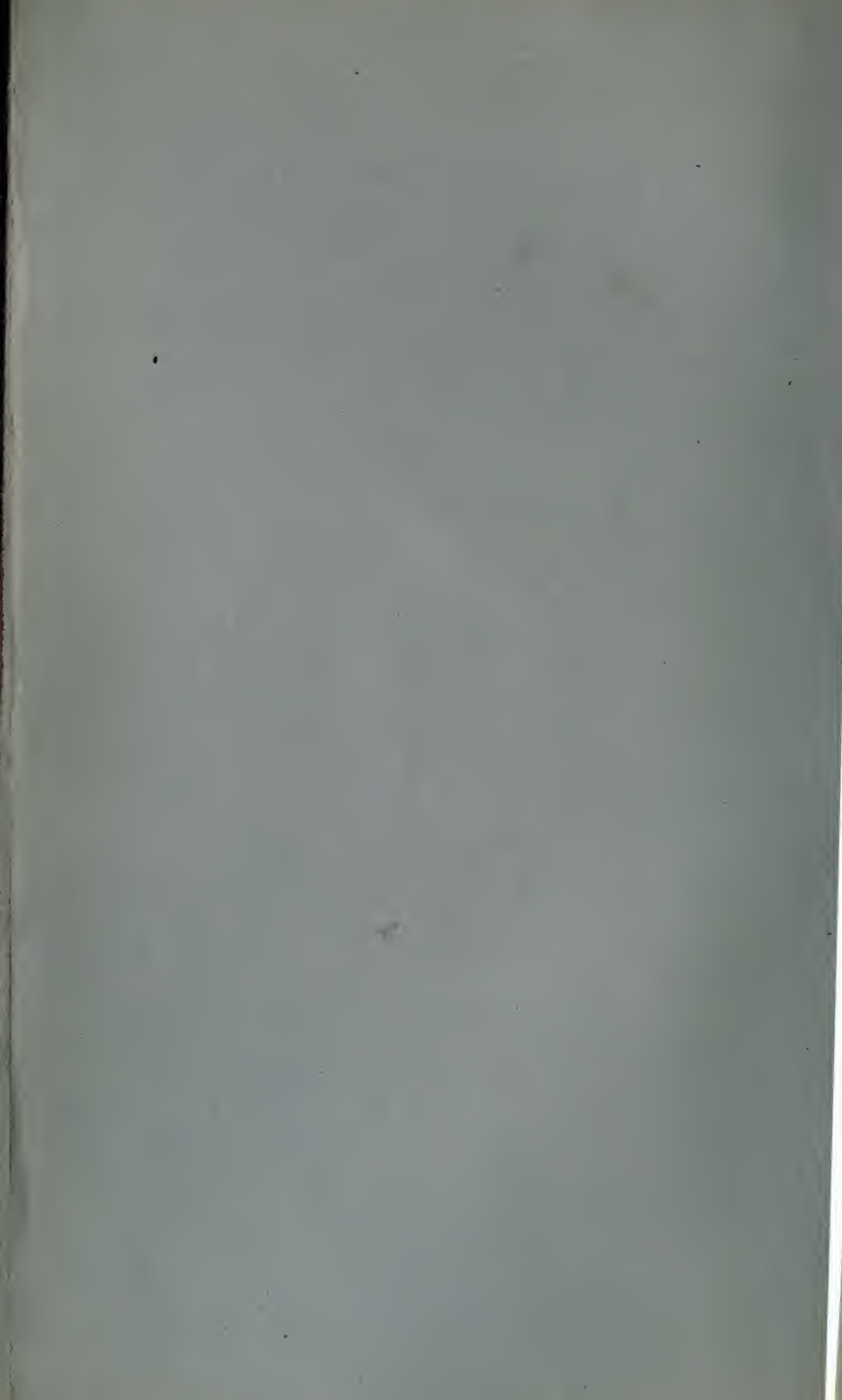
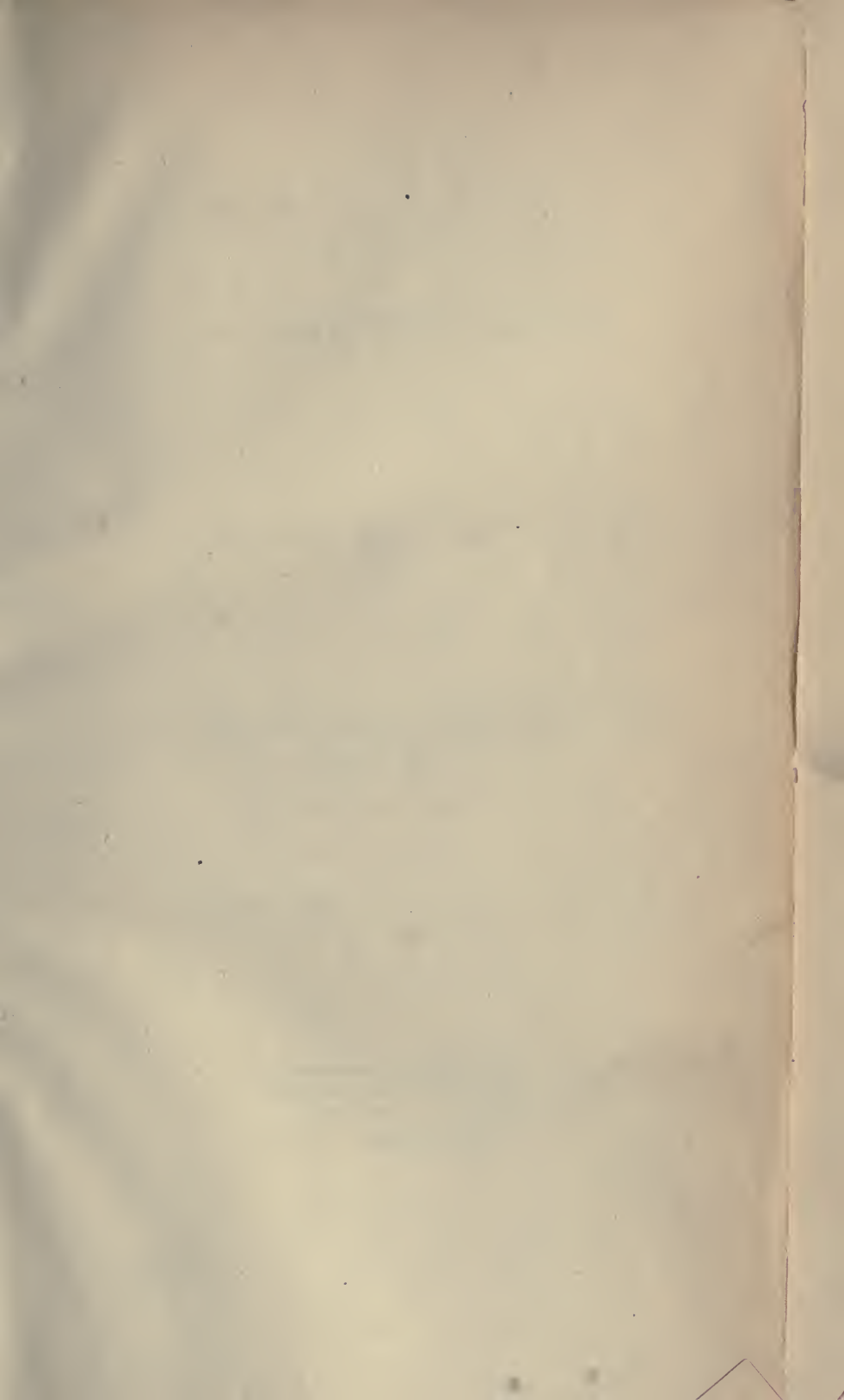


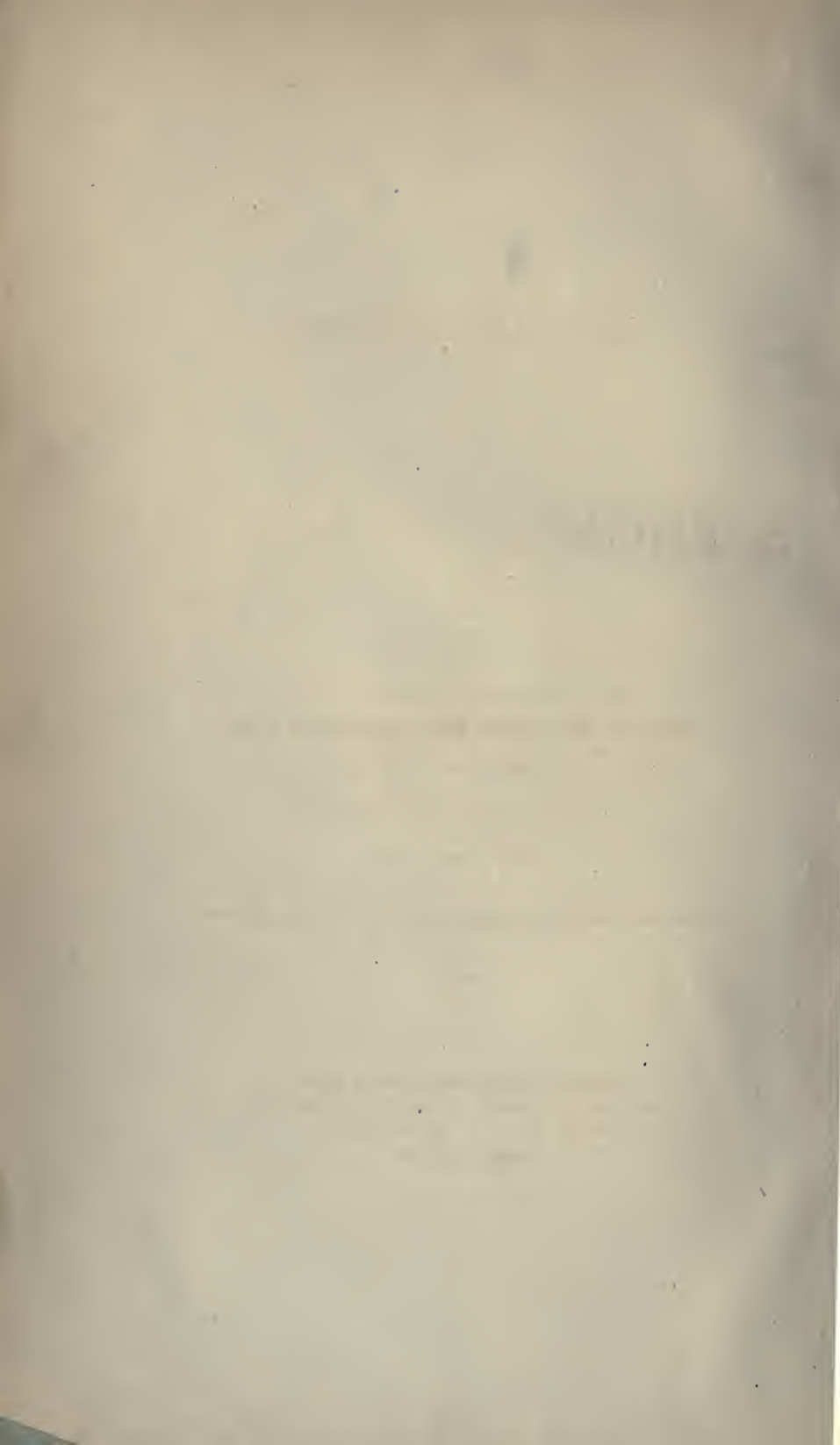


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GOLDWIN SMITH.







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THE
LIFE AND LABORS
OF

S. THOMAS OF AQUIN,

BY

THE MOST REV. ROGER BEDE VAUGHAN, O. S. B.,
COADJUTOR ARCHBISHOP OF SIDNEY

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PREFACE.

THE fact that no life of S. Thomas of Aquin has been written in the English language, is a sufficient excuse, if apology be needed, for the publication of the following pages. No doubt, there are to be found valuable notices of the Saint in biographical dictionaries and encyclopædias; but, for the most part, they are confined to a dry statement of facts and of dates, and do not attempt—for it would be out of place—to put together more than the rough framework, upon which a biography might be built. France, Germany, and Italy, in this respect, are better off than ourselves. Touron, with his pious orthodoxy; Werner, with his store of literary information; and Frigerio, with his genuine Italian devotion—each of these admirable men has done for his respective country that which the present author is wishful to do for England. Nor has the *desideratum* been supplied even by translations. Works which stand well in the language in which they are written, with no fault whatever on their part, will often hardly bear translation. Werner, whose three heavy volumes contain a rich mine of interesting material, does not aim at popularity; Touron's flowing sentences and religious disquisitions would almost weary in an English dress; whilst Frigerio, were he to lose the naïve simplicity of his beautiful and graceful Italian, would be deprived of the greater portion of his charm. As for Tocco, or S. Antoninus, or Gibelli, their labours on the life of the Angelical occupy so small a space, that, were they all bound together in one book, they would only then form a very meagre volume. It is true that Bareille's "*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*" has run through four editions in the French, and very probably it might find many readers were it cast into an English form; though, in reality, it can hardly be considered much more than a summary of Touron's larger and more original work. Translations are, at their highest, but second-best; and the translation of an abridgment, however successfully such a *résumé* may have been effected, would scarcely satisfy, either the intelligent reader, or a writer who entertains a genuine admiration for the subject of his labours.

Then, again, the author has found it difficult to comprehend how the life of S. Thomas of Aquin could be written, so as to content the mind of an educated man—of one who seeks to measure the reach of principle, and the influence of saintly genius—without embracing a considerably wider field of thought than has been deemed necessary by those who have aimed more at composing a book of edifying reading, than at displaying the genesis and development of truth, and the impress of a master-mind upon the age in which he lived. It has always appeared to him, that one of the most telling influences exerted by the doctor-saints of God, has been that of rare intellectual power in confronting and controlling the passions and the mental aberrations of epochs, as well as of blinded and swerving men. Their unaffected piety, their spotlessness of conscience, their frank simplicity, their beautiful self-distrust, their faith in the unseen, their divine unselfishness, their sovereign devotion to the Crucified; all these form, as it were, the soil out of which their far-reaching influence springs. Keen illumination of reason, deep vision, penetrating discrimination, calm judgment, elasticity of mind, and high rectitude of will—what are these but the manifestations of a highly cultivated moral nature, and the divinely-fashioned instruments for carrying into execution some giant intellectual work? The richer the earth, the deeper and firmer the roots, so much the more spreading the branches—so much the more choice and plentiful the fruit. The devotedness, and prayer, and penance, of the saints—their private, personal actions—are replete, it need not be urged, with the profoundest instruction. But a saint is not a man who merely loves God alone: he is a man who is full of the force and light of heaven; and who, through the intensity of his charity towards his Maker, loves mankind, with the tenderness and with the strength of God. To pretend to write the life of S. Thomas of Aquin, and then simply to narrate the history of his private character;—to speak of his humility, his gift of contemplation, his love of solitude, his ecstatic devotion, his balance of mind—of his gentleness, and purity, and patience—of his judgment and his genius; and to be *content* with doing this, would be very otiose—it would be, in point of fact, to give no adequate account of him at all. True enough, all he had, and all he did, sprang from the purest fount of his boundless charity; but that is no reason—rather the reverse—why we should be satisfied simply with gazing down into the crystal stream; why we should neglect or ignore the spreading circle of richness and

variety, of bud and blossom, springing up within the generous sweep of its vivifying influence. He who merely contemplates the beautifulness of charity in the saints of God, and fails to appreciate love's power, will never fairly comprehend what true love is; will hardly realize how the saints were mighty pillars, as well as dazzling lights—were levers which could lift the world, as well as lovely figures, gracefully kneeling at the feet of Christ. No: love is power, love is knowledge, love is strength. That Love which endured the shame, and bore the Cross, and which subjugated sin and death, and embraced the world itself within its mighty arms, does not lose its vigour, or its grasp, or its magic, when energizing in the saints. Love is not effeminate: it stands bravely forward, and smiles, with the serenity of heaven, on the terrors of the earth; it is armed of God, and goes forth with rapidity to do God's work; it is eminently operative, tough, valiant, strong, and, when the struggle comes, overpowering in its onset, as it is overwhelming in its victory.

Assuredly, many noble men and gentle women have passed through their course, leading a life of loneliness, and dedicating their faculties to the practice of prayer and contemplation; seemingly doing little good in general society, or in the hearts of their fellow-men:—doubtless; for man cannot fathom the mysteries of grace, nor can he put his finger on the benediction accorded, or the curse averted, or the vocation given, or the temptation braved, or the error rectified, or the vain philosophy crushed, or the truth expanded and confirmed, through the influence of the hidden lives of holy solitaries. But, because we cannot hit upon the secret springs, because we cannot fix our eyes on the invisible mechanism of the vast machine, on that account, it would not be philosophical to conclude that, *therefore*, no such things exist. Nor is it necessary to go to the desert to draw out examples of the visible action of virtue on the world. What some effect hidden away with God, others achieve in the open light of day. What some have wrought behind the veil, others have displayed in sight of all the people. If S. Anthony and S. Pachomius have left little trace of their labours outside the wilderness, S. Dominic and S. Francis have made their enduring mark on the broad face of the busy world. If the prayer of the pure and graceful virgin, or the aspirations of the lonely widow, made the dew descend, and no man could tell the reason why; the learned Doctor-Saint, at all events, as well as the Apostle and the martyr, gives his bold witness to truth, and

dazzles mankind with the fire which lives within him, and which, from time to time, flashes forth upon the world.

The object which the author of these pages has proposed to himself is this; to unfold before the reader's mind the far-reaching and many-sided influence of heroic sanctity, when manifested by a man of massive mind, of sovereign genius, and of sagacious judgment; and then to remind him, that, as the fruit hangs from the branches, so, genius of command, and steadiness of view, and unswervingness of purpose, are naturally conditioned by a certain moral habit of heart and head; that purity, reverence, adoration, love, are the four solid corner-stones on which that Pharos reposes, which, when all about it, and far beyond it, is darkness and confusion, stands up in the midst, as the representative of order, and as the minister of light, and as the token of Salvation.

Now, the Angel of the Schools was emphatically a great and shining light. To write his life, is not so much to deal with the subject of his personal history, as to display the stretch of his power, and the character of his influence. Indeed, few of the great cardinal thinkers of the world have left much private history to record. Self was hidden in the splendour of the light which bursts out from it—just as the more brilliant the flame, so much the more unseen is the lamp in which it burns. It stands to reason that the more wide-spread the influence which such men as these exert, so much the wider must be the range taken by the writer over the field of history, and theology, and philosophy, if he wishes adequately to delineate the action of their lives. The private history of S. Thomas of Aquin could be conveniently written in fifty pages, whilst his full biography would certainly occupy many thousand pages.

Fixing the thirteenth century as a stand-point, and taking S. Thomas as a centre, the eye of the mind, fully to take in his power, must range round a wide circumference—must stretch into the past, till it fixes itself upon the initial efforts of the gentle and constraining Benedictine principle—till it descries the mighty workings of contemplation and of adoring love, of purity and of reverence, under the garb of the monk, as he gradually introduces into society the mastership of just authority, and the principle of true respect. Not, indeed, that the influence of the Angelical could be retrospective, or could have affected, in any way, the ages which preceded him; of course not: but in order intelligently to comprehend his action on the mind of his

own day, and of the days which succeeded it, the main tendencies of human thought must be clearly grasped, and understood, as they displayed themselves before they came in contact with his influence—just as the action of a prism upon rays of light cannot be comprehended until the experimentalist is able to compare them under three different conditions, namely: as they display themselves before coming in contact with it; during contact with it; and after they have passed through it.

And, indeed, to omit mention of the Benedictine principle, would be to manifest great ignorance of the action of the highest form of truth upon mankind. The mastership of authority and reverence, springing out of the school of *quies*, did not cease to exert a considerable influence, after the dominant power of the monastic body had nearly disappeared—or, at least, had given place to a more contentious and aggressive form of religious life. The Platonic, synthetical, and mystic spirit of the Patriarch of western monks—a spirit which came straight from the side of Christ, and animated the early and patristic Church, had by no means expired when S. Thomas was a boy. But it was gradually losing its position and ascendancy. The highly-coloured and exciting elements of thought, introduced from the East, through the Crusades; the philosophical mysticism of Egypt, and the dreams of India; the importation into Europe—into France, and Italy, and England—of the neoplatonism, and gnosticism, and pantheism, and naturalism of the Arabian commentators on Aristotle; and then, the heat produced by the introduction of dialectical methods of disputations; and finally, the rise, in opulent cities, of great emporiums of knowledge—of large universities, filled with the youth of every land, and with professors of almost every hue—caused men to lose their taste for the solitary Abbey hidden away amongst the hills, with its psalmody, and manual work, and unexciting study. A new element had been introduced into society. It brought with it its advantages, but it also introduced corresponding dangers. The free play of the mind, upon delicate and sacred subjects, encouraged a spirit of rationalism; and the license of the schools helped to foster an irreverent frame of mind. Throughout the history of mankind—in the annals of every thinking race—we find that two contests have ever been going on: the principle of faith is ever menaced by the overweening arrogance of reason; and pride is ever waging war with reverence. It was so amongst the Arabians; so it was, too, amongst the Jews; so was it, also, in the Paris schools

of the thirteenth century; and so it is at this day amongst ourselves.

In the thirteenth century, this antagonism may be said to have attained its *maximum*. The confusion, and the excitement, and the clash of the contest, had begun before S. Thomas entered the arena; but the fight was by no means over: the forces on both sides had deployed, and a general engagement was being carried on. All depended upon him who held the supreme command: fortunately for the cause of truth, the man of the hour was not wanting. The Angelical had been prepared, it would seem, by a singular Providence, for directing the advance of truth, and right, and order; he it was who had to introduce the calming and steadying temper of S. Benedict, into the midst of the bewilderments of the schools. And, for achieving this end, his character had received a special training. His family had been intimately bound up with the traditions of the past. His uncle was a Benedictine Abbot; he, as a boy, had himself been a Benedictine monk; and he had imbibed potent draughts of the monastic reverential spirit—of monastic largeness, and self-control, while living under the direct influence of the metropolis of Benedictine glories. Thus equipped, he joined the new society, which had been constructed by the Church to confront the intellectual anarchies, and social revolutions, which were threatening the world—thus prepared, he entered the active, and chivalrous Order of S. Dominic; and, with a sword and a lance, fashioned out of Greek metal, and with a strong arm, and a steady eye, he entered the lists, and bore away the prize. He stands forth as some giant warrior, not unwieldy from his weight, or unskilful from his power of form, but exquisitely perfected in the management of his weapon, and marvellously gifted in grace, as he was in vigour. He confronted, and wrestled with, and he slew, the adversaries of sound philosophy and religion; he stood superior to, and he mastered, the age in which his lot was cast; and his pre-eminence in the Christian schools, from then to now, has never been dimmed by a brighter light, or been rivalled by a more victorious champion.

Thus, S. Benedict and S. Dominic are, in the life of S. Thomas, as the root and the branches, as the stem and the fruit. The keenness of mind, logical dexterity, subtleness of argument, and readiness of dialectical resource, which are special to S. Dominic, cannot be seen in their true light, except in relation to the gentleness, largeness, depth, reverence, and devotion of S. Benedict;

activity cannot be explained without quiet; great velocity of thought cannot be comprehended as under complete control, without the steadying influence of breadth and balance. Logic without love leads straight into error and confusion; the pillar without its pedestal falls prone upon the ground.

And this suggests the reason why the author has laid some stress upon the Benedictine education and tendencies of S. Thomas. These are referred to in no narrow, jealous spirit; but simply because effects cannot be explained without their causes, and because the specialities of the Angelical's character and work could not be fully understood, without reference to the patristic spirit of the Benedictine Order. It could not be shown how the excellence of the old method of *quies* was synthesized in him, with the more modern method of activity, unless by describing how he became impregnated with the one, as well as how he became a master of the other. Thus, in the five first chapters of this volume, the general state of society is briefly depicted; the principles of monastic life, in connection with our Saint, are touched upon; and a picture is drawn of the new method created by the Holy Spirit, in the Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominic, for resisting the pressure of the world. Then, the trials by which the soul of the Angelical was purified and strengthened, are related; and the character and spirit of his great master, Albertus Magnus, are delineated. Next, in order to give a consecutive idea of the intellectual growth of scientific knowledge in the Church, a very rapid survey is taken of theologic teaching down to the period of S. Anselm, who may be considered as the forerunner, if not as the first, of the great scholastic fathers. With him, the antagonisms of human thought grow into larger proportions. Faith and reason, reverence and irreverence, confront each other; opposing principles become the centres of conflicting schools, till two men arise, who, each in his place, can be taken for, because each in reality is, the representative, respectively, of rationalism and irreverence, of reason and authority. It may be felt, as an objection, that the times of Abelard and S. Bernard are so remote from those of S. Thomas, as almost to preclude the possibility of their exerting any influence on the thoughts and methods of the thirteenth century. But, first of all, it may be remembered, that Abelard and S. Bernard are chosen, in great measure, as patterns, or exponents, or living summaries, of certain jarring principles, which are at all times more or less engaged in active war: and then again, it may be recalled to

mind that, the life of a principle, if it be a cardinal one, is not, like the life of a man, liable to perish quickly, and certain to do so soon;—for it is excessively tenacious and enduring, especially when once it has fixed itself in a soil calculated to minister to its strength; and, in point of fact, the author has traced the influence of the Abelardine school, and explained the issue of its conflicts. William of Champeaux was the outcome of this antagonism; and his spirit lived and grew, ever becoming more pronounced in its monastic bias, till it was fostered into a large and influential life, by the mystic tendencies, and by the monastic theology, of S. Victor's. The issue of the conflict between Abelard and S. Bernard, between irreverence and authority, between rationalism and reverence, was the triumph of the latter, which, in its measure, gave rise to the splendid intellectual labours of Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's, and of Peter the Lombard—who, by his method and teaching, exerted so marked an influence on the Angel of the Schools. How could the fundamental position of S. Thomas be indicated, if the master of the "Sentences" were overlooked? How could it be shown that the Angelical combined all the excellencies of Abelard, of S. Bernard, of William of Champeaux, and of the Victorines—without inheriting their weaknesses—unless their characters and their positions in the schools were pointed out? How could the mind of S. Thomas be weighed and analyzed, unless others were placed beside him, who were great when compared with one another, but who were little when compared with him? And, finally, how could his ecstatic life of contemplation receive a stronger illumination, than by throwing upon it the light of that mystic system, which is drawn out with such luminous distinctness, by Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's?

And then, there were other influences, which be omitted, in writing a life of the Angelical, viz.: the influences of the East; and the impress of Western *savants*, tinged with Eastern errors. Hence, chapter the thirteenth touches upon the Eastern philosophies which were introduced into the Paris University; and upon the teachings of the principal Arabian and Jewish philosophers, with whose doctrines the Angelical had to come in contact. How could the labours and triumphs of S. Thomas be treated of, or comprehended, without some reference to the positions and doctrines of such men as Avicenna and Avicbron, as Avempace and Averroës; or without a brief indication of the place of Maimonides, and Jewish philosophy in the middle ages?

Then comes a chapter on the position of the Angelical under Albert at Cologne, and another on the "Instruments of Knowledge" used by scholastics in the thirteenth century. And this prepares the way for a description of the Paris schools, the centre of intellectual activity—the great battle-field in which the mighty contest was carried on between the orthodox principles of Catholic truth, and the opposing influences of Western and Eastern error.

Next, those labours of the Saint are spoken of, which he undertook during his Bachelorship; and the keenness of his mind, and the independence of his spirit, and the veneration and monastic bias of his temper, are drawn out in the two succeeding chapters on "The Sentences;" then, come his efforts as Licentiate; and, finally, his grand defence of reverence and authority against William of S. Amour, who represented the legitimate issue of the genuine Abelardine principle. The two last chapters: "Monastic Principles Defended," and "Monastic Principles Exalted," bring before the reader's attention the fundamental positions on which all enduring stability and nobility rest; and indicate how deep a debt of gratitude is owing to the energy, calmness, and genius of the Angelical, for having maintained, during a period of unparalleled academical excitement, those lofty principles on which all greatness of character, and all heroism of soul, depend.

But though, during the period of his Bachelorship and Licentiate, S. Thomas gave the most unmistakable evidence of his keenness and his power; though, at so early a season, he proves himself to be a pillar of light; still, it was after he had received his Doctor's cap that he grew to his full stature, and displayed before the world the mightiness of his transcendent gifts, and earned for himself, in the temple of religious and philosophic fame, a *status* more dignified and enduring than that of any other man who has been glorified in the Church as a saint, or who has illuminated the learning of the schools as a philosopher. The task of drawing out and describing the work, which gained for the Angelical so exceptional a position, will be attempted by the author in the forthcoming volume.

The principal lives of S. Thomas which have been consulted are those collected by the Bollandists; from which all subsequent writers have drawn their principal materials. Then, the biographies of the Saint by Tournon, Bareille, Frigerio, and Gibelli, have been made use of, as well as a *résumé*, which, for the sake of

brevity, the author has called in his references "*Vita*," but which is published with the following title: "*Vita dell' Angelico Dottor San Tomaso d'Aquino, Estratta da Sant' Antonino Arcivescovo di Firenze, e da Landolfo Vescovo di Leone, dal Volaterano, dal P. F. Guglielmo da Zocco, dal Sabellico; da Gio. Antonio Flaminio, dal Voragine, dal Surio, e da altri autori Catolici*" (1607); and, finally, Werner's invaluable "*Thomas von Aquino*," has been freely made use of, especially with respect to many of the facts which are to be found in the first portion of the thirteenth, and fifteenth chapters. With regard to the other authorities, since the most important of them are quoted at large in the notes, there is no call for making any further reference to them here.

The general reader may possibly be tempted to object to the frequency of quotations, and to the number of notes at the foot of each page: the text was written for him; the labour of adding the references and *excerpta* was undertaken for the sake of the student—for the young philosopher or theologian, who, before he sets himself to the profound study of the *Summa*, would probably not be ungrateful for an introduction to many useful works, and to the style of many authors, as well as to the *ipsissima verba* of the Angelical himself.

If the reader experiences but one tithe of the pleasure in reading this book, which the author has enjoyed, living so close to the great Angelical, whilst writing it, he will freely pardon the many shortcomings he will find in it; and the author will not deem his labours to have been wholly thrown away.

CHAPTER I.

HIS PARENTS AND BIRTH.

"Questi, che m'è a destra più vicino,
Frate e maestro fummi; ed esso Alberto,
E di Cologna, ed io Tomas d'Aquino."
(*Dante, Parad. X. 97—99.*)

S. THOMAS OF AQUIN sprung from a noble and illustrious race.* His mother, Theodora, was descended from the Caraccioli, a noble Norman family, and was Countess of Teano in her own right. Her ancestors had left the plains of Normandy two hundred years before, and having driven the Saracens and Greeks out of the plains of Southern Italy, established themselves at Naples and Messina; and having made prisoner the Roman Pontiff, received the crown from the trembling hands of that venerable man.

Landulf, Theodora's husband, of the house of Sommacoli—otherwise called Counts of Loreto, D'Acerra, and Belcastro, belonged to one of the most remarkable families of middle Italy. Doubtless, in youth, his ears had been accustomed to the din of arms, and his eyes had seen many a gorgeous pageant in the court of Frederick Barbarossa. His father, Thomas, achieved so high a military reputation, that the Emperor nominated him Lieutenant-General of the Holy Roman Empire, and gave him his sister, Frances of Suabia, to wife. Landulf could call to mind, with pleasing recollection no doubt, that the blood of the turbulent Frangipani flowed in his veins, that he was connected with Gregory the Great, and that his ancestors had distinguished themselves years ago in the wars of Charlemagne. His name was not unknown before the destruction of the Lombard kingdom. Antenulf, and Landulf were Dukes of Capua and Salerno in 879: and, after their inheritance had been wrested from them, they assumed the title of Aquino, and settled themselves between the Volturno and Garigliano. In the reign of Otto III., one of these rough warriors wrested Rocca Sicca from the Abbot of Monte Cassino, and levelled it with the ground. (996.) Another, equally successful in his

* The family so late as the seventeenth century appear to have occupied a distinguished military position in Spain. In 1867, one of the race was living in Jamaica.

enterprises, assumed the title of Count of Gaeta, stormed Minturna, beat the Normans, subjected the lords of Capua with the sword, and chased Guimar, lord of Salerno, out of his dominions.

Lando was not so fortunate. He lost Gaeta, and resumed the name of Aquino, while Rainald, son of Landulf, was glad to exchange Monte Libretto for San Giovanni—preferring the mastership of Adrian to the despotic and uncertain violence of Frederick. (1157.) But, if the Aquinos lost in one way, they gained in another. The panegyrists of the Saint, who always appear to appreciate most keenly nobility of ancestry, relate, with effusion, how, under the rough garb of the shaven friar, flowed the blood of kings: how the young Dominican was nephew of Frederick the First and Henry the Fourth, and cousin of Frederick the Second, and how he could claim connection with the royal houses of Arragon, Sicily, and France.*

Of the character of the Saint's father little is known; though it seems pretty certain that he combined a martial spirit, with a large sentiment of faith; while his mother, with immense energy of character, and a somewhat haughty spirit, kept herself in control by severe fasts, frequent vigils, and constant prayers.†

Theodora's home was quite in the mediæval style. The little town of Aquino occupies the centre of a vast and fertile plain, commonly called Campagna Felice, in the ancient Terra di Lavoro. This plain is nearly surrounded by bare and rugged mountains, one of which pushes further than the rest into the plain; and on its spur, which juts boldly out, and which was called significantly Rocca Sicca, was situated the ancient stronghold of the Aquinos. The remnants of this fortress, as seen at this day, seem so bound up with the living rock, that they appear more like the abrupt finish of the mountain than the ruins of a mediæval fortress. Yet they are sufficient to attest the ancient splendour and importance of the place; and the torrent of Melfi, which, tumbling out of the gorges of the Alps, runs round the castellated rock, marks it out as a fit habitation for the chivalrous and adventurous lords of Aquino, Loreto, and Belcastro.

It was in a chamber of this castle that a rough hermit, who had gained a name for his godly life, suddenly, and to the amazement

* "The only nobility," says James de Vitry, "is that of the soul," or in the words of the ancient —

— "Quid memoras fabulas et nomina varia Catonum?

Nobilitas animi sola est atque unica virtus."

Still, notwithstanding all this, birth is prized by man, and brought forward as an advantage by those who speak their natural thoughts. To be well born, and to be of noble soul, are both notes of praise.

† Quando ella il suo corpo macerava con lunghi digiuni e frequenti vigilie, altrettanto nutriva l'anima sua del divin cibo dell' orazione, sicche pel tanto orare, e col sovente inginocchiarsi ad imitatione dell' Apostolo S. Giacomo, alla guisa e maniera del medesimo, fortamente le ginocchia le si incolarono. (*Frig. p. 3.*)

Tocco says *Exemplis sanctitatis claruit, et vitam cum laudibus felici morte finivit.* (*Boll. p. 658.*)

of Theodora, made his appearance.* Like another Elias the Thesbite, with his flowing hair and coarse garment, he pointed to a picture of S. Dominic, which hung from an image of the Blessed Virgin round his neck, and exclaimed: "Rejoice, O lady, for thou art with child, and thou shalt bring forth a son, whom thou shalt call Thomas; and thou and thy husband will think to make a monk of him in the Monastery of Monte Cassino, in which the body of blessed Benedict rests, hoping to obtain possession of the great income of that Monastery through his elevation. But God will provide otherwise, for he will become a brother of the Order of Preachers." She replied, "I am not worthy to bear such a son; may the will of God be done!" †

The event foretold by Bonus the Solitary in due course came to pass. In the eleventh year of the Pontificate of Honorius, the ninth of the reign of Frederick, the same year that Saint Louis became King and S. Francis of Assisi died, Theodora gave birth to the future Angel of the Schools. The date of the event, however, is contested. Most reliable authorities put it at the year 1227. Some say it took place at Rocca Sicca, some at Aquino, others at Belcastro. ‡

Thomas was not Theodora's only child, she had three boys and three girls, the two eldest boys took to a military life—according to the custom of their ancestors—and for some time followed the varying fortunes of Frederick the Second. The youngest girl, when an infant, was killed by a stroke of lightning in one of those terrific storms which now and then burst from the mountain ranges over the plain of the Terra di Lavoro. The second girl married Count Sanseverino, and became a saintly woman of the world; and the eldest entered religion, became Abbess, and after a life of great perfection, died with the reputation of a saint.§

Some curious legends are related of S. Thomas's early childhood; for instance, when at the baths of Naples a scroll of paper

* In the thirteenth century, says De la Marche: "Il y avait là [dans les régions des montagnes] des hommes qui restaient des saisons entières privées de tout rapport avec leurs semblables. Cet isolement se renouvelle bien encore chaque hiver: mais il était alors beaucoup plus long et plus rigoureux. Etienne de Bourbon n'avait pu voir sans étonnement les bergers des Alpes, montagnards nomades et grossiers, passant presque toute l'année au milieu des rochers sauvages, couchant sur la dure et, sans autre abri que la voûte du ciel, veillant jour et nuit sur leurs troupeaux avec une constance infatigable, exposés à la dent des loups et aux attaques des voleurs." (p. 392.)

† *Gande Domini*, quia es prægnans, et paries filium, quem vocabis Thomam: et tu et vir tuus cogitabitis eum facere monachum in monasterio Montis Cassini, in quo corpus B. Benedicti quiescit, habentes spem ad magnos ipsius monasterii redditus pervenire, per ipsius filii vestri apicem et prælaturam; sed Deus de ipso aliter ordinavit, quia erit frater ordinis Prædicatorum. . . cui respondit prædicta Domina: non sum digna parere talem filium, faciat Deus suum placitum voluntatis. (Boll. p. 637.)

‡ In *Gabriel Barrii De Antiq. et Situ Calabriae Lib. II. Thesau: Antiq. Ital. IX.*, it is said that S. Thomas was not called Aquino because he was born at Aquinum, a Samnitan, not a Campanian city, but from the name of his family: for there are Aquinos in many places in the Campagna, and the Saint was born at Belcastro.

§ "Cangiato" says Frigerio "la sorella maggiore il pensiero di maritarsi, vestisse per consiglio di Tomaso monaca dell'ordine di S. Benedetto, nello monasterio di Santa Maria di Capua, del quale in progresso di tempo eletta Abbadessa, e quivi esemplarmente vivendo, santamente fini." (Cap. III. n. 4 p. 17.)

was miraculously placed in his hands.* He made violent opposition when his mother took it from him; and she, finding to her astonishment, the words "Ave Maria" upon it, gave it back instantly to the child. He seized it eagerly, and swallowed it—some say in imitation of Ezechiel the Prophet. Then he would prefer books to any other playthings.† If he cried, a book would pacify him at once. And, from time to time, a crown of heavenly glory was seen to hover over his head.‡ Again, on Sunday, the first of June, 1230, the earth began to tremble violently; and for a whole month earthquake shocks were felt from Capua to Rome. Rocca Sicca did not escape. Thomas was sleeping with his nurse and his little sister, as the storm struck the castle, and a fork of lightning shot through the window and burnt the little girl to death, but left the boy gently sleeping in his nurse's arms.§

Many will believe in these legends about as much as in the story of those bees, which are said to have dropped honey on the lips of the infant fast asleep in the bower of myrtles on Mount Hymettus; or in the dream of Socrates, when he saw a young swan coming from an altar in the Grove of Academus, which, after nestling in his bosom, soared up the heavens, singing sweetly as it rose aloft. Still, if they do not reflect from the past upon the future, they do what tends, perhaps, still more to the saint's renown, they are reflections of the future on the past.

When S. Thomas was five years old, his parents sent him to Monte Cassino, hoping, in spite of Bonus the Solitary, that he would eventually join the Order, and become master of those vast possessions which were under the dominion of its Abbots.||

This mighty Abbey,¶ placed upon the mountain side, and looking down on the teeming plain of Aquino, about six miles from Rocca Sicca, even in those days could be looked upon as an anti-quity. Once a bushy grove, full of the impure worship of lascivious gods, in the sixth century S. Benedict laid the foundation of its history. When S. Thomas went there, it had already thrice been jolted to the ground by earthquakes, over and over it had

* *Cartulam parvulam, divinitus repertam* (Tocco, p. 658.)

† (*Vita*, p. 8.)

‡ So with S. Dominic. His godmother saw in a dream a radiant star upon the brow of the child, traces of which remained ever after on his forehead. (*Lacordaire's Life of S. Dominic*, p. 97.) Something similar is related of the infancy of S. Ambrose.

§ (*Frigerio*, p. 6.)

|| S. Bede, S. Placid, S. Maurus, S. Boniface, Suger, Gregory VII., Hugh of S. Victor, S. Faustus, S. Hildegard, S. Robert, S. Mechtildis, Peter Deacon, Pope Pascal, Erno, Walafrid, all entered religion at a very early age. S. Paul of Verdun left his cradle for the cloister, and many others entered from their tender infancy.

¶ There were at one time dependent upon the Abbot four Bishoprics, two Principalities, twenty counties, two hundred and fifty castles, four hundred and forty towns and villages, three hundred and thirty-six manors, twenty-three sea-ports, thirty-three islands, two hundred mills, three hundred territories, one thousand six hundred and sixty-two churches; and its revenue, at the end of the sixteenth century, was valued at five hundred thousand ducats. (*See Les Moines D'Occident*, Tom. II., p. 22.)

been besieged by barbarians, it had been clean destroyed by the Lombards, and burnt to cinders by the Saracens; but it sprang up, as often as cast down, and, in the early days of S. Thomas, was the most distinguished school of letters in the land.

Through that dark passage, along which the future Angel of the Schools was led by his nurse to marvel at dark-robed monks, vast corridors, and silent cloisters, the sons of kings—Carloman, Ratchis, Adelard, Gisulfe, leaving the din of life for the rest of God, had gone before him, and had slept in peace. Through that narrow passage, whose darkness received the young Aquino out of sight, the civilization of modern Europe had flowed out. But Theodora and Landulf had more personal motives for loving the mighty Abbey. Thrice, in old times, their ancestors—students and protectors of the monastery, had risked their fortunes and their lives in its defence; whilst the same year the child was born, his uncle, Landulf Sinnebald, though a simple deacon, was chosen by the monks fifty-sixth in its glorious line of Abbots.

The times of S. Thomas cannot be adequately sketched without touching upon the relation of this mighty Abbey to the Empire and the Holy See.

For it was at this period that Gregory IX, and Frederick came to an open rupture. When Sinnebald was in Rome the following year (1228) for his ordination, he heard many rumours about the duplicity of the Emperor, and the deceit he had practised upon the Pope. The time specified by the Parliament of San Germano for commencing the crusades had expired, and Frederick had embarked at Brindisi. But after three days he turned the ships about, and came to port, declaring that delicacy of health prevented him prosecuting the voyage. The Pope was excessively angry, and after thundering an excommunication against him, sent two Cardinals and Abbot Sinnebald to wait upon him, and bring him to a knowledge of his duty. But Frederick, maddened by the excommunication, protested against its injustice, and would listen to no accommodation. He dismissed the Cardinals with scant courtesy, and after telling the Abbot that he altogether disapproved of his election, ordered him, in future, to provide him with a hundred armed men, and to pay one thousand two hundred ounces of gold for their support.

The Emperor at length set sail, and left Rainald of Spoleto his representative in Naples. But it was not the Holy places, so much as his thirst to be king of Jerusalem, on his marriage with Jolanda, that spurred him on in this undertaking. With the cross upon his breast, and the Papal anathema hanging over his head, Frederick set about a work which in the middle ages was

essentially a religious undertaking. No wonder that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and all good men, were scandalized at a crusader fighting for Christ with the curse of Christ's Vicar upon him. They could not help regarding him, not so much as a champion of Christianity amongst the Pagans, as a declared enemy of Christ, publicly denounced by the successor of S. Peter.

To keep the Pope well occupied whilst he was in the East, Frederick succeeded in raising, by means of the turbulent Frangipani, a dangerous sedition at the foot of the Pontifical throne; and, furious at his bad reception in the East, which he attributed to the Pope, he ordered the Duke of Spoleto to ravage the Papal States. In vain Gregory excommunicated him; in vain the Lombard Guelfs tried to make a stand against him. Gregory, with a courage which he inherited from Innocent, raised an army, and sent it by the Ciprano road into the Terra di Lavoro. They went by the name of the "Clavissignati," and the Army of Christ, on account of the banner which they carried into battle, blazoned with the great keys of S. Peter. They were commanded by two rebel Counts, Fondi, and Celano, while the general supervision was entrusted to Pandulf D'Alagna, Legate of the Holy See. These men soon set to work. Filled with religious enthusiasm, they forced themselves into the stronghold of Pontescelerato; and, having terrified its defenders, captured without resistance the castles of San Giovanni in Carico, and Pastena.

The Imperialists were stirred up like a nest of ants when they heard of these successes. Morra, the Grand Justiciary, raised a band of soldiers; and the Baron of Balzano, Landulf, and Ardenolf of Aquino, and many others, assembled in haste at San Germano, burning to rid the country of the invaders.

The Abbot was puzzled which side to take. As a churchman, he was with the Pope. But, on the other hand, his family were with the Emperor; and, he himself, possibly, was not without some secret sympathy with the great Ghibeline party, which ever supported the nobles against the plebs. Besides, he did not forget the fury of the Imperial troops, nor the violence which the old Abbey had suffered at their hands. However that may be, he filled the Abbey with provisions, summoned his vassals to arms, and prepared the House of God to withstand an attack from the army of the Vicar of Christ. There was no less excitement down in San Germano. Morra forced the citizens to work at the fortifications, and build up the crumbling walls of Rocca Janula. The city was in arms, and sounds of war resounded throughout the property belonging to the Abbey. The Imperialists, too weak to

act on the offensive, awaited the attack. The Clavissignati made a raid on Rocca d'Arce, but being ingloriously repulsed retired to Ceprano, from whence they sallied forth to devastate the surrounding neighbourhood, and plunder the wealthy church of S. Peter and S. Paul Della Foresta.

On the third of March the Legate marched straight into the patrimony of S. Benedict. He took Piedimonte, belonging to the Abbey, by assault; and, drawing up in order of battle before San Germano, hoped to draw the enemy into an engagement. Finding his bravado ineffectual, he marched away, and ravaged Pignaturo, and coming upon S. Angelo, a strongly fortified place, received so ugly a reception from its defenders that he gladly passed it by, and marched into Termini, which was particularly loyal to the Emperor. Here, at first, he was very roughly handled by the valour and desperation of the inhabitants. But numbers finally prevailing, the Papal force obtained the mastery, and having plundered and sacked whatever they could lay their hands upon, set the whole country side on fire, and ravaged their way back into the Campagna Romana.

On the seventeenth they appeared once more in the patrimony of S. Benedict. They determined now to strike a decisive blow. At Piedimonte, they divided their force; one detachment had orders to keep the plain, and attack Morra in front; the other was to creep up round the mountain, by circuitous and solitary paths towards Monte Cassino; and, whilst their comrades were sharply attacking the Justiciary in the city, to threaten the Abbey, and from the eminence that commands the town to bring panic and confusion on the enemy. When Morra got to hear of this, he sent a handful of men to watch their movements; and, having strengthened his forces, held himself in readiness to render assistance as it might be required.

To the west of the mighty Abbey runs a chain of mountains, increasing in elevation up to Monte Cairo, which dominates the rest, and then branches out on one side towards Campagna Romana, on the other in a more westerly direction, till it joins the Aprutini. Now, two miles from the Abbey stands the Monastery of Albaneta, and farther on, a little to the west, close at hand, on a mountain crest, stood the Monastery of S. Matthew Servorum Dei. It was at this place that the soldiers of the Empire came upon the soldiers of the Church. Instantly they closed, and, on a sudden those quiet rocks resounded with shouts of onset, and clang of arms. The Justiciary with young Ardenolf of Aquino led a reinforcement up the mountain side to the scene of action. Morra behaved like a lion. But the Papal troops had the advan-

tage of the ground, and making a diversion through the gorges of the mountain, a party of them came out near the Albaneta, and cut off the Imperialists' retreat. Thus surrounded, Morra and his men thought to cut their way through the enemy with the sword. But they met with a terrible discomfiture. Of the few who survived, some, like Ardenolf and Morra took refuge in the Abbey, whilst the rest rushed away down the mountain side towards San Germano, followed in hot pursuit by their opponents.

In the meantime Pandulf attacked the town. The citizens defended themselves stoutly, relying on the Abbey. The Legate, on perceiving this, went up the mountain, and under threat of deposition and extermination, commanded the Abbot to open the gates and deliver up the Justiciary. After considerable delay the Justiciary and the troops were set at liberty, and the Abbey was delivered to the Legate, who, in the morning, took triumphant possession of San Germano; and, having fortified and garrisoned the Abbey, hurried off to other conquests.

At this period the Franciscan Friars had circulated a report that the Emperor had been carried off by plague in the Holy Land. When Sinnebald had heard of this, he at once declared himself in favour of the Pope. But Frederick had not died, for he suddenly appeared in full vigour of life at Brindisi, and being joined by Rainald, pushed on into the Terra di Lavoro. The miserable people of that devastated country were panic-stricken at his approach, and fled to the mountains to escape the Saracens and Turks, and the brutality of soldiers who had but just left the hallowed precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. Desolate indeed was the land of Villa S. Lucia, consumed by fire and sword, whilst the Monastery of S. Matthew *Servorum Dei* became a spectacle of rapine, and pollution of everything human and divine. Next the mighty Abbey was attacked, but the Legate defended himself with such valour that the Emperor was compelled to retire to San Germano. Frederick then tried another plan. He threatened to confiscate all the property of the Cassinese. This produced the desired effect. The Abbot suddenly appeared humbly before him, and with many supplications besought him to recall his threat. The Emperor consented on one condition, that the Legate should leave the Abbey under a safe escort to be provided by himself, as far as the borders of the Papal States.

This is a specimen of the state of things in the neighbourhood of Rocca Sicca during the childhood of S. Thomas. Thus was the mighty Abbey on the mountain mixed up with the turmoils and struggles of the outer world, penetrating into silent cells and

holy shrines. Thus did the Empire and the Church struggle for the mastery.

And in the midst of all these scenes, the self-possession of the monks, who were men, as well as solitaries of the mountain, did not forsake them. They still watched and prayed: still, in the silent night, their voices rose up, singing the "*Deus in adiutorium meum intende.*" Still did they with courage cry "*Ad te levavi oculos meos qui habitas in cœlis,*" as they lifted their hearts and eyes to Him whose love is perfect peace. It is to be expected that men who could abandon a bright future to live in penance on the mountain, who could give up the society of tender friends out of affection for the Crucified, should be men of deep, large heart; of free, strong spirit; of lovely, pure lives—fit to regenerate a world.

Nor did the ascetic life interfere with the due cultivation of the mind. The first disciples of S. Benedict himself were poets, and literary men. Faustus and Sebastian are names which are still familiar. Marcus, their companion, is praised by Paul the Deacon as an accomplished scholar, and an elegant poet. In the palmy days of the Roman Empire, tradition says that Terence established a seat of learning on the mountain: anyhow, from the sixth to the thirteenth century, the education of Europe was Benedictine. During the period following the ravages of the north, monks, in their cells upon mountain sides, were composing homilies, writing lives of saints, penning chronicles and legends, framing treatises on grammar and theology, making miniatures and mosaics, and planting the mustard seed of future European intellectual growth. Autpert and Theophanus, Hilderic and the heroic S. Bertarius, were men of letters. Whilst Paul the Deacon, having abandoned the highest post a king could bestow upon a subject, retired into solitude to pray and study;—a monk, a poet, an historian, a linguist, and a familiar friend of Charlemagne. He not only established a tradition of intellectual activity at Monte Cassino, but did much towards forming a purer and more cultivated taste; and gave a new impetus to letters in France.

In the ninth century the histories of Sozomen and Theodoret, and fine copies of S. Augustine, and of several other Fathers, were transcribed. Abbot Theobald, a great patron of poetry and painting, gave a fresh impulse to the work. But Desiderius did the most for learning.* At the age of forty, he set to work to study letters and music; and then, to write books and compose chants.

* During the short rule of Desiderius at Monte Cassino his monks wrote out S. Austin's fifty homilies, his letters, his comments upon the Sermon on the Mount, upon S. Paul, and upon Genesis: parts of S. Jerome, and S. Ambrose, part of S. Bede, S. Leo's sermons, the orations of S. Gregory Nazianzen; the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, various histories, including that of S. Gregory of Tours, Josephus on the Jewish War, Justinian's Institutes, and many other ascetic and other works. (*Atlantis*, I., p. 36.)

He erected a new library, in which could be found, besides other works Virgil, Horace, Terence, Cicero, and the voluminous writings of Justinian. Then the poets, the chroniclers of history, and physical and medical science, were represented by famous men. It will suffice to mention such names as Constantine Africanus, Leo of Ostia, Amatus of Salerno, Gualferio, and Alfano, to recall many of equal celebrity to the mind.

It is only natural, when the moral scope of the Benedictine rule is considered, and the nobility of monastic life, and the tradition of letters which clung to the mighty Abbey, that Landulf and Theodora—having seen enough of strife and ignorance at Rocca Sicca—should give up their gentle boy to the care of his uncle Sinnebald.

To educate youth was one of the objects which S. Benedict had in view, when he founded his order. He makes provision for this in the Holy Rule. For example, the twenty-third chapter, on correction, manifests his firmness and his prudence. The thirty-seventh speaks of the "*pia consideratio*" with which children should be treated, and the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth lay down rules for their reception at the Abbey. These instructions are full of that wisdom which, without meddling with detail, sketches, with remarkable clearness and precision, the outline of that system of firmness and freedom, which is characteristically Benedictine.

The reception of a child in those days was almost as solemn as a profession in our own.* His parents carried him to the church; and whilst they wrapped his hand, which held the petition, in the sacred linen of the altar, they promised, in the presence of God and of His saints, stability in his name.† There is no hint that the sacrifice was not considered to have been irrevocably offered, after this oblation had been made to God.

The children's training was in keeping with the holiness of their consecration. They were confided to the care of a large-hearted, and God-fearing man. The one object was, to fill their souls with God, to teach them the power of knowledge, and the force of love,—to educate the intellect, and to purify the heart.

Nor are there any adequate grounds for thinking that the case of S. Thomas was an exception to the general rule. He, naturally,

* Little beings, of three or four or five years old, were brought in the arms of those who gave them life, to accept at their bidding the course in which that life was to run. They were brought into the sanctuary, spoke by the mouth of their parents, as at the font, put out their tiny hand for the sacred corporal to be wrapped round it, received the cowl, and took their place as monks in the monastic community. "Benedictine Centuries." (*Atlantis*, N. III., Jan. 1859, p. 19.)

† Si quis forte de nobilibus offert filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minori etate est, parentes ejus faciant petitionem quam supra diximus. Et cum oblatione ipsam petitionem in manu pueri involvant in palla altaris, et sic eum offerant. De rebus autem suis aut in presenti petitione promittant sub jurejurando, quia nunquam per se nunquam per suspectam personam, nec quolibet modo ei aliquando aliquid dent, aut tribuant occasionem habendi. [*Cap. 59.*] (*Vid. Mabillon. Tom. III. Vet. Anallect. p. 470-5.*)

would join the other little Benedictines, who were being trained for the monastic state. So he wore the holy habit, observed the Holy Rule, and attended the offices of the Church, according as the "*pia consideratio*" was interpreted by his superiors.* His references to S. Benedict, whom he is never tired of citing as an example, and many of his references also to the Rule, show a deep and minute acquaintance with the Benedictine spirit, and testify to vivid images impressed in early youth.† To all intents and purposes S. Thomas of Aquin was a Benedictine monk. Had he continued in the habit till his death—without any further solemnity beyond the offering of his parents—he would have been reckoned as much a Benedictine as S. Gregory, S. Augustine, S. Anselm, or S. Bede.‡

* No doubt the institution of knighthood is copied from the Rule. "Le jour où un chevalier est décoré de la ceinture, il se rend en cérémonie à l'Eglise, il entend la messe, puis, étendant la main sur l'autel et sur le glaive posé dessus, il se consacre publiquement à l'un comme à l'autre, et jure à Dieu un service perpétuel. Il contracte une obligation tout aussi sacrée que celle du moine, de l'abbé, de l'évêque, quand ils offrent leur cénile votive. Dans certains pays même, il passe la nuit précédente à veiller et à prier debout, sans avoir le droit de s'asseoir un instant, si ce n'est en cas de malaise subit. (*Tissier, VII., 292.*)

† By way of example see how he speaks of the Rule, *Quæst : Quodlibet : q. 1, a ; p. 459, Vol. IX. Ed. Parmæ, l. a, XX., p. 470, Ibid. Quæst : Disput : VI., a. IV., p. 132. Quodlib : IV., Art. XXIII., Vol. IX., p. 521.*

‡ See *De Monachatu Benedictino D. Thomæ Aquinatis apud Casinenses. (Lugdun., 1724.)* Also, the answer to it, "*De Fabula monachatus Benedictini D. Thomæ Aquinatis. (Venetiis, 1724.)*"

Tenebras depellet omnes Bartholomæus de Capua, Logotheta, Protonotarius Regni Siciliæ, testis acceptus omni exceptione major, in processu canonizationis S. Thomæ : quem apud Bollandum in actis Sanctorum legere est, ad diem septimam martii, cap. 9, num. 76. Ubi hoc ipsum inter cætera D. Thomæ gesta, interposito etiam Sacramento contestatur : *Patet origine nobilis atque potens monachavi dictum Fratrem Thomam, disponens eum Abbatis præfere Casinensi. Quid hoc autem est monachavi, nisi monachum fecit? Eo plane ritu dedicatione, et oblatione, qua et Maurus, et Placidus, et cæteri de quibus dixi hactenus, sacriati Deo pueri, facti monachi, et monachati leguntur. in priseis illius avi monumentis : ut in Lib. Dialogorum D. Gregorio Magno adscriptorum cap. 7. (De Monach. Bened. D. Thomæ, p. 20.)*

CHAPTER II.

S. THOMAS AT MONTE CASSINO.

It would be difficult to imagine a child with the temperament of young Aquino, living five or six years under monastic influence, without receiving an indelible mark.* There are many subtle influences which thrill to the inmost sanctuary of a sensitive spirit, which the less delicately strung have not the capacity to feel. The Saint's brothers, for instance, might, no doubt, have spent a great portion of their lives amidst the most impressive religious scenes, without being very much influenced. But Thomas was formed of quite another clay. The picture which his biographers draw of his early youth is singularly Benedictine. Those qualities, which most persons acquire as the fruit of a long and painful course of self-control, sat upon him gracefully from the first. For example, the rule enjoins silence;—Thomas was a singularly silent, meditative boy. It condemns levity with great severity of language:—Thomas never joined in the thoughtless merriment and childish amusements of his companions. It treats of fraternal charity and correction;—Thomas observed this perfect theory by perfect practice, and was known to use his influence to draw to their duty some of his companions who had gone astray. The rule lays great stress on prayer;—Thomas spent hours together, as a child, in meditation, so that all “wondered at his power and his holiness.” It advocates devotion;—Thomas was “*oratione devotus*.” It prescribes solitude;—Thomas loved nothing better than to be alone. S. Benedict lays special stress on observance of rule;—Thomas had an instinctive dread of breaking rule.

This suffices to show how the character of young Aquino was in harmony with the highest theory of monastic life, and to what an unusual degree, in his earliest years, he possessed those habits of perfection, which the whole mechanism of the rule is constructed to foster in less gifted souls.†

* That at Monte Cassino there was a good discipline at this period is evident from a Bull of Gregory IX., confirming the privileges of the monks.

† Parlava molto poco; il che fu suo costume in tutta la sua vita; ne mai furono in esso vedute leggerezze da giovane. Ebbe per costume sin dalla sua fanciullezza di ritirarsi ogni giorno a fare orazione, e vi stava due hore continue, e ciascuno si stupiva dell' ingegno e della santità sua. (*Vita*, p. 9.)

His companions tacitly acknowledge his superiority; and his force of character appears to have made itself felt from the very first. The combination of character and genius, in large proportions, tends to render a man supreme. But character is more powerful than ability. Many a man who had been dull at books as a boy, has shot out a later growth of talent. But is there a single instance of a man, who as a boy had not sufficient character to control his companions at school, acquiring such a power after he had become a man?

The personal appearance of young Aquino indicated the presence of a governing spirit; not the command of brute force, but the command of intellect. He possessed that rare class of spiritual beauty which tells of gentleness, purity, and power. His massive head betokened strength. His broad tranquil brow, his placid meditative eyes, produced the impression, not so much of quickness and vivacity, as of breadth and of command. He seemed to live in a sort of spiritual light,—as the sunbeam striking upon a landscape naturally beautiful invests it with a kind of transfiguration. Though he seldom spoke,—when he did speak, he set hearts beating faster; and often, whilst thus conversing with his companions, the monks would approach the little gathering by stealth, to listen to the precocious wisdom of this extraordinary child.

Contrasts often suggest themselves; especially when associated with a likeness. No two men ever had more intellectual traits in common than S. Thomas and the Stagyrte; and yet no two men were ever more unlike each other in appearance.* Aristotle had slender legs, and little eyes; a feeble voice, and a hesitating utterance. He was a dandy, wore smart clothes, and several rings; while in morals, some say, he combined ingratitude and impiety, with the vices of the parasite and the glutton.

But, though S. Thomas had great influence over his companions at the Abbey, there was one thought that seemed to oppress his mind by reason of its mysterious greatness. He seems to have felt the thrilling touch of the finger of another world, which acts with galvanic power on the systems of the saints,—so highly wrought, so exquisitely strung. The boy was continually asking his masters, *quid esset Deus?*—what God was. This one question gives the key to his character, and to the whole history of his life. *Puer cæpit sollicite quærere à Magistro quid esset Deus?* But this will appear later in the volume.

Nor was mental culture neglected in the midst of these spiritual influences. Thomas was taught the first elements of knowledge

* Saint Thomas rappelait Aristote par l'universalité de son savoir, par la gravité pesante mais solide de son caractère, par son talent d'analyse et de classification, par l'extrême sobriété de son langage. (Ozanam : *Dante*, p. III., c. III., p. 297.)

by the monks. The fragmentary Latin Grammar of the period, Donatus, Priscian, or Didymus would, by frequent repetitions, be fixed upon the memory. Then the Psalter, and passages from the poets, were learnt by heart. Æsop's Fables, Theodulus, and the Sentences of Cato, led into the gallery of the ancient Classics. Ovid, Horace, and Persius were favourite authors; while Seneca was treated with special reverence, as one of the most enlightened moralists of ancient times. Then Lucan, Statius, and Virgil, who were looked upon as seers in the midst of heathendom, on account of certain curiously prophetic passages in their writings, prepared the student for his course of rhetoric. Cicero, Quintilian, and the Stagyrite opened the door to the science of God, and of the saints. That S. Thomas passed through a course resembling this, to say the least, is eminently probable. The Dominican, Fra Tolomeo da Lucca, who was his confessor, declares that, besides grammar—which in those days included poetry—he studied his logic and his philosophy at the mighty Abbey.

These were tranquil days for the Young Aquino, days of growth—just as nature rests in the first warm days of early spring, before it bursts into leaf and flower. To breathe at peace under the light of truth, far from the contention of tongues, and then to meditate and resolve in the presence of one Eternal Witness,—this has been the education of many a man of iron will, of soaring spirit, and of blameless life. It was thus that S. Gregory learnt how to rule the destinies of the Universal Church. It was in a little cell that S. Augustine was taught how to subjugate a pagan island to the Cross. S. Boniface, whilst he appeared to waste away his life in solitude, was converting the German race. Lindisfarne, Ripon, Canterbury, Wearmouth, Jarrow, Fulda, Ferrières, Corby, Richenau, S. Gall, Croyland, Bec, and hundreds more, were springs of peace, where, instead of the imagination being disturbed by the sophisms of intellectual charlatans, the spirit could drink silently of the deep fountains of its Saviour. From the centre of stability, where rest alone is found, springs the activity of the thoughtful mind. The mind that was taught to have no stay but God, partook of God's repose; and exulted in that freedom which expands above the senses. Thus the monks thought much, but talked little; thus the monastic system encouraged meditation, rather than intellectual tournaments; reserve, rather than display; deep humility, rather than dialectical skill. The Benedictines did not aim so much at unrestrained companionship of free discussion, as at self-control; not so much at secular-minded fantasy, as at much prayer and sharp penance, till self was conquered, and the grace of God reigned, and giants walked the earth. Self-mastery, spring-

ing from the basis of a supernatural life, moulded the heart to sanctity, and imparted to the intellect an accuracy of vision, which is an act of nature directed and purified by grace. Theodore, Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, Alcuin, Dunstan, Wilfrid, Stephen, Bernard, Anselm, these names are suggestive of this influence of the monastic system.

The traditions of the Benedictine spirit, springing from the Abbey, permeated Europe, Christianized society, and still maintained at Monte Cassino when S. Thomas was a boy. But, no doubt, there were watchmen on that mountain, whose keen eyes could perceive the signs of a coming change. The conflicts of the Empire and the Church, of the Guelfs with the Ghibelines, and between the various cities and families in Italy, the impetus given by Frederick to freedom of discussion, and the license introduced by the Crusades, were sufficient to make men forecast the future with anxiety.

Though the monks did not go down the mountain side and mix in the world below, they watched its movements, as they ever do, with intelligent concern. Whilst those who take part in the pageant see nothing of its general effect, monks being at a distance from it, can view it as a whole, perceive its scope, and prophesy pretty shrewdly its ultimate destination. Paris, Bologna, Naples, the university life, and the din of the city, were to replace the system of the school of quiet. When the change, with many shocks and throes, was working itself into the stability of a new order of things, the monks cried bitterly in their silent cells. But the world stops for neither priest nor layman. The energy of a new principle had entered into society; and, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, that energy would work itself fairly out. The *primum mobile* of the old system was rest; the *primum mobile* of the new system was everlasting motion.

But there were other movements which gave an unexpected turn to the career of young Aquino, and which must briefly be indicated here.

They begin with a gleam of sunshine. The Emperor and the Pope, after the peace of San Germano, met at Anagni, sat at the same board, and made many civil speeches to each other during the meal. The patrimony of S. Benedict was restored to the Benedictines; and the Emperor sent the Duke of Austria to Monte Cassino, to assure the Abbot of the Imperial favour. Gregory, on the other hand, confirmed the Magna Charta of the monks by renewing the privileges and freedoms granted by Pope Zachary; and the Abbey, to all appearances, being established in the friendship of the Empire and the Church, seemed at length to have acquired a

stability, which many a holy Abbot had aimed at acquiring by diplomacy, but which none had ever been able to attain.

But this gleam of light was speedily quenched. Frederick and Gregory were not merely energetic individuals, for they represented two master principles, which, during a long term of years, were struggling for the mastery. The principle of matter and of mind, of reason and faith, had not yet, under the changing conditions of society, wrought out a solution of the question—Who is to rule the world? The arrival of Imperial ministers at San Germano, the energy with which the troops were fortifying Rocca Janula, were harbingers of anything but security. Abbot Landulf's mind was ill at ease. He felt that the keenness of Gregory, and the duplicity of Frederick, were qualities little likely to cement a lasting peace. The political atmosphere looked dark and threatening. Rainald, who had repeatedly been excommunicated, on his submission to the Pope, created for himself an enemy in Frederick. Messina was in rebellion. The Lombard league was growing more formidable every day. And Errico, the Emperor's son, encouraged, it was imagined, by the Pope, had taken up arms against his father. These events filled the soul of Landulf Sinnebald with deep distress. And death (1236) saved him the bitterness of witnessing a catastrophe which would most probably have brought him to the grave.

Five months elapsed before the Emperor consented to the election of another Abbot. The community, impatient of delay, assembled of their own accord, declared Pandulf da Stephano, (1237) their Abbot; and then solicited the confirmation of the Emperor and the Pope. After considerable intrigue, the monks obtained Frederick's confirmation. But Gregory would come to no decision, till further instructions had been issued by the Holy See. The monks then determined on a new election (1238). As they were unable to agree among themselves upon a candidate, they entrusted the case to the Archbishop of Messina, and declared that they would consider the Archbishop's nominee as canonically elected: so Stephen di Cervario was nominated, accepted by the monks, approved by the Emperor, ordained priest, blessed Abbot, and with splendid pomp installed in the Abbatial chair.

And now came the storm which had been threatening so long. Frederick was highly pleased by his successes against the Lombards and the Milanese. Gregory, on the contrary, was in deep distress at the rebellion of the Romans, and the ruin which was threatening the Guelfs. The Emperor was well aware of this. In vain did Gregory attempt to bring him to a reasonable accommodation with the Lombards; and the cup of his displeasure was filled to

overflowing, when Frederick nominated one of his many bastards, Enzo, to be King of the Island of Sardinia, which was in reality a portion of the patrimony of the Holy See.

On Palm Sunday, the Holy Father, in full consistory, excommunicated Frederick, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and branded with interdict every place on which he put his foot.

True to the policy of his predecessors, Stephen was shrewd enough to know, says Tosti, that excommunication would act upon the Emperor as medicine does upon a dying man—simply assisting corruption to do its work more speedily. And as it seemed to him that Gregory was on the losing side, he at once set about conciliating the good wishes of the Emperor. He took the trouble to travel from Monte Cassino into Lombardy, to take an oath of fealty. Frederick received him very graciously. But at the very time that the Emperor was conferring privileges on the Abbot, a band of soldiers, by that same Emperor's command, forced their way into Monte Cassino, laid violent hands upon the monks, drove some of them into the mountains; and murdering the rest, in the name of their master, took possession of the Abbey. They began at once to fill it with provisions, and having laid heavy contributions on the inhabitants of the plains below, forced them to drag wood and stone up the mountain side, and to help in fortifying the Abbey against attack.

Eight of the monks, not without some trembling, and amidst the desecration of all they held most sacred, clung to the monastery. Historians relate how that mighty Abbey, to which pilgrims resorted from all quarters of the world, and which had been the shrine of piety and letters, was turned into a nest of thieves. Its vast treasures, the accumulation of many years, princely gifts of massy gold and silver, gems, and splendid cups, the legacies of Emperors, Kings, and Knights, became the booty of the soldiery. The sanctuary was darkened on the mountain. Of the eight monks, some betook themselves to other Abbeys, some went to Naples, whilst others, like S. Thomas, took refuge with their families.

Such was the stormy termination of S. Thomas's career under the influence of Monte Cassino. Seven years of such an influence could not have been without effect. S. Thomas seems, indeed, to have combined, in a remarkable degree, the perfection of the old system of repose with the new system of activity. Whilst S. Thomas of Aquino was a perfect Dominican, he never, for one moment, ceased to be a thorough Benedictine.

CHAPTER III.

S. THOMAS AT NAPLES.

LORETO, a castle belonging to the Aquinos, was situated in the Abruzzi, not far from Aquino, and between Cività di Chieti and Cività Della Penna. Here his parents were residing when S. Thomas left the Abbey. Some say that he was removed, and sent by his parents to the University of Naples, at the advice of his uncle, Abbot Sinnebald. But this can hardly be the case, first, because superiors always prefer to retain their choicest subject, and, then, because Abbot Sinnebald had been some time dead and buried when the Imperial soldiers took possession of the Monastery. Nor is it likely that his parents, who sent him to the Abbey with the settled purpose of his becoming some day Abbot, would willingly remove him from it, and cast him, at twelve years of age, into one of the most dissolute towns in Italy. The real cause of his departure has already been described; and, naturally enough, the boy resided with his parents till they could place him at another school.

The change must have been a violent one for the young Aquino. The noise and excitement of a great feudal castle must have offered a great contrast to the uneventful monotony of the cloister. Horses, and falcons, and the tramp of armed men, the free carousing, the singing of troubadours and minstrels,* the shouts of mirth which accompanied the amusements of knights and esquires, must have been the occasion of many temptations to a boy of twelve.† But Thomas, though but a boy, had a mind which was occupied with higher things than the mere transitory pastimes of his father's castle. It must be remembered that he had often

* See, for a full and interesting account of the Troubadours, "Les Troubadours et leur influence sur la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe." Par Eugène Baret. *Didier: Paris*.

† The Church has always expressed herself against tournaments. See the second Œcumenical Council of Lateran, 1139. They were prohibited by St. Louis; and Pope Nicholas III. reproaches Philip the Bold, 1279, for authorizing them. So S. Thomas, most probably, was saved those dangerous exciting scenes; though this is not certain, because neither the civil nor religious power was able altogether to restrain the thirst amongst the people for such displays. Nor, indeed, does the Church seem to have condemned them absolutely. Humbert de Romanis, after showing in a sermon the evil side of such amusements, turns to the good side, and says: "Les chevaliers doivent seulement prendre part aux luttres modérées, dans l'intention unique de s'exercer à la guerre. Mais, ce qui est plus méritoire encore, c'est de s'encourager mutuellement, comme ils en ont l'habitude, à faire pour Dieu ce qu'ils ont fait longtemps pour les vanités du monde, en utilisant leur valeur contre les infidèles ou dans d'autres exploits plus dignes d'eux." (*Max. Bib. Patr., XXV. 539.*)

poured out his heart by the tomb of blessed Benedict, and had joined the solemn throng of godly men in holy prayer. Under such influences, a new standard had been set up, and life had been tuned to another harmony.

An anecdote is related of him at this period, which shows how full his young heart was of charity. During his sojourn at Loreto a terrible famine decimated the inhabitants of the plains of Southern Italy. The people, at length, could only look for succour from the bounty of the rich. Crowds of starving peasants besieged the gate of the castle of Loreto. The hardest heart would move, to witness the strong man perishing for want of bread, and mother and child sinking gradually into a common grave. The Aquinos were charitable to the poor; and Thomas* acted as his father's almoner. But not satisfied with this, sometimes he stole secretly into the kitchen, filled his cloak with whatever came to hand, and hurried triumphantly to the castle gate, to divide his spoils amongst the famishing people, who looked upon the boy as an angel sent to them from heaven. On one of these occasions, as he was carrying his cloak full of provisions, he suddenly perceived his father standing opposite him. With a voice full of displeasure Landulf asked the child what he was carrying. Disconcerted by the severity of his father's manner, he let fall his burden; but, in the place of bread and kitchen-stuff, a shower of roses covered the ground beneath his feet. Quite overcome by this sudden manifestation of the Divine will, the old man burst into tears, and embracing the child with transport, declared that, as long as he had an obolus in his pocket, or a piece of bread in his kitchen, his boy should not be prevented following the dictates of that charity which had guided him throughout.

To those who might be inclined to smile incredulously at this legend, it may be remarked, that it is the tendency of the Catholic mind to believe that great holiness will be accompanied by great favours. Yet, it is not the Catholic tendency to believe without reasonable grounds. In the case of S. Thomas—knowing that he led a life of singular purity and love, we feel no temptation to smile with incredulity at the miracle of the roses;—our tendency is in the opposite direction.* It is a very beautiful legend, and

* This recalls Wadding's beautiful account of S. Francis kissing and blessing the thorn bushes at Subiaco, and turning them into rose trees—the thorn bushes into which S. Benedict had thrown himself in his great temptation. See *Annal. Ord. S. Francisci ad ann. 1215*. Thus the poet sings:—

Virgineum sepiet florem Benedictus acutis
Vepribus et proprii rore cruoris alit.
Hinc dumeta novas tanto fecundo liquore,
Francisci que manu culta tulere rosas.
Falsa quidem roseo cecidit e germine vates.
Sed latuit falso carmine vera fides.
Scire cupis rosei flos exeat unde pudoris?
Sola rosas potuit gignere puncta Venia.

Vide Hæften—*Commentarius in cap. : Secund : Vitæ, S. Benedicti*, p. 79. *Antwerp, 1644.*

there is no reason to believe it is not founded on fact; anyhow, it leaves upon the mind a pleasing and edifying impression. Scoffing and contempt, and even highly educated and courteous incredulity, is less reasonable than the Catholic tendency, and certainly has a lowering moral effect, and a vulgarizing influence upon the mind.

It may possibly be objected that there could be no virtue in taking food, even for the poor, without permission. But the answer to this is simple. What is a sin in one man is not necessarily a sin in another man. S. Thomas was, I take for granted, divinely guided to carry out the action of a higher law. Did God command, it would have been a sin in Thomas to have neglected carrying the food from the kitchen to the poor. Both father and son are subject to the higher law: for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, though He may, for a time, appoint Count Landulf of Aquino as His steward.

The story of the roses is the only event recorded of S. Thomas during his sojourn at Loreto. He did not remain there long. Theodora still clung with ardour to her first idea of seeing the boy one day Lord Abbot of Monte Cassino. His brothers, fierce young Ghibelines, were winning their spurs amidst the bloodshed that tracked the path of Frederick II. His father, and the Count D'Acerra, his uncle, were both men of strong Ghibeline tendencies. If Thomas could only be enthroned Abbot of the vast possessions of the Abbey, if Rocca Sicca were strongly fortified,—with Aquino in possession of the family, and Belcastro held by Count D'Acerra,—the Aquinos would be formidable even to the Emperor himself.

But how could this idea be realised now? For the boy to return to the Abbey was impossible. To secularize him would not do. There was only one combination which could meet the case,—to send him to study at Naples, under the shadow of S. Benedict; for, to send him to live amongst young men, notorious for their lascivious lives, at the University, would have been equivalent, not simply to destroying his vocation, but to throwing away his soul.

For the dangers at the University of Naples at that period were greater, most probably, than those at Oxford and Cambridge are at present. The ferment in the mind of society, the immorality of the place, the undisciplined condition of the schools, where each student shifted for himself as best he could, rendered such a position, for any young man, perilous in the extreme. The city itself, edging the double crescent of blue water, with perfect sky, sea, and air; then the luxuriant Campagna to the east, with its villas buried amongst branching pines and groves of orange blossom; then the stretch of the azure Mediterranean, dotted with

gay barges of pleasure and dark galleys of war, tended to relax the virility of a religion which teaches that the road to heaven is the road of prayer, mortification, and self-restraint. All writers of this period unite in describing Naples, with its houses running up seven stories high, with its tortuous narrow streets and teeming population, as the most beautiful and the most wicked city in the world.

Then there was the dangerous influence of Frederick the Second, which is too important to be passed over altogether.

Naples fell into the possession of the house of Suabia, after it had been conquered by the Normans. Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, married Constance, daughter of King William the Second. Frederick II. was the issue of this marriage. Innocent, Honorius, and Gregory, in turns, were his instructors. Had it not been for the genius of Innocent, to whom the young man behaved with marked ingratitude, instead of becoming the greatest Emperor of the middle ages, he would probably have died in exile, or have fallen a speedy victim to the treachery of his enemies. But his genius and address, his subtlety and learning, encouraged at the Court of Innocent III., together with the protection of so powerful a Pontiff, gave him an opening for the display of his unusual ability. Frederick was emphatically a representative man. He represented the brute force, intellectual license, and moral depravity of the thirteenth century. His versatility, learning, and political finesse; his love of pleasure, of novelty, of free speculation; his courage, his perfidy, his chivalry, his cruelty, his arrogance, his superstition—all combined in one man—were specimens of the various vices and excellencies of the subjects over whom he ruled. He was a thorough Italian. He appears to stand superior to the movements of his day, and while a typical representative of them, he bends them to his pleasure. His ambition, not content with four crowns, carried him through forty years of continual and aggressive war. His influence was greatly strengthened by the extinction of many great feudal houses in Italy, Tuscany, and Romagna; but at last he fell—as Henry did opposing Gregory, as Barbarossa did opposing Alexander—when proudly endeavouring to break the power of the Holy See.

His enthusiasm for poetry and letters, for music and art, was quite as remarkable as his ambition, and his taste for war. He spoke Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, and Arabic, when, in all probability, not one in four hundred of his knights knew how to sign his name. He occupied many of his leisure hours in his choice library, pouring over rolls of Greek and Arabic manuscripts, which he had carefully collected in the East. Through

his brilliant Chancellor Delle Vigne, he announced that translations were to be made of many scarce and important works. He gave a code of enlightened laws to Sicily, and published for the first time, the code for Germany, in the national tongue. He opened the University of Naples, as will appear later on;—and shrewdly perceiving how the study of jurisprudence was damaging his influence at Bologna, he took the direction of political education into his own hands; and, closing the University, constrained its ten thousand students to leave the town. So great a sympathy did he entertain for struggling genius, that he supported two hundred students at the University out of his own private purse, that they might thus acquire a tincture of philosophy.

But Frederick was a thoroughly worldly man. Learning did not lead him to the practices of Christianity. If he ever did seriously hold its teaching, his life amongst the infidels of the East, appears to have upset his faith, and to have delivered him over to the influences of political materialism. He publicly declared that he possessed the right to determine definitively every question, human and divine. Some say that, no longer believing in the reality of a future life, he abandoned himself to all the licenses of sensuality. A legislator, a tyrant; generous, dissolute, courteous; a barbarian king under his tents in Lombardy in the North;—when in the South he slept away his time, with all the voluptuous softness of a Sultan, in his harems of Puglia and Sicily. He founded colonies of Saracens at Nocera. His castle, Foggia, was built in the Moorish style, was furnished according to Moorish taste, and was surrounded by Mahomedan mosques, schools, and bazaars. At his splendid court were collected together from Germany, Italy, and the East, the highest that could be found at that day, of courage, eloquence, and learning, the flower of chivalry, the depth of science, kings and warriors, troubadours and minstrels, wits and beauties—all that was gayest and brightest, all that was gorgeous and magnificent. Here were nurtured the grandchildren of Averroës, the most celebrated of Arabian philosophers. Here were to be seen swarthy Saracens, with their strange costume, standing guard; graceful Mamelukes, attentive in their silent service to every want; astrologers from Bagdad, with their loose garments and flowing beards; and Jews, learned and sedate, the interpreters of the wisdom that lay concealed in precious manuscripts brought over from Arabia. Here, shocking indeed in a Christian country, but manifesting all the more the morality of those days, was Frederick's harem filled with prostitutes, living in the courtly magnificence of Eastern luxurious repose, waited upon by meek and gentle eunuchs, and ministering to the sensu-

ality of a man who once longed for the hand of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, and offered his heart to Saint Agnes of Bohemia.

Frederick was never more at ease, than when in the company of the subtle, polished natives of the East. When in Palestine, he lived among the Mussulmans, and sent as a present to the Sultan a learned solution of difficult problems in mathematics and philosophy. The Sultan sent him, in return, an artful and curious instrument for indicating the movement of the stars. Whatever seemed capable of offering enjoyment to his mind in science, or to his body in sensuality, that Frederick II. made no scruple of acquiring, and of using with all the elegance, and prodigality of a sinful man of genius.*

He naturally surrounded himself with minds in harmony with his own. Michael Scott,† and Pietro Delle Vigne, who is fitly placed in hell by Dante to exclaim:

"I' son colui che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cor di Federigo,"

were noted for the brilliancy of their talents, and the pagan tendencies of their minds. Cardinal Ubaldini, the Emperor's familiar friend, professed open materialism, and was accustomed to declare that, if he did happen to possess a soul, he would willingly lose it for the Ghibelines. His words carry all the more weight, inasmuch as he was the mouthpiece of a large section of *literati*, who preferred the teachings of Epicurus or Pythagoras to the religion of Jesus Christ. Dante points to two Florentines, Farina and Cavalcanti, as types of thousands. The Ghibelines were noted materialists, and scoffers at Christianity; and in Florence the infidels formed a wild unruly sect. A poem, called the Descent of Paul into Hell, alludes to a secret society, which was formed with the express purpose of expunging Christianity, and introducing the exploded obscenities of Paganism in its place. Then the overweening admiration of classical antiquity, political schemes for reconstructing pagan Rome, the ferment produced by the newly-discovered philosophy of the Greeks, the slavish imitation of pagan poets, and the biting satires of buffoons and troubadours, such as Ruteboeuf, Jehan, and Renard, helped to spread

* He was buried at Monte Reale, near Palermo, and his natural son, Manfred, thus writes upon his tomb:—

"Si probitas, sensus, virtutis gratia, intellectus,
Nobilitas oris possent resistere morti
Non foret extinctus Fredericus qui manet intus?"

† "Quell altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Scotto fù: che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco."

(Infer c. XX., v. 115.)

For full information on Frederick II., see Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre des Vignes*: Kington's *History of Frederick II.* T. I., p. 476. Raumer's *Gesch. der Hohenstaufen*, T. III., p. 431. Octave D'Assailly's *Albert Le Grand*. Liv. III. *L'Empire et la Papauté*, p. 338, &c.

amongst nobles, scholars, and general society an infidelity and licentiousness, which was a foretaste of the more elegant and polished wickedness of the renaissance.

Naples, being a Greek city, possessed from the first a school of liberal letters. The capacious mind of Frederick fixed upon a plan, for turning the obscure private schools of the beautiful city into one grand academy for the two kingdoms,—for establishing, in one word, an University. His reasons for so doing, drawn out by his brilliant and unhappy secretary Delle Vigne, are worthy of his reputation for shrewdness and enlightenment. He declared that, from the earliest period of its history, Naples had been the mother and home of letters; he alluded to the salubrity of the air; and said that the city, lying with the sea on one side, and a stretch of land teeming with the richest produce of nature on the other, would offer the student the riches of both earth and water for his support.

Then he did not shrink from making use of his despotic power for facilitating his designs. He compelled the students of Puglia and Sicily to come to Naples, whether they would or no. For, no one was permitted to study medicine or surgery except at Naples, or Salerno. No degree could be conferred in any other seat of learning. No professor dared lecture in any other chair. The Moderators of the Provinces were under strict command to see that no student presumed to study anywhere in or out of the kingdom, except at the privileged University. The Captains of Sicily were strictly enjoined to send all young Sicilians to Naples. And, in 1226, the swarm of students which filled the city of Bologna, had orders to make choice between Naples and Salerno.

On the other hand, the Emperor gave every encouragement to students to fall in with the Imperial commands. The Naples University was provided with first-class lawyers, doctors, and theologians. The Emperor remunerated with royal munificence the professors of every faculty; and, just as Ptolemy called to his aid Apion of Oasis, Aristarchus of Samothrace, and Dionysius of Thrace, so Frederick procured the services of celebrated foreign doctors, at enormous cost, to give as much *éclat* as possible to the lectures in the schools—such men, for instance, as Pietro d' Ibernica and Roberto di Varano, whom the Emperor calls "*civilis scientiæ Professores, magnæ scientiæ, notæ virtutis, et fidelis experientiæ.*" Pignatello, a name conveying little meaning to the general reader, the greatest canonist of that day, left Brindisi for Naples, and astonished matured and learned men by his masterly lectures on canon law. Theology was represented by the Franciscans and Dominicans till the profound Erasmus was forced from the repose

of Monte Cassino into the whirl of the gay city, to pour forth his accumulated learning in the University chair of Theology. Then the students had many personal privileges. They could select for themselves the best houses, and could borrow money. And they were provided, like the citizens themselves, with the necessities, if not the luxuries of life. Then they were treated with exceptional respect, they were responsible only to the University, and were independent of all tribunals except their own.

The prosperity of the University had its effect upon the prosperity of the town. As the Emperor often resided here with his court, Naples became the fountain of fashion, as well as the seat of wisdom. The establishment here of the Gran Corte—the highest tribunal of judicature in the two kingdoms—added to the general *éclat*. Here it was that Pietro Delle Vigne, the brilliant orator, and Thaddeus of Sessa, who gained unenviable notoriety at the Council of Lyons, and Roffred Beneventum, celebrated for his Treatise on Legal Discipline, by their exceptional abilities, acquired a lasting fame.

By the time S. Thomas arrived at Naples, the University—which was hardly old enough to have a history—had undergone a revolution. This was brought about by the industry of the Franciscan friars. The Minorite professors—as has been said before—when Frederick was absent in the Holy Land, industriously circulated a report that he had been carried off by a plague. This report gave occasion to the rising of the enemies of the Emperor in different parts of the kingdom. On the return of Frederick these Franciscan professors, together with the Dominicans and Cassinese, were turned out of their chairs, and driven from the kingdom. Naturally, other professors had to be found to supply their place; and this new staff was in activity when S. Thomas first became connected with the University. Three of them are known to have had relations with the Saint. These were Pietro Martini, Professor of Humanities and Rhetoric; Pietro D'Ibernia, the Chancellor of the University, who lectured in Philosophy; and the profound Erasmus, the Benedictine, under whom, if we may follow Tosti, S. Thomas commenced the study of Theology.

It is more probable that S. Thomas lived with the Benedictine monks, than that he lived in lodgings, when he first went to Naples. It seems more probable that his parents should station him in a religious house, than that they should leave him, like another Daniel in Babylon, or another Tobias in Nineveh. It is a little curious that neither the ingenious Touron, nor the modern Bareille, throw out a hint at such a probability. Touron speaks

strongly of the corruption of Naples, he touches beautifully on the piety of Theodora, and thinks well of Landulf, and of Abbot Sinnebald. And he must have been aware that S. Thomas was bound up, not only by relationship, and old tradition, but by the ambition of his mother with the Cassinese. And, finally, he could not have been ignorant that there were two Benedictine Monasteries in connection with Monte Cassino at Naples, viz: S. Severino and S. Demetrio, both of which would joyfully have welcomed the nephew of Abbot Sinnebald into their community. That Theodora would have thrown up the darling project of her heart, when she saw her way to realize it, by keeping her boy in connection with the Benedictines;—that his father would suffer him to be exposed to the contagion of vice in the city, when he could live in a religious house:—or that the Saint himself, with his quiet disposition and antecedents, would not have done his best to remain with the children of S. Benedict, to say the least of it, is scarcely probable. The supposition that he lived at S. Demetrio, or San Severino, tends to solve all difficulties; the supposition that he lived in lodgings tends to create objections which seem to offer no solution.

His biographers, unfortunately, give us hardly any information with regard to the Saint's life during this early and important portion of his career. But there are two statements of Malvenda that contain more information than many a long history. It was the custom for the students, after the professor had delivered his lecture, to present themselves at a stated time, and deliver what they had heard before their companions in the schools. By this means they exercised their memory, and had an opportunity of manifesting their ability. It could not be expected that the young students, in these repetitions, would reproduce the lectures they had heard with the same ability with which they were delivered; especially when they had been composed by such professors as lectured in the University of Naples.

It was young Aquino's duty, when the time came round, to reproduce the lectures of his professor. He not only reproduced them with the same perfection with which they were delivered;— which would have been surprising enough;—but he surpassed the original compositions, and repeated them with greater depth of thought, and greater lucidity of method, than the learned professor himself was enabled to command.* The second statement follows as a necessary consequence from the first, viz., that the fame

* *Lectiones quas à magistro audierat, profundius et clarius dicebat, quam dixisset magister. (Malv. in An. p. 599.) Fama ejus per omnes scholas, et per Neapolim volitabat (id).*

of this extraordinary boy spread amongst all the schools connected with the University, and throughout the city of Naples.*

* Those who feel tempted to doubt the Saint's extraordinary gift might recall, that Mozart gave concerts at the age of seven, which astonished grey-headed musicians. Raphael, before the ordinary age of finished pupilage, was master of every known detail in art of oil or fresco, drawing, expressing, and grand composition. (*See Wiseman's Shakspeare*, p. 33.) Again, Pico of Mirandola, a youth of twenty, exhibited himself at Rome as master of twenty languages, and proposed nine hundred subjects for disputation. (*See Newman's Mission of S. Philip*, p. 9.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE POPE AND THE EMPIRE.

WHILST Naples was ringing with the praises of young Aquino, the gentle youth himself was occupied with more serious and important thoughts. Had he been a young man without much breadth or penetration, in all human probability he would have lived and died a Benedictine monk.* But his mind was far too clear, and his judgment far too accurate to be swayed either by the prejudices of his parents, or by the pressure of circumstances. A youth who was a more brilliant expositor of truth than its professors, who could enunciate it with greater lucidity than masters of philosophic method, would, surely, during his stay in the gay centre of Southern Italy, have observed with interest the various phases of the period in which he lived. Men of ordinary understanding take little account of the huge levers that move the world, and experience little temptation to grapple with them as instruments of good, or to master them as powers of destruction. They are made for a work fitting their compass; and their hearts are not stirred, because their vision is narrowed within the range of their intellectual capacity. Such men are full of usefulness;—and make up the staple of labouring humanity in the world, and in the Church. But they are not the originators of great undertakings; nor the men to watch keenly the great movements of the world, to master them, and guide them to great results.

But, Thomas must have been sensible of his power; and when looking on the world's great energies for evil or for good fighting fiercely for the mastery, he must have asked his heart this question: "Am I to gird myself to the struggle, or am I to live in solitude on the mountain?"

* To appreciate adequately the spirit of S. Thomas, and the formation of his character, it cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that the Benedictines had the making of him till he was capable (putting it at the lowest) of thinking for himself, and of expressing his thoughts like an educated man;—nay, of surpassing learned and practised professors upon subjects in which they were acknowledged *experts*. A man's spirit and his character—his formation as a working power—is not to be judged arbitrarily by months or years, but by the rate at which his faculties ripen and mature. S. Thomas, when in years quite a youth, was, in intellect and character, a formed, consolidated, and finished man. His future life was but a natural growth—the clear result, under favourable circumstances, of that training, and those traditions, and teachings, amongst which he had been carefully formed in early youth. The Dominican Order being too young to possess a tradition, Providence planted S. Thomas where a tradition flourished. When the tree had been formed, it was transplanted into its new soil:—and S. Dominic acknowledges a pleasing debt to the Patriarch of Western monks. The Benedictines and Dominicans have ever been sympathetic friends, and ready ever for a mutual interchange of kindly offices.

The scene that opened before him was sufficiently exciting. On the one hand, the Church, Monasticism, and the Schools; on the other, the Empire, Chivalry, and Law. The former representing that great principle which, after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, and the barbarian flood, like a germ of moral nobleness sunk into the hearts of men, then, rising to their intelligences, fashioned them upon a Christian mould into a Christian people; and, whilst it gave laws of order to the social system, directed the noblest energies of man towards a higher world. The public expression of this principle, in the face of the world, was the Papacy. Christ is God's, and God is in Heaven; and the Pope is the Vicar of Christ. His are the keys; his is the power; he binds, he loosens. It was this principle that made the Popes, taking them as a class, the most enlightened rulers the world has ever seen. They were civilizers, peace-makers, patrons of all that elevates or adorns human nature—men with world-wide views, stretching from end to end mightily—martyrs for the truth first, then, rulers of men—and filled with the energy of a supernatural principle which lies beyond the grasp, and out of the range, of mere temporal princes and material politicians.

What men would ignore at this day, was openly professed in the ages of faith. Men were convinced that the power which had to wrestle with the fierce instincts of a half-barbarous world, should possess an immovable centre from which to energize. The empire of Christ could not carry out the full scope of its high vocation, except it were firmly seated in the midst of men. In a word, the temporal power was ever considered a useful instrument for securing the independence of the Pontiff, and a guarantee for the free exercise of the high principles of Christianity, amidst the diabolical jars of the political world. This is evident in the case of Gregory the Second. It is the key to the donation of the Exarchate, and of Pentapolis (751); to the homage of Robert Guiscard, for the Duchy of Puglia (1059); and to the magnificent generosity of the Countess Matilda. The steady rise of the Roman Pontiffs to the full orb of their power, has its motive in this principle. Men were glad to introduce the sanctifying influence of the supernatural order, amidst the secular influences of political life. They honestly recognized the benignant influence of ecclesiastical law, the lofty example of many Pontiffs, and the spirit of self-sacrifice in the religious orders, springing, as one might say, like another Eve, out of the side of the Christian Church. They could not but look with reverence, nay, with awe—upon the dispensers of Christ's body and blood, who, by professing to live for another world, became examples of the highest Christian virtue in this.

That there were abuses, and, at times, wide-spread infections, that priests have sinned, and bishops have been rapacious, is as true as that human nature is often stronger than the stoutest bonds of religion. But, taking a broad view—(and in large questions, breadth of view is indispensable for forming a fair estimate)—across the length and breadth of Church influence on political life, on society, on civilization, on freedom, on the higher springs of man's nature, which the delicate mechanism of supernatural religion alone can reach—it must be admitted that the Church's influence for good adequately accounts for the position she attained. Amidst all that confusion, one principle stood written with glittering letters on the brow of every Pontiff:—"My kingdom is not of this world." The very position of the temporal power, being looked upon as merely an *Ancilla* to the supernatural action of the Popes, is, itself, a partial confirmation of this. Had Rome never possessed any temporal power at all, men might have made, to her disadvantage, a supposition, which is no sooner made *now*, than it is refuted by the bearings of historic facts. Rome has wielded the power of earth; but it was simply as an auxiliary, a *Servus* to a higher and nobler vocation.

If some Popes seemed to combat keenly for place and power,—as the world would say—it was simply for power to direct society more surely to its end; and for place, in order more easily to control the wayward passions of mankind. The principle which induces monks to renounce all property by vow, was no invention of the middle ages. Many of the most powerful of the Popes in the civil order had lived in cells, and had vowed poverty and obedience. The greatest Popes of the Church, as a rule, had no more ambition of human riches, place, or power, than the shaven friar of S. Francis, or the grave Cistercian ploughing up the wilderness. In Popes and friars the principle is one. In the former, it is concealed by the pageantry of place, and the necessary splendour of a throne; in the latter, it is forced upon the attention of the world, in the sandals, the sacking, the cord, and the shaven crown.*

The Catholic, who studies principles from within, does not simply judge by what glitters before the eye, or vibrates in the ear. He judges supernatural works by supernatural principles. To the Protestant, the supernatural world has no existence. To

* "To be detached," says Dr. Newman, "is to be loosened from every tie which binds the soul to the earth, to be dependent on nothing sublunary, to lean on nothing temporal; it is to care simply nothing what other men choose to think or say of us, or do to us; to go about our own work, because it is our duty, as soldiers go to battle, without a care for the consequences; to account credit, honour, name, easy circumstances, comfort, human affections, just nothing at all, when any religious objection involves the sacrifice of them. . . . Now this 'detachment' is one of the special ecclesiastical virtues of the Popes." (*Newman on Universities*, cap. XI., p. 196-7.)

ignore a guiding principle, is equivalent to creating inextricable confusion amongst the facts that depend upon it. And, never do men more helplessly stumble in the dark—like the blind using hands in the place of eyes—than rationalistic historians, when, having ignored the only principle on which “Rome” can be interpreted, they constitute themselves as judges of the conduct of the Holy See.

But why, it may be asked, did the Empire come into collision with the Holy See?

The answer is not far off. The Church and the world have ever been opposed. The pagan world, with sword and flame, persecuted the early Church,—and was vanquished by her: the barbarian world would have swallowed her up—and she transformed it. It became, out of chaos, Christian. It grew in power. It tasted of the rich things, and the mighty things of life; it grew proud, and waxed worldly. The contest is the energizing antagonism of worldliness and Christianity. No doubt the keen perception of our Saint could detect this principle running through the history of temporal usurpations. He could perceive why sovereigns craved after the title of Kings of Rome, why they loved to put on the iron crown of Lombardy, and why, in the Diet of Roncaglia (1158), they obtained the plenitude of regalian rights.* He could trace their growing ambition as, by degrees, they stepped from the territory of secular princes upon the sacred rights of the Roman Pontiffs, and with singular audacity proclaimed that, through Otto the Great (963), they could interfere in the elections of Popes; and, that, as successors of Augustus, and heirs of Charlemagne, to them, and them alone, belonged the dominion of the earth. That such pretensions as these would cause a rupture with the first Pontiff who made a stand against their overbearing arrogance, requires little power of prophecy to anticipate. The rupture came. The contest began upon investitures. The brute force of Henry IV. was opposed by the genius, and energy, of Gregory VII. The war-cries of Guelf, and Ghibeline, which appear to have been first used at the battle of Winsberg (1140), in the form of Welf, and Weibling, and can be traced to the struggles of Philip and Otto, of Frederick and Henry (1180), of Conrad of Suabia, and Henry the Proud, were no longer hemmed in by the Danube and Baltic, but passed the Alps, and resounded in the Italian Peninsula.

The Hohenstaufens, a family of Weibling, became Dukes of Suabia (1080), quarrelled with the Guelfs of Bavaria, and, waxing

* See Ozanam's *Œuvres complètes*, *Tome VI.*, *Ed. 2*, p. 342.

powerful, attacked Pope Gregory VII. The Pontiff was defended by Welf, the first Duke of Bavaria, and thus the war-cry entered Italy. From this time, till the overthrow of Frederick the Second, the respective supporters of the Empire and the Church, went by the name of the Ghibelines and Guelfs. Welf II. was the husband of Countess Matilda,—that open-handed benefactress of Pope Gregory VII. Without such support the Holy See would have often been placed in greatest peril. Had it not been for the battle of Lignano (1176), and the defection of Henry the Lion, Pope Alexander, and his Lombard league, would, in all human probability, have been utterly crushed by the fury of Frederick Barbarossa, who, for the third time, crossed the Alps, bent upon extermination. The Ghibelines reached their zenith, when the Suabian family got a foot in Sicily (1190), by the marriage of Constance with Henry the Fourth.* But, the genius, and generals, even of the Hohenstaufens were not a match for the power of the Keys. The mightiest men of this period had to curb their necks to the successor of the fisherman; and Frederick himself, with all his arrogance, fell at last, struck down by the thunderings of the Council of Lyons.†

Now, at the time in which Thomas was studying his vocation, the Pope and the Emperor were in desperate antagonism. The flame of war spread from principalities to towns, from towns to families, from families to servants. The manner in which the war-cries were accounted for by the people, point out the terrific nature of the combat. Some said they could be traced to two devils, who dwelt in two mountains of Sicily, and whose worshippers were ever engaged, with implacable hatred, in an internecine war; others, that they were the two women seen fighting in the clouds at Manfred's death; the Florentines declared they were two dogs which quarrelled in the Piazza: when the children saw the dogs fight, they took sides and fought; then their families joined; then their relations; then the whole town; then all Italy; till, finally, the whole earth was in an uproar. It suffices to mention Venice and Genoa, Florence and Pisa, Pistoja and Arezzo, Modena and Bologna, Cremona and Milano, the Montecchi and Capelletti, the Gieremieï and Lambertazzi, the Torriani and Visconti, the

* Ozanam, p. 340.

† The influence of the spiritual power in those days can be understood from the power even of Legates to ruin a man by excommunication. "Un légat"—says La Marche—"avait été arrêté dans le Diocèse de Valence, par un seigneur félon, qui, après l'avoir dépouillé de tous ses effets et de ses chevaux, l'avait laissé aller, lui et ses gens, dans un dénûment complet. Le coupable fut excommunié, avec sa tour et son domaine; et quelque temps après, les passants s'arrêtaient avec stupeur devant ce manoir, présentant une masse imposante de constructions, et devenu sans guerre aucune, un lieu sauvage et désolé: les habitants avaient fui, les terres étaient frappées de stérilité, le seigneur et toute sa race étaient tombés dans l'aliénation et la misère. . . . Etienne de Bourbon cite deux autres exemples d'interdit jeté sur des biens-fonds. (p. 319.)

Orsini and Colonna, to bring before the reader's memory the terribly agitated state of society at this period.

A brief sketch of the three great powers,—political, heretical, and religious,—which must have influenced S. Thomas in choosing his state of life,—will come conveniently here.

The rupture between the Emperor and the Pope brought Frederick into the Papal dominions, where he took Foligno, Toscanella, Viterbo, Montefiascone, and many other strongholds belonging to the Holy See. Whilst the Emperor assailed the Pope with the arm of the flesh, the Pontiff had recourse to the God of Battles. He assembled at S. John Lateran's the clergy and prelates of the Eternal City, and they formed a large procession, carrying the sacred heads of SS. Peter and Paul, and a priceless relic of the Holy Cross. Half the population joined the solemn pageant as it slowly advanced, and entered into the Great Basilica of S. Peter's. Here the Pontiff addressed the multitude. In solemn and emphatic language, he spoke of the detestable iniquities of Frederick, declared a crusade against him, and invited the multitude to join the holy war. This appeal of the Vicar of Christ, made in the most splendid Basilica in the world, in presence of these touching instruments of religion, had a magical effect. A gallant army, filled with enthusiasm, was gathered together, and had several engagements with the enemy. Frederick was so stung by having a crusade published against him, that he ordered the heads of all the Clavissignati that were taken prisoners to be cut into four parts, and a cross to be branded on the brow. But, Rome was saved; and Frederick, having ravaged the country round, burnt what he could not carry away, and then marched back into his own possessions.

But the Pontiff was by no means content. He thought it advisable to call on the Catholic powers to protect the patrimony of the Holy See. He summoned a Council at Lateran for the Easter of the following year. He sent legates to England, Scotland, and Spain, to invite the bishops to come and witness with their own eyes the enormities of Frederick, and assist the Holy See in making head against her enemies. This move exasperated the Emperor's ungovernable pride. He wrote off to the King of England, conjuring him to stop the English prelates; and, with brutal threats, expressed the like desire to the Germans, and the French. He sent his son to Genoa with instructions not to suffer the bishops to advance, to take as many of them prisoners as he could, and to harass the Genoese, who were friendly to the Pontiff.

Meantime, a large gathering of foreign arch-bishops, bishops, and prelates had assembled at Genoa, together with cardinals from

England and Scotland. Dreading the army of the Emperor, the prelates determined to take the sea in the Genoese galleys, commanded by Admiral Guglielmo Ubriachi. But they were intercepted by twenty of the Imperial galleys, commanded by Ugolino. On the third of May, not far distant from the little Island of Meloria, between Porto Pisano and the Island of Corsica, the fleets came into collision. The Genoese suffered a terrible defeat. Three legates, all the prelates, and a host of ambassadors, together with about four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Twenty-two galleys were taken, and three others were scuttled, and foundered into the sea. Of the prelates, some were butchered near Meloria, others were flung into prison, at Naples, Salerno, and other towns along the coast; and perished, either of starvation, or from the hardships and indignities suffered in their dungeons.

Gregory, when he heard of this disaster, became as sad as death. Then the advance of the Imperial troops into the very heart of the patrimony of S. Peter, the rifling of churches and shrines of their sacred treasures, the treachery of Cardinal Colonna, the destruction of Monte Albano and Tivoli, and finally the violent and shameful death of his own relations, inflicted by a band of ruffians, who had seized their castle by surprise, was more than could be borne by a mind, already ulcerated and wearied by years of contest and anxiety. Gregory died of a broken heart in 1241.

To this fever, in the political world, corresponded the religious aberrations of men's imaginations.* The Albigenses, whose suppression took at least 200 years, from Eugenius III. to Alexander IV., had grown into the proportions of a Church when Innocent III. became Pope; and had spread from the Danube to the Pyrenees, and from Rome to England. In France, they went by the name of Albigenses, from the town of Albi, their principal stronghold. Their doctrines resembled more the cruel fanaticism, and fantastic creations of Asia, than the tenets of a European people. They had more in common with the Brahma, Siva, and Wischnu of India, with Ormuzd, and Ahriman of the Bactrians, or with Osiris, and Serapis of Ethiôpia and Egypt, than with Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

They believed in two gods,—a god of matter, filled with the most devilish malice; and a god of spirit, who was benign.† Spirit was pure, matter essentially satanic. The god of evil enticed some of the inhabitants of heaven to the earth, robbed them of their spiritual bodies, and imprisoned them in heavy forms of clay. Devils walked amongst men in human form, and dragged

* See the decrees of the Councils of Avignon, 1209; Montpellier, 1214; Tours, 1163; Verona 1184; Toulouse, 1229; Béziers, 1233 and 1246; Albi, 1254.

† See Hefele. *Concil. Geschichte: Fünfte Bd. Zweit Abteilung*, p. 732, § 645.

them to perdition. Christ was a creature—some held, a myth; all agree that he was born of an angel, without sex, and died simply in appearance. The Old Testament was the Bible of the Devil, S. John the Baptist an imposter, and the Church the instrument of hell for the destruction of the elect. Sin consisted in defilement with matter. The *Perfecti* fasted with cruel rigour, held marriage to be wicked; and, after leading the lives of maniacs, deemed it a virtue, having received the *consolamentum*, to destroy themselves by opening a vein, or by starvation;—that they might thus leave the wicked earth of sense, and, escaping from the body, soar into the kingdom of pure spirits. Innocent III. declared that the Albigenses were more full of violence than the Saracens, and that their teaching was more opposed to Christianity than the Koran. Then, there were the followers of Peter De Bruys, the Henricians, whose founder was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the Council of Rheims (1148); the Catharites, who spread from Italy to England; the Ebionite, and Arian sects of the Circumcised of Lombardy; the Poor Men of Lyons, who rivalled the Albigenses in their satanic hatred of the hierarchical order of the Church; and endless risings of maddened and infuriated men, thirsting for pillage and destruction, who threatened by their theory and their practice to upset the foundations of supernatural religion, and those first principles by which Christian society is bound together.* The Trinity, the Incarnation, the Church itself, the priesthood, and the sacraments, the laws of social life, of marriage, of property, of authority, of the civil order, all, indiscriminately, became the objects of their fierce attack, and devilish hatred. Their principles spread throughout Italy, Spain, Germany, and France. The Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who careered from place to place, clothed like maniacs, and yelling for bread, partook of the common intoxication. Their immoralities, their blasphemy, their inversion of the commonest laws of nature, their obscene practices, besotted with impurity, show to what an excess human nature can be carried, when no longer subject to supernatural control. Wilhelmina of Bohemia, who lived at Milan, believed, and made others believe, that the Holy Ghost was incarnate in her person. Gerard Sagarelli made his followers wander about to imitate the Apostles, with long gray beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied by loose women who were called their sisters. His successor, Dulcinus,

* Cette coalition s'affilia de nombreux rassemblements de pillards, Brabançons, Aragonais, Basques, routiers, cottaux, triaverdins, disposés, à porter partout le fer et le feu. Avec de pareils partisans, la cruauté devait se mêler au fanatisme et provoquer des représailles désavouées par la religion, quand elles ne l'auraient pas été par ses ministres. La Somme des Conciles Généraux et particuliers par L'Abbé Guyot. Paris, Victor Palmé, Deuxième Partie, cap. III., p. 82. 1868.

waged a bloody contest against the Pope, but finally, together with the bad women who shared his iniquities, was made to suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

And the clergy seem hardly to have been in a fit state for confronting successfully the passionate fanaticism of these lawless men. Speaking of certain prelates, who dressed expensively, Cardinal Vitry says: "How can they blame women, whom the Apostle forbids to wear precious ornaments, when they themselves delight in the softness of a sumptuous costume? Anyhow, women have the intention of pleasing their husbands as an excuse: but whose favour are they seeking who make profession of imitating and preaching Jesus Christ? . . . Should not all this tinsel be stripped off them at the moment of death, and sold like the skin of that cat used as a plaything by the Paris students?" In another place he says, that "the bad priest gives the kiss of Judas four times in celebrating mass;—to the altar, to the paten, to the book of the Gospel, and to the minister or assistant" Godfrey of Troyes uses very strong language:—"Plunged in material things, the priest troubles himself little about intellectual things. He differs from the people in his dress, not in his spirit; in appearance, not in reality. He teaches in the pulpit that which he gives the lie to by his works. The tonsure, dress, and language, give him a superficial varnish of religion (*umbratilem picturam*); and within, under the skin of the sheep, are hidden hypocrites, and ravening wolves." Again, Elinand, who had had all the experience of a wild life himself, says: "What priest blushes to appear in public well combed, to walk with a soft gait unworthy of his sex—in a word, to be a woman? Look at those who ought to give an example of modesty, gravity, and mortification to others: you see them got up with minute care, their hair curled (*calamistrato crine*), the parting well-made, the face fresh-shaved, the skin cleaned with pumice-stone, the head uncovered, the shoulders naked . . . the hands shod, and the feet with gloves on (*calceatis manibus, chirotecatibus pedibus*). What is wanting to them more to make them look like libertines, to bring shame upon the order to which they belong? All day they are looking out for a mirror: they walk about with a spotless dress, and with a soul all soiled; their fingers shine bright with rings, and their eyes with the brightness of their smile. Their tonsure is so small that it looks less like the mark of a churchman than that of a venal body.*" Then, "they build great palaces under pretext of devotion, saying that they do so to give them to their Church, to

* Tissier VII., 269.

increase the worship of God. They want to have houses in Paris like those of the English barons in London.”* Then concubinage † was another evil which the Church was ever striving against in the clergy, and which, together with pride, riches, simony, nepotism, and other miseries, rendered the work of making head against the fierce sincerity of heretics, who knew how to stain the minds of the people, and make the most of the sins of priests, a very terrible task.

Still, it must not be imagined that there was not a large body of devoted clergy and earnest men on the side of purity, truth, and order. The rust had eaten into the clergy; but had not destroyed them. This state of things gave a handle to the enemy, and called loudly for some organization, which could oppose the mighty evil in the Christian world.

Two more extracts, and then this disagreeable subject will have been sufficiently illustrated. S. Bernard says, then, “Infant scholars, beardless boys, are promoted to ecclesiastical dignities for their gentle blood, and pass from under the ferula to the government of the Church, sometimes thinking more of their emancipation from the rod, than of the authority with which they are invested, better pleased to have escaped one control, than to have assumed another.” ‡ Thirty years later, Peter of Blois writes:—“O empty glory, O blind ambition; O miserable thirst after earthly honours. O that desire of dignity, that worm that gnaws the heart, that ruin of the soul! Whence has the plague come upon us, whence has our execrable presumption the hardihood with which it excites the unworthy to aim at dignities, men whose eagerness in pursuit is proportionate to their unfitness for office? Through every avenue, without concern for soul or body, these unhappy men fling themselves upon the pastoral chair, which has become for them an envenomed seat, and for all a source of perdition.”||

On the other hand, in opposition to the excitement of political life, and the fanaticism of heretics, and the imperfection of priests, chosen men prepared quiet havens in which others could repose, and look out, calmly, on the thundering ocean of human life beyond them. In the eleventh century, there was a steady move-

* De La Marche, p. 330.

† “Ce vice était si fortement ancré chez quelques-uns, que, s'ils venaient à recevoir de leur évêque l'injonction d'opter entre leur femme et leur paroisse, ils préféraient abandonner celle-ci: alors la première les abandonnait à leur tour, les voyant sans ressources. Avant même d'être privés de leur cure ils tombaient dans la misère et se laissaient dépouiller entièrement. . . . Dans certaines localités, les populations avaient tellement horreur de la prestresse, comme on l'appelait, que personne, à l'église, ne voulait échanger avec elle le baiser de paix. Le paysan qui craignait de voir ses récoltes mangées dans ses greniers répétait ce refrain:—

Je vos conjur, sorriz et raz,
Ne plus que n'a part en la messe
Cil qui prent pais à la prestresse.”

(De La Marche, p. 331.)

‡ Letter XI. to Henry, Archbishop of Sens.

|| Letter to Card. Octavian.

ment in this direction—the Order of Grammont, instituted by S. Stephen (1073—1083), the Carthusians, who by their rigid silence, and long vigils, betokened a strong reaction against the license of worldly life (1084), the Cistercians (1098), the Camaldolese (1023), the Vallombrosians (1039), the Order of Fontevraud (1094), and the Order of S. Anthony (1093). Then, near his own time, S. Thomas could see the movement still unspent in the Premonstratensians, founded by S. Norbert (1120), and the Carmelites (1156); or, directed in a more active course, in the Brethren of the Hospital (1176), the Trinitarians (1193), the Knights Templars (1128), the Hospitallers (1099), the Order of Teutonic Knights, founded during the siege of Ptolemais about 1190; and the Brethren of the Sword, founded by Albert, Bishop of Livonia (1202), besides many other military orders in Portugal and Spain.*

S. Thomas must have seen that an organized power alone could meet the world; and that the Church alone, out of the fulness of her own life, had created influences which had broken the enemy to pieces, and had left her more triumphant than ever, because the heroine of another marvellous success. In civilizing the Northmen, who came from their forests into the fertile plains of the south, S. Benedict was the instrument made use of by the Almighty. Young Aquino saw what an immense power monasticism had been in the world which was passing away. He could trace the influence of men of solitude, who, when brought by accident amidst the conflicts of active life, proved to the world that they had not ventured a life of loneliness in vain. He could follow the track of silent men who had gone down the mountain side, and had left at their deaths tokens of their labours worthy of their origin, in spite of Goth, Hun, Tartar, or Lombard,—splendid cloisters, learned schools, precious libraries, stately churches, and a civilized and happy people, living in cultivated and fertile plains, where they had found wild morass and impenetrable forest, robbers, snakes, and wild beasts.†

But he also saw that the world had changed. The efforts of the reformers of solitude and contemplation had not been able to direct its course. Cîteaux and Clairvaux had done a work indeed, but it was not the work of directing the stream of human thought. They had not perceptibly affected the world. The old methods seemed to have dropped out of use. The principle of *quies* had done its work for a time. Monte Cassino and its glories were

* So eager were men after the novelty of religious devotedness, that Innocent III. forbade any more Orders to be instituted.

† "Ne nimia religiosorum diversitas," says the IV. Council of Lateran, "gravem in Ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat; sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. (*An.* 1215, c. 13.)

† See origin of Cassino, Subiaco, Cava, Jumièges, Richenau, S. Gall, Fulda, Clairvaux, Cîteaux, and the great majority of Benedictine foundations.

almost visions of the past. Men would no longer fly the world, and bury themselves in monastic retreats. They would not be content with the silent monotony of the cloister, and take wisdom from the lips of men whose principal conversation was with nature and nature's God. Some great flow had entered into the channels of human life. Discovery and travel, and enterprise, excited the imagination, and men loved activity better than silent thought. They congregated in towns, and the teaching of the monastery gave way to the excitement and uproar of university life. Meditation and singing psalms, and long vigils, were little suited to the nervous, and almost fanatical temper of the growing world. What then, Thomas would ask himself, is the instrument or the organism, created to oppose the powers of the world?

The Order of S. Francis, and the Order of S. Dominic, were created by the Church for resisting the mighty pressure. The former, whose characteristics of poverty and love, the latter, whose specialities of eloquence and learning, were to manifest the perfection of Christianity in a world full of the pomp of riches, the fire of passion, the secret canker of misbelief, and the maddening influences of pantheistic mysticism. Fortunately for humanity, those passions which were most sensitive to the action of fanatics, were no less responsive to the eloquence of men, who, despising the comforts of life, and abhorring the aberrations of philosophy, aimed at raising up humanity from the anarchy of passion, and the idolatry of pride.

These two Orders had chairs in the University of Naples, when S. Thomas was surprising the students with his talents. The Order of S. Dominic seems to have been particularly flourishing. No doubt young Aquino was struck by the devotedness and ability of the Dominican professors. Besides counteracting the evils which were raging in society, the Order was charged with the heroism of an institution in its primitive fervour, whose founder had not long been taken to his reward. Thomas, no doubt, had heard this man's history, and had found in it much that fascinated a mind so noble, and so gentle as his own. The special scope of the Order, its love for learning, its active ministrations to humanity while still retaining the self-restraint of solitaries and the humility of monks, must have struck a new chord, or an old chord in a new fashion, in the heart of the Saint. Anyhow, he soon became intimate with the fathers of the Order. Many an earnest talk he had, no doubt, with his dear familiar friend, John a Sancto Facundo;* many a discussion on the merits of the old method

* Costui considerando la virtù, conditione, ed habilità di Tomaso, con belle ragioni, e persuasioni confermò il suo santo proposito e l'essortò, che lasciasse il Mondo, ed entrasse nella sua Religione. (*Vita*, p. 9.)

of contemplation, and of these spiritual knight-errants who mixed in the dust, and joined in the battle of active life.

The young man was often seen in the Church of S. Dominic, after his companions had retired to their cells to rest, and when gay young men were wasting their energies away in the wicked city. The Dominicans, perceiving how deeply he was impressed, watched him with a lively interest, and prayed fervently that so much talent, and so much promise might find the most favourable field for its display. Hundreds, famed for their genius, many of high lineage and alluring prospects, had been seduced by the heavenly influences that radiated from the great Order of S. Dominic. Why not Thomas of Aquin also? He was a Benedictine; but so was S. Dominic a Canon Regular of S. Augustine. Once, one brother, who had employed himself in watching the Saint, returned full of admiration to his brethren, declaring that he had seen the face of young Aquino, like that of another Stephen, darting forth, on all sides, rays of supernatural light, as he prayed before the great altar in S. Dominic's.*

The issue was what might have been anticipated. S. Thomas expressed a wish to abandon the monks, and join the friars. To the stability, largeness, and self-control of the Benedictine, he was going to add the learning, eloquence, and judicial steadiness of a Dominican. If the Dominicans were raised up to combat the special errors of those days, S. Thomas was providentially raised up amongst the Dominicans for reducing to practice the perfection of S. Dominic's spirit. It was by a special Providence that the Saint became a Benedictine, the Providence was no less special that turned him into a Dominican.† He petitioned for the habit. His request was granted. Thomas of Aquino became a brother of the Friars Preachers.‡

* *Frater quidam ingenium ejus vehementer admirans, videre sibi visus est radios quosdam luculentos de ejus vultu vibrari; qui longè lateque diffusi cernentium oculos illustrarent.* (*Malv. an. p. 600.*)

Del cui angelico volto, come d'un altro Stefano, alcuni d'essi vedono uscire splendentissimi raggi di celeste luce. (*Frigerio, B., II., p. 11.*)

Something the same is related of S. Enthymius, S. Philip, Abbot Mark, and others.

† So "S. Philip was prepared by S. Benedict, S. Dominic, and S. Ignatius. From eight to eighteen, ten years, he was under the teaching of S. Dominic: from eighteen to twenty-eight or twenty-nine, he was with S. Benedict and the ancient Saints of Rome. . . . As, then, he learnt from S. Benedict *what to be*, and from S. Dominic *what to do*, so, let us consider that from S. Ignatius he learnt *how he was to do it*." (*Dr. Newman's Mission of S. Philip, p. 35, 37.*)

‡ Authors disagree about his age at this time. For instance, Tolomeo da Lucca says he was 16; Morosini and Lacordaire say he was 17.

CHAPTER V.

S. FRANCIS AND S. DOMINIC.

IN the middle ages, in spite of the power of her enemies, the Church had reached the topmost height of social eminence and worldly splendour. Never before, in the eyes of the world, had she appeared more full of vigour, and never before had she used that vigour with more triumphant success. But she had her human element. The vast riches which had been accumulated by the monastic bodies, the wealth of the secular order spread throughout Europe, became a source of envy to the laity, who began to long more after the temporal goods which she possessed, than after her spiritual ministrations. Pride, and simony amongst the clergy, and other scandals, which godly men bewailed, held out to thousands of prying eyes, sharpened by hunger and fanaticism, arguments which were difficult to answer, when once they had been impressed upon the popular mind. The Popes had constantly directed their energies to upset abuses. From Gregory VII. downwards, they were ever striving to purify, and elevate, the mass of corruption which had encrusted itself about the sanctuary. Holy men saw, with eyes illuminated by the Holy Ghost, the dangers which threatened the Church, and, with great effort, attempted to renew the early days of Pentecost. But the steady pressure of the tide seemed almost too heavy for Popes, councils, and reformers, till Dominic and Francis created two enormous instruments for elevating the Christian world out of its entanglements, into a more healthy and a freer atmosphere.*

The Order of S. Dominic and S. Francis were so intimately bound up with our Saint, that to omit touching upon them would render it very difficult fully to appreciate his life.†

* The following shows the immense influence exerted by the Franciscans and Dominicans in imperial and ecclesiastical affairs:—"Quant à l'influence politique qu'exerça le bataillon sacré qu'on en juge par l'énoncé de ce document: '*Les frères mineurs et les frères prêcheurs, écrivait Pierre des Vignes, chancelier de l'empereur Frédéric II., à l'empereur, son maître, se sont élevés contre nous dans la haine; ils ont réprouvé publiquement votre vie et votre conversation; ils ont brisé vos droits et nous ont réduits au néant . . . Et voilà que pour énerver encore plus votre puissance et vous priver du dévouement des peuples, ils ont créé deux nouvelles confréries qui embrassent universellement les hommes et les femmes; tous y accourent et à peine se trouve-t-il une personne dont le nom n'y soit inscrit.*' *Hist. de Saint François*, par M. Emile Chavlin de Malan. See D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand, mouvement religieux*, p. 62.

† "L'un fu tutto serafice in adore,
L'altro per sapienza in terra fine
Di cherubica luce uno splendore."
(*Dante Parad. XI.* 37-40.)

immaculate spouse. Then he rode off, sold his horse and clothes, and, hurrying to S. Damasus,' offered the money to the priest for repairing the Church. The priest refused the offer.* Francis flung the money out of the window, and then buried himself in a dark pit, fearing the anger of his father. Here he lay a whole month. At the end of this period, so great a courage was wrought in him that he came forth, and offered himself, freely, to the insults, and passionate reproaches of his persecutors.† The people of the town, on seeing him so emaciated and changed, thought that his head was turned, and that he had gone mad. They hunted him with shouts and yells, and pelted him with mud and stones. But Francis, his heart brimming with that strange supernatural joy, gave thanks to God. Next, his father throttled him, and having flogged him unmercifully, cast him into a fetid dungeon. His mother set him free. And again the extraordinary young man presented himself before his father, and declared that he would bear with joy any ill-treatment he thought fit to inflict upon him. Finding that he could not move the youth, the father thought to secure his property; so he hurried him off to the Bishop, to make an act of formal resignation. Francis accompanied his father with the greatest delight. Before the Bishop could say a word, he had stripped himself stark naked, and in this condition stood before his judge, intoxicated with the idea of abandoning all he had for Christ.‡ The Bishop here saw the finger of God, and throwing his cloak about the young man, embraced him tenderly.

The next thing that we hear of him is of his singing joyfully through the woods, songs and hymns in praise of God. Whilst thus engaged, he was set upon by thieves, who demanded brutally of him "Who are you?" "I am the herald of the Mighty King," he replied, singing out to them with transports of joy; upon which they took him, and beat him, and hurled him into a deep ditch, full of drifted snow, and shouted down at him "Lie there, then, thou rough herald of God!" When they had departed, Francis got out, shook himself free, and set forth as before, singing away through the woods his cheerful melodies to God. Next, he disguised himself, and did scullion's work in a monastery. Then he tended lepers—a class he once so greatly loathed, and kissed their miserable sores and wounds with loving transport. He repaired churches. He dressed like the hermits of S. Augustine. But

* *Viderat enim eum, ut ita dicam, pene altera die enormiter vivere ultra cognatos et notos, et supra ceteros suam stultitiam exaltare.* (p. 585. 9.)

† *Perfundebatur tamen indicibili letitia quadam, hactenus inexpectata, in qua totus ignescens, relicta fovea, palam se persecutoribus exposuit maledictis.* (p. 585. 10.)

‡ *"Sed continuo depositis et projectis vestimentis, restituit ea patri: iusuper etiam, nec femoralia retinens, totus coram omnibus denudatur.* (p. 586. 15.)

hearing in church one day the Gospel which tells of the Apostles abandoning all things to follow Christ, he was set on fire with a new delight, and exclaimed "This is what I want, this is the very thing I seek! This I yearn after with all the intensity of my heart!"* With incredible joy he cast away his shoes and his stick, and putting on a rough tunic, commenced a life of utter poverty and self-contempt.

Now he began preaching with intense vehemence, with wonderful simplicity. With all the fire of his beating heart, he spoke of God, of Christ, of peace, of poverty. He always began with the words "*Dominus det vobis pacem*," for at this period the world was filled with factions and war. A poor idiot first joined him, then Ægidius and Philip, and four others. They often beheld him wrapped in ecstasy. In one of those states, he saw, like S. Paul, what no human language could express, was assured of pardon, and saw in vision the future spread of his mighty Order. He now sent his disciples two and two to preach penance, peace, and remission of sins. Eager multitudes pressed around them; many joined the Order. Villages and towns went forth to listen to him. He was regarded as a visitant from another world. Men were impressed by his deep earnestness, his intense self-immolation, and his vehement impetuosity of Divine affection. We are assured that the whole face of society was changed by the fiery simplicity of the extraordinary eloquence welling up from that large and loving heart.

He called his brethren *Fratres Minores*, to remind them that they were last of all. Their practice of poverty was most severe.† They slept in caves and pits, and joyfully partook of the hospitality of lepers and outcasts. Their spirits overflowed with supernatural joy when, in imitation of Christ, they had an opportunity of suffering chains, and prisons, and smittings. They were ever meek, gentle, and filled with guileless charity. Their prayers were simple and earnest, their austerities terrific. In temptation, they would cast themselves, in mid-winter, into ponds floating with broken ice. Their food was rarely cooked, often it was mixed with ashes.‡ On one occasion Francis being ill indulged in a piece of

* "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses; nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff." *Math. X. 9.*

Hoc est inquit, quod volo;—hoc est quod quero: hoc totis medullis cordis facere concupisco. (*p. 588. 22.*)

† "He used to pick up paper, and take care of it if written upon," says Cellano. If asked why, he would answer:—"Fili, literæ sunt, ex quibus componitur gloriosissimum nomen Dei."

‡ This wonderful spirit of mortification spread to the orders of chivalry. James of Vitry speaks of a chevalier "que ses frères avaient surnommé *le pain et l'eau*, et qui tombait de cheval au premier choc, tant il était affaibli. Son compagnon le relevait toujours; mais il se lassa d'un pareil exercice, et finit par lui dire: Seigneur Pain-et-eau, prenez garde à vous: car si vous vous laissez choir de nouveau, je vous abandonne." (*De la Marche, p. 368.*)

Bossuet says in his beautiful way; "François fut peut-être le plus désespéré amateur de la pauvreté qui ait été dans l'Eglise."

chicken. Of this he afterwards bitterly repented. Putting a rope round his neck, he bade a brother lead him through the town, and obliged him like a town-crier to cry out: "Look at this glutton, who has been caught eating chicken on the sly!" He commanded the brothers to call him names, and when they did so he was transported with delight. He would preach to the birds of the air, and remind them all what God had done for them, then he would dismiss them with the sign of the cross, and they would fly away obedient to his voice. He would command the swallows, who were building their nests, and twittering and circling round him, to stop and listen to his word. They remained motionless and attentive, till he dismissed them with incredible joy.* He loved nature with all the tenderness of a little child. His prayer sums up his whole character: "O Most High Almighty, Good Lord God," he says, "to Thee belong praise, glory, honour, and all blessing. Praised be my Lord God, with all His creatures, and especially our brother the sun, who brings us the day, and who brings us the light; fair is he, and shining with a very great splendour; O Lord, he signifies to us Thee."

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the moon, and for the stars, the which He has set clear and lovely in the heavens."

"Praised be my Lord for our brother the wind, and for air and clouds, calm and all weather, by the which Thou upholdest in life all creatures."

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the water, who is very serviceable unto us, and humble, and precious, and clean."

"Praised be my Lord for our brother the fire, through whom Thou givest us light in darkness; and he is bright and pleasant, and very mighty and strong."

"Praised be my Lord for our mother the earth, which doth sustain us and keep us, and bringeth forth divers fruits, and flowers of many colours, and grass."

"Praised be my Lord for all those who pardon one another for His love's sake, and who endure weakness and tribulation: blessed are they who peaceably shall endure: for Thou, O Most Highest, shalt give them a crown."

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the death of the body: from whom no man escapeth. Woe to him who dieth in mortal sin! Blessed are they who are found walking by Thy most holy will, for the second death shall have no power to do them harm."

* Ad hæc avicula illæ (ut dicebant, qui cum eo fuerunt) miro modo secundum naturam suam stantes, inceperunt extendere collum, prodere alas, aperire os, illum respicere. (*Cellano*, p. 596—58.)

"Praise ye, and bless ye the Lord, and give thanks to him, and serve Him with great humility."*

So inebriated was he with the love of Jesus that he could not steadily pronounce the Holy Name. Such was the passionate lover of poverty, the ardent disciple of the passion of Christ. A creature full of vehement, sovereign devotion to the folly of the Cross, and to the shame. His life was profound forgetfulness of self, and unquenchable charity, and unutterable heroism, beyond all words of mine to express. In his soul, and in his body, he bore the marks of the fruit of Christ's passion. He poured himself out to God, and he poured himself out on men, drawing them with the cords of Adam, to peace, penance, and the love of Christ. No wonder that, in a few years (1219), he collected round him five thousand brothers from all quarters of the world, whose heroic lives of penance, prayer, and gentleness, did a work which no other influence of the day could possibly have accomplished. Thirty-five years later, there were eight hundred convents, and at least twenty thousand religious belonging to the Order; a century later, there were one hundred and fifty thousand friars.† Such men as these, filled with so great a fire, would, of the very stones, if possible, raise up children to Abraham. Poverty, prayer, and preaching, these were the instruments in the hands of detachment and of love, for regenerating the world.

And what the Franciscans did principally amongst the people at large, that S. Dominic did for the higher and more educated classes.

The founder of the Dominicans, whom Innocent III. beheld in a vision, supporting with his shoulders the tottering walls of the Lateran Basilica, had only been dead twenty years when S. Thomas joined the Order. His birth, like that of S. Thomas and S. Bernard, was preceded by influences of a supernatural character. His mother, Joanna d'Aza, dreamt that she carried in her womb a hound with a flaming brand between his teeth. So terrified was she by this dream, that she often threw herself on the tomb of the Benedictine, S. Dominic of Silos, and implored him to protect her in her desolation. In return for the comfort she experienced, she called her boy, after the holy Benedictine, Dominic.‡ Sprung of the bluest blood of the Guzmans, Dominic summed up in his

* So rendered in the *Cornhill Magazine*, p. 430, April, 1864. *Segetes, vineas, lapides, et silvas et omnia speciosa camporum . . . terramque et ignem, aërem et ventum ad divinum monebat amorem, etc . . . omnes creaturas fratres nomine nuncupabat; frater cinis, soror musca.* (Cellano, p. 705.)

† At the present moment there are 30,000 persons in France belonging to the third order of S. Francis. (See D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand*, p. 79.)

‡ At Gumiel, near Calaruega, S. Dominic's mother was buried. *En dos arcos desta capilla fueren depositados los nobles y devotos senores de Felix Guzman, y D. Joanna de Aza, padres del glorioso S. Domingo, fundador de la orden de Predicadores.* This is the wording of the inscription in the chapel of the Guzmans.

character the noblest and fairest traits for which the Spanish nobility are justly famed.* His creative fantasy loved to explore the highest region of ideal chivalry, living in a world of poetry, and burning with high resolves of startling enterprises. With a heart gentle as a woman's, and elevated by the most careful education, his will was excessively tenacious, and of unalterable resolution. He seems to have embraced, within the wide circumference of his elevated character, all that is most perfect in the dispositions of either sex. When seven years old, he was confided to his uncle, the Archpriest of Gumiel d'Izan.† At fifteen, he went to Palencia, the most celebrated university in Spain, and studied with great ardour and success, literature, eloquence, philosophy, and theology.‡ His heart overflowed with singular generosity. He created a sensation amongst his companions by selling his clothes, and even the books annotated with his own hand, to relieve the poor during a famine. He dried the tears of a woman, who came to lament to him that her brother had been dragged into captivity by the Moors, by offering at once to take his place.§ At five and twenty, he was induced by the Bishop of Osma, to join the Canons Regular. He threw himself into his new life with his characteristic earnestness. He passed his time in contemplation and penance, in preaching, in studying the Epistles of S. Paul, in turning over with delight the pages of Cassian, and in bringing about stricter discipline in the somewhat relaxed observance of the Convent.||

But the energies of such a man were not destined to be confined within the compass of an obscure convent of Augustinians. Alfonsus VIII., of Castille, wished his son to marry a Danish Princess. Don Diego de Azevedo, the successor of Martin in the see of Osma, was entrusted with the delicate mission of arranging the preliminaries of the alliance, and took Dominic with him through the South of France. There he saw the fearful ulcer

* Theodoricus de Appoldia paints him thus:—*Erat staturæ mediocritate æqualis, corporis tenuitate agilis, facie pulcher et paulisper rubens; barba vero ejus et capilli aliquantulum rufi coloris speciem præferabant. De fronte ipsius et intercelliis splendor quidam radiosus micabat, qui omnes ad venerationem ac dilectionem ejus attrahebat. Hilaris semper et jucundus apparebat, nisi cum ad compassionem per quamlibet afflictionem proximi movebatur. Manus longas habebat ac pulchras: vocem magnam et pulchram; et tubaliter resonantem. Calvus non fuit, sed coronam rasilien totam integram habebat, paucis canis respersam.* (*Boll. in vita, 4 Aug. p. 518, § XLV., n. 836.*)

† The university was transferred eventually to Salamanca, on account of the climate, and the fertility of the soil. Alcalá was chosen as a site for the same reason. Bologna was called *La Grassa*, on account of its richness and natural gifts.

‡ *Vir purissimis moribus, prudentia, gravitate, religione conspicuus.* (*Malv. c. I., p. 14.*)

§ (*Boll. Die 4. Aug., p. 390.*) Some put it thus:—*Quædam enim mulier conquesta est ei, fratrem suum apud Saracenos detineri captivum et ille ut erat plenus spiritu pietatis, intimo compassionis affectu sancius, vendendum se obtulit pro redemptione captivi.* (*Id., p. 390, n. 168.*)

|| *Caritate in tantum fervebat, ut se ipsum pro Christianorum necessitate vendere sapius esset paratus.* (*n. 170.*)

¶ *In libro quoque de Collationibus Patrum frequentissime [et] studiosissime legens, magnum ex eo perfectionis cumulum apprehendit.* (*Boll. p. 392, n. 180.*)

Die nocturne terebat ecclesiam, lectioni et orationi sine intermissione vacabat, secumque cum Jacob in tabernaculis habitans, Esau vagos declinabat excursus. (*n. 181.*) Pernoctandi in orationibus mos erat ei creberrimus . . . interdum et inter orationes a gemitu cordis sui rugitus et voces solebat emittere. (*Vid. B. Fordanus, c. I., no. 10.*)

that was eating into the heart of the Church in the heresy of the Albigenses, which has been already touched upon.* Dominic felt that a single man was but as a drop in the ocean in the midst of such a vast and organized corruption. Man may be met by man, but a system only can oppose a system. A religious institution, combining the poverty of the first disciples of Christ with eloquence, and learning, alone would stand a chance of success in working a regeneration. The Poor Men of Lyons, and the followers of Waldo, he was well aware, would simply mock at men who came preaching to them the poverty of Jesus, in the trappings of worldly wealth; and the starved ascetic, who in his fantastic studies had arrived at scientific heresy, could not be overthrown, he felt convinced, without a profounder knowledge of theology than was possessed by the majority of clergymen at that period. The pomp of the ecclesiastical nobility, which was a scandal enough to make earnest men turn sick, is illustrated forcibly by the conduct of the Cistercians, and the Papal Legate. At the synod of Montpellier (1206), these men bitterly lamented the ill success of their perilous mission. Saint Dominic, with that freedom with which Christ had made him free, told them out, that the number of their attendants, the splendour of their costumes, and the magnificence of their equipages and horses, would ever stand in the way of the simplicity of Gospel truth;—that they ought to begin by practising what they preached, and that the heretics had been seen making a mockery of those Apostles, who came amongst them on the backs of gallant horses to preach Jesus Christ, who was poor, and who walked on foot. The monks and Legate dismissed their servants, got rid of their gay horses, and adopted a greater simplicity of life.

It is not necessary to remind the reader of the struggles which took place in France. That treachery and cruelty went hand in hand, is to be expected of men fighting in a cause which stirs up the keenest and most violent passions of mankind. The Saint, through all that time, conducted himself with that gentleness, charity, and courage, which became so well the noblest soul of the noblest of Saints. By his devotedness to the poverty of Christ, he manifested the true spirit of the Gospel to those acting a horrid parody upon it. By his high courage, and large charity, he contrasted the true religion with the cruel fanaticism of men devoured with spiritual pride, and ill-regulated piety. By his eloquence, his tender heart, his intense compassion for sorrow, and by the

* Here is a passage from Elinand's sermons about them:—"Credientibus suis persuadere conantur indifferentem esse omnem cum muliere concubitum, nec magis abstinendum esse à sorore, vel filia, vel matre quam à propriâ uxore. O doctrina infernalis, à quibus tenebris emer- sistis!" (*Tissier*, VII., 297.)

exquisite refinement of his cultivated nature, he converted into friends those whom he had not the good fortune to convert into Christians. Amidst all the fire and fanaticism of that time, it was always said of Dominic that his charity and compassion were never for a moment eclipsed by any less amiable influence in his nature. To say this of a man under these circumstances, is to say simply that he was a saint. Being asked what would be his conduct if threatened by the enemy with death, he replied with the boldness of inspired chivalry, "I would beg them to kill me by degrees, that thus I might witness the more fully to the truth which I profess!"

In 1215 there were sixteen men in the little institute. Eight Frenchmen, six Spaniards, one Portuguese, and an Englishman. In five years there were sixty convents of the Order spread throughout Western Europe.

The greatest wisdom was shown in the construction of the rule. The society was divided into three parts, two for men and women engaged in the convent, the third for men and women living in secular employments. The third order was of immense service to religion. By its means S. Dominic was enabled to touch and transform—what so much required touching and transforming—the souls of persons dwelling in the world. By joining them in holy union, not so severe as to interfere with their domestic duties, and yet sufficiently strict to remind them what they were, he elevated them, and strung them together in the interests of religion. Men and women of every class, from polished ladies of the first courts in Europe, to the ignorant and poor, were here bound together in a spiritual sodality, which seemed to partake of the sanctity of monastic life. S. Dominic's experiences at Osma, and the requirements of the new institute, induced him to found his rule on that of Saint Augustine. Poverty was enforced with great severity. The brothers lived on alms. Like the children of S. Francis, they were mendicants. The principle of *quies*, which gave the monk a permanent habitation, and insured to him a resting place which he loved more tenderly than anything else after Christ, was not in keeping with the new principle of motion. That his children might be ready at a moment's notice, S. Dominic was excessively strict on the observance of holy poverty. If they had nothing to leave, they would have little to regret. On one occasion, a brother was sent on a journey without money. He complained to the Saint. Dominic flung himself on his knees before the brother, and with tears gathering in his eyes, implored him to go forth bravely, and trust in God. At times the community would sit down to an empty board. On one occasion,

whilst they were meekly and silently sitting at the bare table, Dominic prayed over it. Instantly, two youths, whom none of those present had ever seen, walked up the refectory, and divided amongst the astonished friars wine and bread of such a quality, that they rose from the table filled with a species of supernatural strength they had never experienced before.

They prayed, and studied, and fasted; their Church-services were simple; they lay on hard beds; and the very manner of their travelling manifested the tenor of their lives.

After its approval by Honorius, the Order spread abroad with great rapidity. Men of high birth, accustomed to living in the lap of luxury, men versed in many kinds of learning, listened with rapture to the eloquence of Dominic, and breaking up, and abandoning the traditions of their lives, bound themselves in the holy vows of religion.* With an eye steadily fixed upon his object, Dominic selected the men of greatest promise amongst his followers, and sent them to the universities to take degrees, to mature their scholarship, and to conduct schools. His forecasting wisdom is evident in his fixing the three centres of his Order in the three most flourishing university towns. From Rome, the capital of authority; from Paris, the capital of theology; and from Bologna, the capital of jurisprudence radiated the activity of scholars, saints, and confessors. The fame of the Friars Preachers soon spread, when men of mark who had left the world entered into it again—with their cords, and hoods, and shaven crowns, and full of spiritual knowledge, and of supernatural eloquence. Brother Reginald, on his return from the holy sepulchre, entranced the citizens of Bologna by his extraordinary gifts: "I see the heavens open," he exclaimed on one occasion, "I see the heavens open—the doors are yawning wide to receive all who would gaze upon the majesty of its glory! The heavens, I tell you, stand open wide, why do you delay?" He then spoke with so great persuasiveness in the scope and object of his Order, that priests, students, and professors, and even lawyers who are not often carried away, there and then abandoned their occupations, and entreated to be allowed to take the habit.

Some, however, who entered the society with eagerness, soon became as eager to depart as they had been to join it. Two men, for instance, remarkable for the breadth of their attainments, joined the little community. After a while, becoming wearied of restraint, they said that they could stay no longer. This was a

* His eloquence had its effect—"Interim et per urbem concionatur, etiam in Basilica S. Petri tanto plausu et fructu, ut ejus vestes auditores veluti reliquias conscinderent, ita ut ejus scapulare sic per particulas decisum vix ad genua descenderet. (Echard *Boll.*, *Die 4 Aug.*, p. 375. n. 96.)

heavy blow. B. Reginald called a Chapter, and announced the calamity to the assembled friars. His discourse was often interrupted by sobs and tears, as he stood in the midst with his eyes fixed on heaven, expressing his unshaken confidence in God. Then Brother Clarus, who had been a professor at Bologna, offered to speak a few consoling words. As he was beginning, to the surprise of all, Master Roland of Cremona, a famous professor of philosophy at Bologna, burst into the Chapter-room, threw himself at the feet of Reginald, and implored to be received. Reginald, being stunned at first, at length recovered himself, took off his own scapular, and, with joy almost too great for his control, clothed the professor in the garb of a Dominican; then the sacristan hurried off and began ringing a noisy peal on the church bells, the community broke forth with the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the church was quickly filled with an astonished crowd, who, when they had heard of this singular *grazia* or intervention, set the whole town in a violent commotion of joy and admiration. To crown all, the two professors who had cast aside the habit, with tears streaming from their eyes, and with hands stretched to heaven, begged on their knees in the Capitulum to be received once more amongst the brethren. This is but a specimen of the temper of those strange ages of emotion, so full of high aspirations, intense faith, and overwhelming passion.

John of Germany was General when S. Thomas entered the Order (1239—1254), and a constellation of famous men shone with a steady light from the *Corona Fratrum*. In Germany there was Albertus Magnus—a wonder to posterity, on account of the vast circumference of his knowledge, and the extraordinary versatility of his elastic mind. Hugh of S. Caro edified all France by his sanctity, and was consulted as a heavenly oracle;—and, whilst Peter of Verona pierced his enemies with the lance of controversy, John of Vicenza electrified Lombardy by the thrilling effects of his powers of speech. Men not only listened to him with delight, but consulted him in their most delicate affairs. In all matters of difference between individuals, families, and states, John was sure to be consulted, and was sure to set things right. At his word prisons were opened, and enmities, which for hundreds of years had been handed down as traditionary in families, melted by the heat of his charity into lasting friendships. Cities, Kings, and Popes sought his counsel, and were sure to find in it a solution of the difficulties they had not been able to solve before.*

Many Dominicans became martyrs amongst the Albigenses. In Spain the Order flourished exceedingly. S. Hyacinth was an ex-

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. : Ann. : 1233.

traordinary missionary—Poland, Bohemia, both Russias, Livonia, Sweden, Denmark, the coasts of the Black Sea, the sea-board of Asia Minor, and the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, were studded with convents which marked the progress of his missionary enterprise. His strange supernatural power converted Mussulmans, drew barbarians round the Cross of Christ, and established schools and convents in Pomerania, and along the shores of the Baltic. Within twenty years after S. Dominic's death, the Gospel had been preached in almost every country. In the following century it spread still more widely. During the middle ages, the pulses of the mighty heart of the great Order were felt throughout the whole of the known world, from the north-west coast of Africa, to the great water-courses of Asia; from Fez, and Morocco, as far as Greenland. A party of Dutch sailors were struck with astonishment, when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, touching on the coast of Greenland, they found that men clothed in the white wool of S. Dominic had been preaching, praying, and studying in that inhospitable region for upwards of four hundred years. It was through Dominican influence at the Court of Spain that Columbus obtained the ships in which he made the discovery of the new world; and they were Dominicans who followed upon the footsteps of the enterprising subjugators of that vast continent, and planted the standard of the Cross wherever the others had been victorious with the sword. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, they colonized the East and West Indies. In 1550, in the Peninsula of Malacca and the adjacent islands the Dominicans had eighteen convents, and made sixty thousand converts. Then they penetrated into Siam, and were the first Christian missionaries who set foot in China,—where they established schools, and built churches. They had already settled in S. Domingo, Mexico, and the Floridas. In 1526 they sent twelve brothers to New Spain, where they soon had an hundred houses and convents. In 1540, they possessed in New Granada sixty houses and churches. In Chili they had forty convents. The Philippine Isles, Mozambique, and the Eastern Coast of Africa, were under Dominican influence, while at Manilla and Lima they established universities for the education of the higher classes. Within a hundred years (1234 to 1334), the order could number thirteen thousand three hundred and seventy martyrs.

To this marvellous activity corresponded an immense influence over the minds of men. The Dominicans played an important part in questions of science and religion; and ever aimed at purifying, and making free the social positions of mankind. Bartholomew de las Casas was a Dominican. Four thousand writers of

distinction were brothers of the Order. Antoninus wrote the first complete history of the world. The golden legend of Jacobus de Voragine has been translated into every language of the west. The church at Florence of Santa Maria Novella, where Michael Angelo daily prayed, and which for the severe purity of its style has received the name of Sposa, was built by Fra Sisto, Fra Ristoro, and Fra Giovanni, three Dominican brothers. Fra Angelico, who could never paint Christ and his Blessed Mother without tears gathering into his eyes, nor would consent to paint them in any other position than on his knees, was a Dominican. Michael Angelo declared that Giovanni da Fiesole's picture of the Annunciation must have been copied from a vision in the skies. Fra Bartolomeo, and Benedetto, as well as Fra Angelico, were brothers of the Order; while S. Catharine of Sienna, and S. Rose of Lima, were under Dominican control.*

To sum up: in six hundred years (by 1825), there had been seventy Cardinals, four hundred and sixty Bishops, four Presidents of General Councils, twenty-five Legates *a Latere*, eighty Apostolic Nuncios, four Popes, and a Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, belonging to the Order of S. Dominic.† Such is a rapid sketch—these are the mere *cartoni*—of that religious system which, in its days of energy and expansion, captivated the mind and imagination of young Thomas of Aquino.

The historians of the Saint give a glowing description of his reception to the habit. The news of his clothing soon spread throughout the town. The Dominicans made the ceremony as public as possible. From a very early hour, the Church of S. Dominic was “inundated by an enormous crowd, amongst which might be observed persons of the highest distinction in the city.” When the hour arrived, Thomas, in presence of a great multitude, advanced between two rows of friars—whose eyes must have beamed with delight as he passed before them—and received from the Superior, Fra Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino, the badges of penance and subjection.

The sentiments awakened in the breasts of the beholders were anything but harmonious.‡ Whilst the friars were filled with joy

* Gentil Bellini puts these simple words under his great painting of a miracle by a piece of the true Cross:—

“Gentilis Bellinus amore incensus crucis.” 1490.

† Still not so wide-spread as the Benedictines. They had, according to Trithemius, at the end of the fifteenth century, 15,000 convents. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, according to the census, there had been 22,000 archbishops and bishops, and 40,000 saints in the Order. See Newman's “*Benedictine Centuries*,” *Atlantis No. III.*, p. 13. Lechner, in his *Leben des heiligen Benedict*: Regensburg, 1857, says:—“Der Benediktiner-Orden zählte vor der Säkularisation 37,000 Häuser, 1,500 Schriftsteller, und 50,000 Heilige, deren öffentliche Verehrung anerkannt ist.” (p. 57.)

‡ “Si sparse la fama di questa cosa per tutta la nobiltà di Napoli, e ogni vno si marauigliaua, considerando questo, c'hauera fatto un giouane di sì rare qualità, e di tanta speranza. Lo lodarono alcuni, e pigliarono essemplio da lui, e molti lo imitarono, così huomini, come donne della sua età, etiaudio in diverse Religioni.” (*Vita*, p. 9.)

at so signal a mark of Divine favour in their regard, more worldly-minded men did not shrink from saying that the reception of one so young, who had so brilliant a career before him, amounted almost to sharp practice. Some admired a spirit which could exchange the fascinations of life, and the hopes of the future, for the scanty fare and rough garments of a Mendicant friar. Others thought it a great pity that one so accomplished, so well connected, and so virtuous, should throw away his gifts in practising poverty and blind obedience. Many considered the step rash and inconsiderate. There were not wanting those who blamed the Prior, and were highly indignant at the diplomacy by which the cunning *frati* had entrapped the young fellow into the Order.* Doubtless, the gossip of the world then, was something like the gossip of the world now—very flowing, very flippant, and very contradictory.

* "Altri lo biasimavano, dicendo che come giovane si era deliberato troppo presto, e biasimavano ancora il Priore, che gli haveua dato l'habito." (*Vita*, p. 9—10.)

CHAPTER VI.

TRIALS OF VOCATION.

It may be imagined that the family of S. Thomas felt little gratified when they heard of the clothing. The report of the ceremony was not long reaching Rocca Sicca. Theodora first heard of it from the lamentations of her vassals, who had seen the young Count dressed up like a Dominican friar, and at once returned home to bewail the disgrace which had fallen on the family. She forthwith hurried off to Naples, accompanied by a large retinue. Some say she was excessively angry with her son for joining the Mendicants;* others, that she wished to encourage him in a vocation which she considered had come direct from heaven.† The former opinion is the more probable one.‡ Theodora had already made up her mind about the will of God in her son's regard. She had reasons in abundance, human and divine, for making him a Benedictine. And it is hardly to be supposed that she hurried to Naples, "*cum gaudio*," as Tocco has it, to confirm her boy in a state of life about which she had not been consulted; the first notion of which she received from the gossip of her servants; and which would simply be the death-blow to her cherished aspirations.

It is pretty clear what the Dominicans thought: for, no sooner did they hear that Theodora was on her way to Naples,§ than they hurried the boy off—some affirm, at his own request—by a different route, with several companions, to Rome.|| And so greatly did they fear his meeting the excited Countess, that the party had orders to avoid the ordinary road, and to travel through Terracina and Anagni.

* "Seine Mutter machte sich augenblicklich auf den Weg nach Neapel, um den Sohn, den sie für eine Beute früherer Beredung hielt dem Orden zu entreissen, die Ehre der Familie und die Zukunft ihres unerfahrenen Kindes zu retten." (Werner Thomas von Aquino, *Erster Band*, Cap. II., p. 26; Cf. Bareille, *Chap*, VI., p. 48.)

† "*Cum gaudio venit Neapolim volens enim in prædicto præviso sibi divinitus ordine matris monitis confirmare.*" (*Boll.*, Cap. II., n. 3, p. 639; also, Tonrou, *Liv*. I., Chap. IX., p. 34.)

‡ Fleury says:—"Ses parens le trouvèrent fort mauvais, dédaignant la pauvreté de cet ordre." (*Tom*. XVII., *Liv*. LXXXIV., p. 581.)

§ "*Secretamente odorando la sua venuta,*" as some have it. (See Frigerio, *Lib*. I., Cap. II., p. 13.)

|| How strongly he felt is evident from his quotation from S. Jerome:—"Hieronymus dicit in epist. ad Heliodorum, a princ.: *Per calcatum perge patrem, per calcatam perge matrem, siccis oculis ad vexillum crucis evola: summum genus pietatis est in hac re fuisse crudelem.*" (*Summa Theol.*, *Tom*. III., *Quest*. CII., *Art*. IV., p. 371.)

The Dominicans were established in Rome during the time of S. Dominic. The old church of S. Sixtus II., in which lay the relics of six martyr-popes, must have attracted the attention of the Saint. It stood opposite the gigantic ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, and at the foot of the Celian Mount, upon the Appian Way. The convent attached to the church must have been ample, for S. Dominic, by his eloquence, in the space of a few months had filled it with an hundred disciples. Here it was that he worked some of his most famous miracles—raising the dead, multiplying bread and wine, and bringing angels in human form into the presence of the community.

But the Dominicans had left S. Sixtus for Santa Sabina before the time of S. Thomas. Honorius III., desiring to establish a community of nuns at the convent of S. Sixtus, offered to the friars the convent of S. Sabina, situated close to his palace on the Aventine. The church seems to have been founded, as early as the fifth century, by an Illyrian priest, in the Pontificate of Celestine I. It stood boldly on the highest verge of the Aventine, and overlooked that classic spot, where Horatius Cocles, with a prowess which immortalized his name, defended Rome against Porsenna. The church was built on the plan of the old Basilicas. Two rows of ancient pillars, supporting a plain roof, divided the church into three naves, each terminated by an altar. Here, under the high altar, rested the relics of S. Sabina, who had suffered under Adrian. Close at hand stood the palace of the Savelli, occupied by Honorius III. The Pontiff made over a portion of this noble residence to the friars. From the windows of this palace-convent, the eye stretched over Rome, and, passing over towers and domes, rested on the Vatican Basilica. Two flights of steps led to the city, one running to the Tiber, the other to a corner of the Palatine, near the church of S. Anastasia.

The convent, which had been a workshop of saints, was, even in S. Thomas's time, full of touching reminiscences. Here Hyacinth and Ceslas, two of the most successful missionaries who ever laboured for the love of God, received their inspirations of devotedness and sacrifice. Here Henry of Moravia, and Hermann of Germany, lived, and studied, and prayed. Here it was that "Mary, in the person of Reginald," once Doctor of Law in Paris, and Dean of S. Argnan D'Orleans, "girt the reins of the Order with the girdle of chastity, and prepared its feet for the Gospel of Peace." Here it was that S. Dominic, being wrapped in spirit, "saw the Lord, with the Blessed Virgin on His right hand, clad in a cope of sapphire." Here it was that he had the vision of S. Mary, S. Cecily, and S. Catharine. Here, to this day, may be seen

in the church, upon a pedestal, the great, black, shining stone, said by the legend to have been hurled by the demon at the Saint, to interrupt him in his nightly meditations. Here is shown the narrow cell where he prayed, the hall in which he gave the habit to S. Hyacinth, and an orange-tree in the garden, which, to this day, tempts, with its golden fruit, the piety of citizens and strangers.

I need not attempt a description of the emotions of young Aquino on approaching the Eternal City, and on entering that venerable church where the bones of S. Sabina rested, and the great Saint Dominic had loved so much to pray. Doubtless, wonder and devotion were mixed with sad thoughts about his mother, and with strange anticipations about his future life. Doubtless, long and earnestly he prayed before the altar, and begged of Christ to fill him with S. Dominic's spirit. This much is certain, that the young man gave himself up to study and to contemplation—to prepare himself for that mighty mission which he was afterwards to fulfil.

But his repose was speedily disturbed. Theodora, with the fire of her nature thoroughly stirred up, finding that her son had been carried away from Naples, set out forthwith for the Eternal City. She was extremely angry with the friars. In vain the Countess called at their convent; in vain she begged admittance, by entreaties the most imploring, and by threats the most indignant; in vain she protested that, far from wishing to trifle with her son's vocation, she simply desired to confirm it all the more. Thomas did not appear; the doors remained shut; the Dominicans would not be moved. She then bewailed her hard lot amongst the Roman nobility, and denounced to the Pope the rapacity of the cruel friars, who, in spite of her position and all her promises, had robbed her of her boy.*

The Dominican superiors, perceiving how excited Theodora was,† and dreading her influence in the city, sent S. Thomas off from Rome, with four others, to travel by secret roads to Paris. Whilst the party was making its way towards the frontier, Landulf and Reginald (the Saint's two brothers) were actively engaged ravaging Lombardy with a band of Frederick's soldiers. Theodora, who had heard of the young Dominican's departure, despatched a courier to the brothers, beseeching them to secure the fugitive. They set the military at once to watch the passes through which the Dominicans might escape. Meanwhile, the friars, fagged with

* "Pendant que la Contesse d'Aquin faisait retentir toute la ville de Rome de ses plaintes, on de ses menaces contre les Religieux de Saint Dominique, Thomas continuait son voyage vers la France." (Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. X., p. 35.*)

† "La madre . . . si tenne gravemente affrontata, e beffata, vedendosi su gli occhi di tutta Roma, e per la seconda volta defraudata de'suoi ardentissimi desiderij." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. II., n. 13, p. 14.*)

the journey, which they had made on foot, halted near Acquapendente, between Sienna and Lake Bolsena.* Here, as they lay resting under the shade of a tree, suddenly they beheld themselves surrounded by armed men; and, to his intense astonishment, Thomas found himself, without a chance of escape, a prisoner in the hands of his brothers. The two young soldiers behaved with great brutality to the Saint,† threatened to tear his habit off his back, and, forcing him on horseback, carried him away to San Giovanni,‡ whilst his companions fled hastily back to Rome.

From the accounts given of Theodora's interview with S. Thomas, some notion can be formed of the energy of the mother, and of the calm determination of the son. She made use of every argument she could invent, and brought into play all the passions of her nature—her tears, her entreaties, her prayers, her fierce anger, her threats, her hatred, her love—but without effect. She argued that obedience to parents is a law of God, that filial piety is of strict obligation, that youth is easily deceived, that what inexperience admires is condemned by mature reflection, that Thomas would ruin and disgrace his father, and bring upon the family the anger of the Emperor—and so on in a similar strain.§

But Thomas was immovable. Though full of tenderness towards his mother, he had read enough, and had thought enough, and had been visited by God too often, to abandon a call which he deemed Divine. Perceiving that neither threats nor blandishments could effect her purpose, Theodora threw Thomas into prison, fastened the door, and set guards to watch outside.|| She then sent godless young men in to him, to argue him out of his resolve. His sisters seconded their foolish mother. They alone were permitted to serve the prisoner; and they practised all their arts upon him, to turn him from his high vocation. But the calm deportment of the future Angel of the Schools, his resignation, his tenderness to his sisters, his tranquil mind ever fixed on things Divine, were more powerful, in the end, than creature stubbornness, or human passion. The impress of heaven ever overpowers,

* "Tutto debile e lasso per la stanchezza del viaggio fatto a piè, a cui essendo giovinetto, e di gentilissima complessione, uso non era." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. II., n. 14, p. 15.*)

† "Senza usare officio di pietà o di carità, fecero impeto in quelli à guisa de nemici." (*Vita, p. 10.*)

‡ "Il Gibelli con parecchi altri antichi scrittori della vita di S. Tommaso narra che il giovane fu chiuso nel paterno Castello di Rocca Secca: ma è tradizione costante che fosse guardato nella Rocca di Monte S. Giovanni, in sulla riva destra del Liri ove si mostra tuttavia la cella terrena (ora divota cappella) in cui S. Tommaso era sostenuto della Principessa Teodora sua madre. . . . La città di Monte S. Giovanni elesse al antico per suo Patrono, e la Chiesa nelle lezioni del Breviario Romano, dice anch'essa che il santo giovane fu rinserrato non in Rocca Secca, ma nella Rocca di Monte S. Giovanni, ch'era a quel di dei Conti d'Aquino." (*Civiltà Cattolica, Serie Seconda, Vol. X., 19 Maggio, 1855.*)

§ "La madre in prima gittogli al volto i termini scortesi e rozi da' suoi frati ricevuti, mostròli la necessità, che di lui haveva la casa, ch'altrimenti era ben tosto per venire a doloroso fine; studiandosi con queste ed altre apparenti ragioni, esposte con materno affetto, di ritrarlo dalla Religione." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III., n. 2, p. 16.*)

|| "La madre lo facesse rinchiudere sotto stretta custodia dentro la rocca del lor Castello di S. Giovanni." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III., n. 4, p. 17.*)

in the issue, the instability of human influences. The two girls, by degrees, ceased their talking, and began to listen, and finally, rendered themselves up to the mastery of a superior power; their hearts expanded, their minds enlarged; they listened, they believed, they acted, they were subdued—in a word, S. Thomas converted his sisters; his prison became a hallowed spot; his habit, an earnest of high heroism; his obstinacy, a note of predestination; and his life, a pattern of perfection. They were no longer his guards and his seducers, but his companions, his helpmates, his dearest sisters, and his constant friends.

They put him in a position to communicate with his brethren. The monotony of confinement was broken by study, prayer, and contemplation. The Saint procured a Bible, the "Sentences" of the Lombard, and some of the works of Aristotle.* His memory, which was so retentive as never to forget anything he once had read, is said to have got these books by heart.† Thus it was that he prepared himself for his mighty labours in the future.

But this comparative repose was broken in upon rudely enough by the perseverant brutality of his brothers. They still persisted in their determination to force him from religion. After they had delivered him to his mother, they were called away, into active service, under Frederick. But, when the troops had been brought down to Melfi, and were encamped near Ciprano, they had an opportunity of visiting the prisoner. Possibly they imagined that, through the influence of the family, he had already changed his mind. If so, they were bitterly disappointed. For they found that, far from being changed himself, Thomas had converted both his sisters. They were furious.‡ They forbade the girls to approach him, and, forcing themselves in upon the boy, they insulted him with brutal jests and oaths, and ended by tearing his habit piece by piece off his back.§

* "Dans la même prison Thomas lût toute la Bible, et le texte du maître des Sentences: il y étudia aussi la traité des sophismes d'Aristote." (Fleury. *Tom. XVII., Liv. LXXXIV., p. 592.*)

† Tocco says of him:—"Quod legendo caperet, perpetuo retineret." (*Boll., Cap. VII., n. 42, p. 670.*)

‡ In the middle ages, the memory was exercised more than at present, partly on account of the difficulty of getting books, and of understanding them when got. That clever, modest writer, Matthew of Paris (1246), speaks of a monk who could repeat all David's Psalms backwards, from memory.

§ Chivalry in the thirteenth century, be it remembered, was in its decline. De La Marche quotes James de Vitry to this effect:—"Les pauvres, les clercs, les abbayes ne trouvent plus en eux des défenseurs, mais des persécuteurs. Ils retiennent les dîmes et les offrandes dues à l'Eglise, enfreignent ses immunités écrasent les hommes qui lui appartiennent de prestations directes et indirectes (*angariis et parangariis*), ne respectent point le droit d'asile, et portent des mains impies sur les personnes sacrées, parce qu'elles ne peuvent pas leur résister; mais ils se gardent bien d'attaquer ceux qui sont armés et disposés à la lutte. Aigles rapaces, ils se jettent sur les biens des défunts, et veulent avoir la mainmorte pour ajouter à l'affliction des affligés c'est-à-dire des veuves et des orphelins." (*La Chaire Française, Troisième Partie, Chap. II., p. 357.*)

‡ "I Conti Landolfo e Ranolfo . . . perch' essi rinovando l'antico proposito di levargli a viva forza l'habito dell' Ordine, gli posero soperchievolmente le mani addosso, e non dubitarono di lacerarlo, talmente che la forma dell' habito appena vi rimase; ma egli non si smarrendo punto, racconciatolo il meglio, che poté, indosso se lo rimise." (*Frigerio, Lib. I., Cap. III., n. 6, p. 18.*)

Meanwhile, his sisters informed the Dominicans outside of what the Saint was undergoing. Br. John of S. Julianò brought another habit for him from Naples. This made Landulf and Reginald worse than they had been before. They fixed upon a most infamous expedient for shaking their younger brother's vocation. They hired a bad woman of the neighbourhood, and sent her secretly to his cell, to tempt him to sin.* Whilst waiting the issue, a fearful shriek, proceeding from the direction of the prison, rang from one end of the castle to the other. A rush was made by Landulf and Reginald to their brother's cell. They saw the door burst open, and beheld the girl rushing away in an agony of terror, and the young man chasing her with a blazing brand, which he had just plucked out of the fire.† Even the brutality of the two rough young soldiers was overcome by this; and from that day forth, they ceased to persecute their gentle, younger brother.

Just before his death, the Saint told his familiar brother Rainald, that no sooner had the girl been driven out, than he made a cross with the charred brand upon the wall, and casting himself upon his knees before it, made a vow of chastity for life. Whilst thus praying, he fell into a calm, gentle sleep, and was ravished by a heavenly vision. He saw angels descending from the clouds, and they came and bound his loins with the girdle of continence, and armed him for life as a warrior of heaven.‡ The pain of this binding roused him up with an unconscious cry of suffering. On hearing it, his guards entered the cell, but he carefully concealed his favour from them. He declared to Rainald that, never since that time till his death, was the spirit of darkness suffered to approach his person, to seduce him from that heavenly-mindedness which is one of the characteristic notes of his gentle, meditative character.

The girdle was worn by the Saint till his death. Afterwards, it was given by John of Vercelli to the Dominican Convent of Vercelli, in Piedmont. With what jealousy the friars preserved the relic, is evident from their refusing to part with it, even at the request of a Sovereign Pontiff.§. A holy confraternity was speedily

* "Istigati da Satanasso, gli introdussero in camera una molto vaga e non meno lasciva giovane con larga promessa fattale di denari, accioche ella con ogni arte procurasse di farlo cadere in peccato, e in questa maniera spogliarlo dell' habito sacro." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. III.*, n. 7, p. 18—19.)

† "Ne pouvant ni fuir, ni éviter la vue d'un objet, qui ne cessoit de le poursuivre: et saintement irrité par sa présence même, il arma sa main d'un tison allumé; et poursuivant à son tour cet impudique instrument du démon, il l'obligea de se retirer avec précipitation tout couvert de honte et rempli de frayeur." (Touron, *Lib. I., Chap. XIII.*, p. 50. *Boll., Cap. II.*, n. 11, p. 659. *Malv.*, p. 602. *Bareille, Chap. VIII.*, p. 72.)

‡ Touron, *Lib. I., Chap. XIV.*, p. 51; *Boll. Cap. II.*, n. 11, p. 660; *Bareille, Chap. VIII.*, p. 72.

§ The arm-chair of Gustavus Vasa was purchased for 58,000 florins; Nelson's coat for £150; that of Charles XII. for £22,000; a tooth of Newton for £730; a cane of Voltaire for 500 francs; the vest of Rousseau for 959 francs; the wig of Sterne for 200 guineas; Napoleon's hat for 1,920 francs. Why, then, may not we prize the relics of the saints?

established, called "The Angelic Warfare." Its object was to preserve purity, or to restore it, if unhappily it had been forfeited. Cords, made after that given to S. Thomas, were worn by members of the institute. And Innocent X., in a Brief of March 21, 1654, and Benedict XIII., in a Bull in favour of the University of Toulouse, enriched it with many signal favours.*

The confraternity spread rapidly and widely. Rich and poor were anxious to place themselves under the protection of this glorious Saint. Students of the University were glad to possess a token of his triumph, and an earnest of their own success in resisting one of the most seductive enemies of youth growing to maturity.

But, though his relations had ceased to persecute S. Thomas, they kept him in his confinement, some say, two years—and they would, no doubt, have detained him longer, had it not been for the influence of the Dominicans with the Pope. It was an unheard of thing for an ecclesiastic to be set upon, and cast into prison, by a band of ruffians in the Papal States—particularly when those ruffians were in the pay of the Emperor; it was an affront to the Pontiff, as well as an infringement of the law. The Dominicans did not represent their grievance in vain. The Holy Father was roused. He not only brought the case before the Emperor, but he ordered him to let the prisoner free, and to visit the perpetrators of the outrage with condign punishment.† Frederick, having latterly been humiliated by the *Viterbesi*, and having, in consequence, been abandoned by some of his supporters, was not sorry for an opportunity of gratifying the Pontiff. Orders, accompanied by threats, were at once sent to Landulf and Reginald to set the captive free. Still, these stubborn soldiers, with their haughty mother, would take no active steps to give Thomas his liberty. However, his sisters informed S. Julian of the position of affairs, and he at once hurried to the castle, accompanied by one or two companions.‡ And finally, the girls let their brother down, through the window, like another S. Paul, into the hands of his delighted brethren. The party at once set off for Naples, and our Saint found his rest once more amongst those chosen souls, who had so deeply impressed him at the outset of his university career.§

* For a full account, see *Acta Sanctorum*, Tom. I., Mart. 7, § III., p. 744—746.

† "Perturbatus quod quasi in ejus Provincia tantus excessus fuisset commissus mandavit Imperatori, quod faceret de raptoribus dignam pro convenienti satisfactione vindictam." (*Boll.*, Cap. II., n. 9, p. 659.)

‡ See Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso*, Cap. IX., p. 27.

§ "I Padri dunque dell' Ordine, ch'eran quivi venuti, con grandissima festa il riceverono, come un Angiol dal Cielo disceso: ne potevano quasi crederlo a gli occhi loro, tanta era la contentezza de vederlo libero: così più occultamente che poterono, il condussero a Napoli." (Frigerio, *Liv. I.*, Cap. IV., n. 2, p. 22.)

Who, at this period, was Superior of the convent, and received our Saint's profession, is uncertain. Many, following Tocco, say it was John of S. Juliano, the old adviser of S. Thomas; others, such as Bernard Guidonis, S. Antoninus, and Malvenda, say that Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino was the Prior—a man second to none at that day, in virtue, energy, and zeal. He joined the Order during the lifetime of S. Dominic; founded the convent at Naples (1231); ruled over it, some say, till 1255; and then became, successively, Bishop of Bethlehem, Archbishop of Cosenza, and Patriarch of Jerusalem—in which capacity, like another Peter the Hermit, with fiery eloquence, he preached, from kingdom to kingdom, and from court to court, the deliverance of the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidel.*

A prelate of this temperament would be but too glad to engraft into the Order a young man, who had already, in a marked degree, manifested a character, promising the unusual combinations of genius with humility, of sweetness with firmness, and of an almost womanly gentleness with a more than manly courage.

But Theodora and her soldier-sons, unfortunately, took a very different view of the case. The mother bitterly repented having permitted Thomas to escape at all, and blamed herself for culpable weakness in having suffered him to be carried away to Naples. She accused the Dominicans of dishonesty, and, assisted by Landulf and Reginald, applied to Pope Innocent to annul her son's vows, and to set the young man once more at liberty.

The Holy Father sent for the young Dominican, and questioned him in presence of the Court. Thomas, with his natural modesty, and yet with gentle firmness, told the Pope how S. Dominic had called him to religion, how unmistakable was the voice, and how he attributed his present difficulties, not to the violence of his brothers, or to the loving indiscretions of his mother; but to his own many sins and imperfections. He implored the Pope to protect him in his one desire of embracing Jesus Christ, and of walking with sure step along the road of perfect charity. Innocent, and the Prelates about him, could not suppress their emotion whilst witnessing so unusual a manifestation of heavenly purity and grace.† We are told that after the young man had finished his appeal, they turned to Theodora, and with congratulations mixed with tears, comforted her; and whilst they lauded Thomas to the skies, they could not bring their hearts to blame a mother, who had made such giant efforts to regain so loving and so admirable a son.

* For a fuller account, see Tournon, *Liv. I., Chap. XV.*, p. 58.

† Mittenleiter, p. 71.

The Holy Father, too, acted with great benevolence. Knowing Theodora's weakness, he proposed to make Thomas Abbot of Monte Cassino, whilst still allowing him to wear the habit of S. Dominic; and to partake of the privileges of the mendicant friars.* The court extolled this generosity of the Sovereign Pontiff. His brothers and relations implored Thomas to accept the tempting offer; and to their prayers, his mother joined her warm entreaties. The one long desire of her heart seemed about to be fulfilled. But Thomas had made his resolve. He was inexorable. He implored the Pope to leave him alone, and begged that he might be permitted to abide in his vocation. He was so overpowered by the thought of being dragged from his position of a simple friar, that he spent his nights in tears and prayers, begging for graces necessary for salvation;—the principal one of which—it seemed to him—was that of being permitted to live without charge or dignity, whether in the Cloister or in the Church.

Such was the termination of the conflict which S. Thomas had to sustain whilst carrying out the strong inspiration that possessed him. His mother now no longer worried him, his brothers left him alone, and he was permitted to begin that career of usefulness, which was the source ultimately of such blessings to the Church.

Not long after this, Reginald and Landulf had a disagreement with the Emperor. Frederick took his revenge. He destroyed their stronghold, and cast them into prison. Theodora spent the remainder of her life in prayer, and the practices of an ascetic life—making up in a short time for that too strong human element which she had suffered to possess her heart. Though not without blame, one cannot help looking with some sympathy at her strong passionate nature, her violent devotion to her child, and her love, vehement and ardent too, for God, which ended in her giving herself entirely to Him.

* "Cui cum Papa concederet, ut in ordine et habitu suo præset officio, noluit ille." (*Cantimp.*: I., *de Apibus*, cap. XX., § 10. *Malv.*, p. 663. See *Touron*, p. 64. *Bareille*, p. 86. *Gibelli*, p. 38.)

Echard puts the event six or seven years later.

CHAPTER VII.

ALBERTUS MACNUS.

Now that S. Thomas was free from the persecutions of his family, his Superiors began to form plans for developing those conspicuous abilities which had created so great a sensation in the schools. Thomas was the very man that the keen eye of the General would fix upon as likely to profit largely by the most perfect education. From the very first, knowledge was taken by the Dominicans as a principle of power: not knowledge buried in seclusion, or antiquated in its form, but knowledge, which would tell upon mankind, and raise up humanity from the egotism of nature, to the standard of the Cross. This instinct is manifested in a remarkable manner by the Acts of the first general Chapter of the Dominicans, by the *dicta* of their greatest men, and by their authorized exposition of the rule of S. Augustine.* From the first, they seem to have had a kind of fore-knowledge of the great combat that would have to be waged in the arena of human reason. From the first, with prudence, forethought, and wise economy, they prepared a system for turning the abilities of their members to the fullest account. With them, no intellect was lost. Power was recognized, trained, and put in motion. Those who were less gifted were set to less intellectual employments;—those who had great powers were, with care and patience, by time and the best professors, fitted to become lights of the world and ornaments of the Order.

The interest taken by the Friars in the studies of their rising men, is clearly seen in the case of S. Thomas himself. He had already received a good education at Monte Cassino, and the University; so much so, that, as has been seen, his name was

* The Acts of the General Chapter say:—

"Studium in liberalibus artibus et scientiis valet in Christianitate ad multa. Valet enim ad defensionem fidei, quam non solum heretici et pagani impugnant, sed Philosophi . . . Ex his ergo et multis aliis patet rationibus, quod studium in artibus liberalibus valde necessarium in Ecclesia est. (*Maré et Durand, ampliss. collectio, tom. IV. See Werner, vol. I., p. 32.*)

Again: "Taliter debent esse in studio intenti, ut de die, de nocte, in domo, in itinere legant aliquid, vel meditentur, et quidquid poterunt retinere corde tenus nitentur." "Priores et Lectores, Fratresque omnes ad Studii promotionem incumbere tenentur." "Sacrarum litterarum studium Religionis nostrae quam maxime congruit." "Ordinamus, ut nullus ad habitum clericalem in nostro ordine recipiatur, vel ad professionem admittatur, nisi sciat distincte et clare legere, bene intelligat ac declaret quae legit, et latinam calleat linguam." (*See Const., etc., Capitulum Generale S. Ord. Prædic. Romæ, MDCLV.*)

mentioned by the learned in the city with mingled awe and admiration. With such an intellectual capital as our Saint possessed, he might fairly have been set to work in the active ministrations of his Order. But fortunately, his superiors were men who looked into the future, and knew how a present sacrifice would be repaid. They were aware that a young man, carefully built up, fully formed by a process of so much study, and so much training spread over so much time, would be as a fortress for defence or for attack. These men were aware that *time* is as essential a condition for maturing a man, as it is for ripening a fruit; you may bake an apple, but you cannot ripen it at pleasure. To force nature beyond its pace, be it in man or beast, is not to build nature up, but to pull nature down. Time, and trouble, and expense—patience, and confidence in the result—these were the secrets of Dominican success. Like the great material buildings of those days, they built up—stone upon stone, in labour and toil, in process of time—men, full of light and intellectual activity, with their moral nature trained and consolidated into stability. Thus it was that instead of looking on S. Thomas's education as finished, they considered it as only just begun. His mind was now in a position to imbibe the knowledge of scientific things. It was open: light could be poured in with advantage. Who was the master capable of bringing it to its perfection?

This question, no doubt, John of Germany, fourth General of the Dominicans, must have asked himself; it was not a question of distance or expense, but a question of doing the best for the Order. So he at once set off with the Saint, on foot, for a three months' journey, from Rome to Paris, and from Paris to Cologne, where Albertus Magnus was lecturing.* When the reader calls to mind what kind of undertaking such a journey must have been, especially when made with no other assistance than a prayer-book and a stick, and that by an old man, and a delicate youth, he will begin to realize one of the causes of the rapid development of the Dominicans, who could, even at this date, number eight provinces, sixty convents, and nearly thirty thousand friars. What was easier than for the General to have saved himself this tedious journey? Why could he not have sent S. Thomas to Bologna, or to Naples, or to Paris, where there were teachers renowned for learning and ability? The reason is simple as the principle is golden. Because, at that date, no scholar was so promising as S. Thomas Aquin, and no master had so high a reputation as Albertus Magnus.

* Quem quum Joannes Tentonicus magister ordinis in carissimum in Christo filium suscepisset, duxit eum Parisios et deinde Coloniam, ubi sub Alberto, magistro in Theologia ejusdem ordinis, florebat studium. (*Antoninus, Hist., p. 5, tit. 23, cap. 7, § 34.*)

Unfortunately, historians have left us no account of the incidents of the journey of the young student with the venerable General.

The modesty of the Saint himself, his horror of being talked about, and the natural reserve of a lofty mind, has deprived posterity of much that, undoubtedly, would have been full of interest, and have tended to edification. One anecdote is however told of the Saint and his companion which shows how, from his early days, he had learnt to love the great fathers of the Church. It is related that, as they were approaching their destination, and they descried what appeared a distant town, and as the beauty of the city of Paris grew upon them with their advancing steps, the General turned to Thomas, and said "What would you give, Brother Thomas, to be king of that city"? "I would rather have S. John Chrysostom's treatise on the Gospel of S. Matthew," replied the young man, "than be king of the whole of France."*

The life of S. Thomas of Aquin would not be complete, were I to omit a brief notice of that extraordinary man whose teaching exerted so profound an influence upon him. If Thomas surpassed his Professors at Naples and Cologne, at all events, he now met his match in a teacher, whose breadth of knowledge and wide experience must have convinced him that there was something yet for him to learn. Nothing is a greater blessing for a master-mind, than to come in contact with another master-mind, more highly educated, and with a more matured experience than itself.

Albert was born of the noble family of Bollstadt in 1193, at Lavingen, on the banks of the Danube, in Bavarian Suabia. Some of his historians say that, like S. Isidore, he was dull as a boy. Others tell us that he was so dissatisfied with his tutor at home, that accompanied by an uncle, he was sent to study under the most famous dialecticians at Paris. The next we hear of him is at Padua, applying himself to medicine and mathematics. Here it was that he was persuaded by Br. Jordan, the General of the Dominicans—who had already, by his eloquence, attracted one thousand young men out of the universities of Paris and Bologna—to join the Order. At once the Dominicans, seeing what a prize they had drawn, set about making the most of it. Albert must complete his education. He was sent at once to Bologna, the second centre of the then intellectual world. Next he began to teach. As lecturer, he was unrivalled.† People went in crowds

* Cardinal Augustine Valerio, in his book *De cautione in edendis libris*, shows how highly S. Thomas prized this work of S. John Chrysostom, and how careful he was with his penmanship: "S. Thomas," he says, "sanctissimorum virorum doctissimus, cum commentarium S. Chrysostomi in sanctum Evangelistam Mattheum in ejus manus pervenisset, thesaurum se reperisse existimans, sua manu illud totum descripsisse fertur, industriam Demosthenis imitatus, qui Thucydidis scripta non semel, sed octies descripserat." (*See La Carità, Ann. II., vol. IV., p. 252.*)

† And yet he did not make use of startling methods to gain disciples. From Albert, possibly S. Thomas gained a portion of that admirable spirit of intellectual moderation, for which

to listen to him as to an intellectual wonder, Princes, Bishops, Prelates, nobles, rich and poor, laymen and clerics, all thronged into the hall of this extraordinary man. The logic, ethics, and physics of Aristotle, and portions of the Holy Scripture, were the subject-matter of his lectures. He put a new impetus of intellectual life into a body of men who would seem to have been intellectual enough before, and was looked upon as a second founder of the Order. He went from Freiburg to Regensburg, and from Strasburg to Cologne, always begging his way, and travelling on foot, giving lectures in philosophy and theology. In 1228, he was sent to Paris to look thoroughly into the studies, and to put them on a footing to meet the requirements of the age. Then he returned to Cologne. It was at this period that he first met S. Thomas, who became his favourite disciple, and to whom in private he opened the stores of his capacious mind.

Albert's life looks as if it were wholly taken up in travelling and talking. In 1245, he was again sent to Paris to take his Doctor's cap, and to give public lectures in S. James's. It was at this period that he attained the height of his reputation as a professor. Some of his later historians declare that so great was the press to hear him, that no building in Paris was large enough to contain his audience, and that thus he was forced to lecture in the open air.* In 1248, he was once more sent back to Cologne, to become *Regens*, and *Primarius Lector* of the school. In 1254, he was elected Provincial. The year after, he was called to Rome, and made Master of the Sacred Palace. In 1260, he was made Bishop of Regensburg, and then Papal Legate in Poland, by Alexander IV. Any one of these offices would have been full occupation for any ordinary man. When it is remembered that Albertus Magnus held each of them with credit—that as Professor he surpassed all his contemporaries; that as Regens, he was a zealous and prudent reformer; that as Bishop, he left a mark which remains to this day; that as Master of the Sacred Palace, he astonished his hearers by the wisdom of his discourse; that as Papal Legate, he did more than any man of his period towards mitigating the ferocity of barbarians, and encouraging a Christian spirit—when it is remembered how in those troubled times he was

he was so justly famed.. Of Albert, Peter of Prussia says:—"In omnibus suis scriptis hunc humilitatis modum servat, ut, cum alta mirabiliter validissimis rationibus sanctæ Scripturæ ac sanctorum auctoritatibus munens scriptitat, nulli tamen unquam doctori præjudicium in suis opinionibus voluit generare; unde quam sæpe proprias opiniones ponens, præmittit sic inquitens—'Sine præjudicio loquens . . . Salva pace sic videtur loquendum. . . . Ita cum aliis magistris sentio . . . Hæc opinio videtur mihi probabilior' . . . In quo modo scribendi nullus doctorum ipsi similis reperitur . . . Unde maluit inscius in quibusdam reputari quam temerarius in periculosus." (*Cap. V.*) See also Sighart—Hærtel—Blanco. *Die alte Universität Köln*. Compare D'Assailly, p. 383.

* Ses leçons sur Aristote eurent un tel succès, que, faute de salle assez vaste, il dut, dit-on, les faire en plein air, sur une place à laquelle on donna son nom: *place de Maître-Albert* ou *Aubert*, puis *place Maubert*. Dans les environs se trouve encore aujourd'hui la *rue Maître-Albert*. (*Franklin*, vol. I., p. 173.)

occupied in defending his Order, in making peace, in acting as arbitrator between rivals, for instance, in 1249, 1251, 1258, and that over and above the performance of all these active duties, he repeated the entire Psalter every twenty-four hours, and wrote twenty-one folio volumes* upon every then known subject that can be put under logic, metaphysics, psychology, natural science, ethics, theology, chemistry, botany, and the rest, we begin to get a glimpse of what manner of a giant S. Thomas had for his professor.† Is there any man in the whole range of history who has manifested in equal proportions such practical ability, such speculative power, and indefatigable industry? Well may his contemporaries have called him the "Doctor Universalis," and Engelbert have written of him "Vir in omni scientia adeo divinus, ut nostri temporis stupor et miraculum congrue vocari possit.‡

There is no doubt that Albert took a wide and profound view of the conditions of the intellectual world of his day. A man does not labour as he laboured, nor strike out a novel course of teaching, with the likelihood of being misunderstood, without having a grave reason for doing so. The very task which he set himself to accomplish, points to the depth and the wisdom of his appreciation of the times. He saw clearly the immense influence which had been, and still was being exerted, by those vast intellectual powers represented by the Koran, the Talmud, and the Stagyrite. Much truth thrown into philosophic form was on the side of the enemy. The power of Greek thought, its precision, its clearness, its order, its logical force, together with the traditionary teachings of men of intelligence, as subtle as profound, could always make a respectable appearance, and often confuse those who were really seeking after truth; and keep them from perceiving clearly the philosophy and beauty of the Christian religion. Besides, not only had the enemy to be attacked, but the whole body of catholic teaching, like some vast city, had to be defended—and defended, not merely against the assaults of her own children, but against the clever insinuations, the artful fallacies, the philo-

* Brought out by the French Dominican, Peter Jammy. *Lyons*, 1651.

Medieval Professors sometimes made their students write for them. Some had as many as fifty young men at work at a time. St. Peter of Cluny employed men to translate from the Arabic. S. Raymund got work done in the convents of the Order.

† L'énumération des ouvrages laissés par Albert le Grand ou recueillis sous son nom, en vingt-et-un volumes in-folio, n'occupe pas moins de douze pages dans la Bibliothèque des écrivains de son ordre. (*Hauréau, Tom. II., p. 5.*) Some say he wrote eight hundred works.

‡ De Summo Bono. (*Tom. III., c. 9.*)

This is rather different from the criticism of that industrious bigot Prantl. Albertus Magnus (*geb. 1193, gest. 1200.*) war ein unklarer Kopf und nicht befähigt, irgend eine grundsätzliche Auffassung hinauszudenken, soweit dieselbe reicht. . . . Aber Verstand oder etwa gar philosophische Begabung besass er wohl nicht in höherem Grade, als die ganze grosse Masse aller Mittelmässigen, ja, wie sich alsbald zeigen soll sogar in geringerem Grade. . . . Wenn in Bezug auf bekannte Anekdoten über die erste Jugend und das Greisenalter des Albertus seine Feinde, die Franziskaner von ihm sagten, "Ex asino philosophus factus et ex philosopho asinus," so trafen sie hie mit auch in derbestem Ausdrucke doch etwas Richtiges. (*Prantl, Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande. B. III., cap. 17, p. 89.*)

sophical systems of men with intelligence every bit as powerful, and as educated, as her own. All this was clear to Albertus Magnus.

The two grand objects he kept in view during his brilliant career as Professor, and his long labours as Theologian, were, first, that, the influences of philosophy, the wisdom, clearness, and systematic methods of the powers of Paganism, should be brought over, and turned round for the defence and glory of the Church, —that Aristotle should be Christianized; and, secondly, that faith should be thrown into the form of a vast scientific organism, through the application of Christianized philosophy to the dogmata of revealed religion. Thus would the Church possess all the highest truths of Greek philosophy in the purest form, without the alloy of error that is generally encrusted round the noblest of human speculations. Thus she would present an impregnable barrier to the efforts of pride of intellect, when endeavouring to upset the framework of the Church. Thus, also, would that almost endless array of points of belief, of which religion is composed, be united in the oneness of a philosophic form, and instead of being objects of difficulty to the enquirer, in reality, startle his mind, not only by their reasonableness, but by their strict relationship to one another. What could be more Divine than the conception of salvation as reflected in that splendid *Summa* of S. Thomas, which, humanly speaking, would never have existed had it not been for Albertus Magnus?

It was not without causing astonishment, and I may say, not without some scandal, that Albert set about this great work of bringing Aristotle into the midst of Christianity. Had he contented himself with hunting up old manuscripts, with laboriously searching out the true text, and still more laboriously, perhaps, eliciting the true meaning, by comparing one execrable translation from the Arabic, with a still more execrable translation from the Greek;—or, foiled in this,—by comparing one part of the author with another, or with Theophrastus or Avicenna, men might simply have wondered at the extraordinary hobby of an industrious book-worm.* But he did far more than this:—he actually had the boldness to modify, and mould Aristotle, by the right of Christian principles, into a Christian form, to be set before Christian men, as Christian philosophy. And what is more, he made use of the position he occupied of Public Professor of Theology and Philosophy to instil his novel views into the minds of the rising genera-

* Some say that Albert only knew the Arabian philosophy through Jewish writers. (See Dr. A. Schmiedl's interesting *Studien über jüdische, insonders jüdisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie, Die Engellehre*, p. 78, also Schmölders, *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes*, p. 263. Munk, *Le guide des égarés*. II. p. 60.)

tion. Never before this, had Aristotle been made the special subject-matter for lectures in the schools, and never before had the disciples of any professor seen their master with such fulness, depth, and comprehensiveness, build up so vast a system of harmonious truth.* Albert has, over and over, been accused of "introducing the philosophy of Aristotle into the very sanctuary of Christ," of "allotting to him the principal seat in the middle of Christ's temple;" of being drunk with the wine of secular science, human wisdom, and profane philosophy; of uniting contentious, thorny, and garrulous dialectics with most sacred and most pure theology, and of teaching his followers a new and philosophic method of explaining and teaching the Holy Word. He has been called "an ape," and "an ass," has been accused of sorcery, and of witchcraft,† and, in fact, has received that tribute from the foolish, which all truly superior men are accustomed to receive, and gratefully to acknowledge.

It would be too long, and beside the purpose, to go round the many-sided fabric of theology, and point out the merits of this mighty architect. It will suffice to hint, in the words of an able writer, at one or two of the services he rendered in particular questions. "He added two new proofs of the existence of God; he exposed the fallacies of pantheism; he completed the Lombard's doctrine on reprobation; refuted with consummate ability the Aristotelian doctrine of the Eternity of the World, introduced the famous distinction ever since employed against optimists; illustrated by ingenious analogies the Catholic doctrine of Justification; and went more profoundly than any of his predecessors into the sublime mystery of the ever Blessed Trinity."‡

Besides being a theologian and philosopher—indeed, the first theologian and philosopher of his day—Albert was also great in natural history, he was a botanist, a chemist, a geographer, an architect, a geologist, and a mechanic, besides being an anatomist and an alchemist.§ He spent thirty years' toil in working at an automaton, which at length he succeeded in making to speak—the same, if the tradition have any truth in it, which so startled

* In der that ist er es gewesen, welcher das christliche Abendland zuerst in das Verständniss der Aristotelischen Philosophie einführte, wie er auch der Erste sie zum besondern Gegenstande öffentlicher Lehrvorträge machte: er überraschte seine Zeitgenossen durch ein zusammenhängendes System philosophischer Lehren. (Werner, B. I., p. 89.)

† "Telle perfection y a-t-il eu, qu'aucuns lui ont jeté le chat aux jambes, qu'il estoit necromancien et detestable magicien." (See *Histoire des plus illustres et savans hommes de leur siècles*. Thevet, p. 87.)

‡ With him began the distinction of *essentia* and *existentia*. Pachyology owes to him the conception of the soul as *totum potestativum*. All theological virtues are *virtutes infusæ*. Conscience the first law of reason. He also did more than any other towards determining the limits of the reason's knowledge of God.

§ He wrote twenty-six books on animals, which Cuvier pronounced to be interesting, describing their physiological, anatomical, and historical character. The commerce of furs had brought many northern animals before him. He describes shoals of herrings, speaks of whales, of birds, of falconry, of anatomy, medicine, and alchemy.

St. Thomas when, unawares, he came upon it in the workshop of Albert, that he seized the first stick that came to hand, and shrieking *Salve! Salve!* smashed the fearful monster to pieces, thinking it to be some cruel savage who was about to attempt his life.* He entertained William of Holland, in the midst of the severest winter, in a garden he had constructed, breathing the softest zephyrs of spring, and filled with most delicate flowers.† Humboldt declares that in his *Liber Cosmographicus de natura locorum* he surpasses in many points the age in which he lived. As a botanist, Maier puts him before all the ancients but Theophrastus. Dr. Jesser, who brought out his work *De Vegetabilibus et Plantis*, and is a thorough bigot, equals Albert in his *Cosmos* to Aristotle and to Humboldt. Peter Crescentia popularized his discoveries and views. His chemical knowledge may not have been far in advance of the Arabians Geber and Razes,‡ whose doctrines he tried to reconcile with Aristotle's teachings on the elementary properties of matter; but he certainly far surpassed all the ancients in the ingenuity of his experiments, and in some of his discoveries. He could make gunpowder. His remarks on gems would repay the perusal of the student at this day. He was the first to perceive the chemical affinities of bodies, and to detect various relations of metals to each other, while he greatly increased the practical utility of chemical materials.§ Even the Jews looked upon his writings and discoveries with respect.|| A certain Abraham translated into Arabic his *Summa* of natural philosophy; while the learned Jewish physician, Portaleone (1542—1612) pays a handsome compliment to Albert's treatment of "precious stones," in that portion of his scarce and celebrated work, "*Schilte-ha-Gibborim*," which touches on the subject.¶ Then as a geographer, Albert is said to have anticipated the discovery of America;** and, as an architect, he gave plans for several churches; and the first design of the stately cathedral of Cologne is said to have been copied from his drawings.††

What is as remarkable as anything in this extraordinary man

* Both Gerbert (Sylvester II.) and Roger Bacon had a statue, it is said, which answered all their questions. (See *Lecky's Rise of Rationalism*, Vol. I., p. 301.)

† "We are told that Hallaj, a famous juggler and fanatic, who was executed at Bagdad (A. D. 922), could astonish his numerous spectators by making winter-fruits appear in summer, and summer fruits in winter." (*Chrichton's Arabia*, Vol. II., p. 22.)

‡ Razes lived in the tenth century, was director of the hospital at Rhé in Irak, his birth-place, and Professor at Bagdad. His fame is principally owing to his medical writings. Geber, a native of Harran in Mesopotamia, lived in the eighth century. He was the father of Arabian chemistry. He is said to have written five hundred volumes on chemistry. Four tracts only remain.

§ For a full account of Albert's chemical labours, see Kopp, *Geschichte der Chemie*, 4 Bände.

|| (See Niedner, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 487.)

¶ The following works of Albert have been translated into Hebrew:—*De Forma Visionis*, *De Causis*, *De Anima*, *De Spiritu Brutorum*, by Jehuda Romano. *Summa Philosophiæ Naturalis*, by R. Abraham. *De Gemmis*, partly, by A. Portaleone.

** (See Werner, *B. I.*, p. 85.)

†† Kreuser, *der Christliche Kirchenbau*, p. 275.

is, that, though he knew neither Greek, Arabic, nor Hebrew; though he was very feeble in history; * though he is simply ludicrous when he attempts to trace the etymology of words; † still, on the authority of one of the most able writers of the history of philosophy, it may be said, that he understood Aristotle better than our great modern philologists; ‡ and added to all this versatility, was a simplicity, a modesty, a gentleness, a piety, a love for the Blessed Sacrament, a love for our Lady, a devotional spirit, a moral sublimity of character, which has ranked him justly among the blessed, and make him a fit companion for the saints.§ So great was his piety and learning, that some writers declare that his knowledge was infused into him by heaven.||

One can well imagine him swaying the minds of his disciples by the marvellousness of his many-sided knowledge. One can see now, in imagination, that placid figure, those features, beautiful in their regularity; those eyes, singularly meditative and profound; those lips, speaking of gravity and energy; and that general impress of calm genius, with passion altogether conquered, or, at all events, entirely controlled; as—surrounded by admiring and loving eyes—he unfolds the hidden science of the saints, or dwells upon the origins and springs of God's beautiful creation.¶

He continued teaching till he was eighty-five years old, and ended his laborious and saintly life in 1280. **

Such was the master selected by John of Germany for young Thomas of Aquino. Such was the chance given to the young Dominican for bringing to their highest perfection those extraordinary gifts of nature and grace entrusted to him by God.†† When

* "Zählt er die Pythagoräer unter die Stoiker, sagt, Sokrates sei ein Macedonier gewesen, er meint, Hesiod habe auch den Namen Homer getragen, Anaxagoras und Empedokles seien beide aus Italien gewesen; den Plato betrachtet er als, den "Princeps Stoicorum;" den Namen "Epicuräer" erklärt er so, dass er sagt, sie seien Leute welche auf der faulen Haut (super cutem) liegen, oder sich um Unnützes bekümmern (curantes); Endymion leitete er ab von in und dynion (intellectus)." Stöckl, *B. II., crst. Abt.*, p. 358. See also Werner, *S. Thomas*, p. 88.

† Adam of Perseigne seems to have had a little touch of philological knowledge. (Vincent de Beauvais, *vol. IV.*, 1227.)

‡ "Albertus habe den Aristoteles wohl besser verstanden, als unsere neueren grossen Philologen." (Ritter, *B. I. p. 626*—Stöckl, *B. II. p. 352*—421.)

§ His spirit is seen in *De adhaerendo Deo*, *cap. V.*

¶ "Inde ben tosto fu [Tomaso] per degni rispetti inviato a Colonia per sentire Alberto il Magno, oracolo di quel secolo nelle scienze tanto humane, quanto divine, infuseli più tosto liberalmente da Dio, ch'a forza di studio da lui acquistate." (Erig. *l. I., c. IV.*, n. 4, p. 24.) See also Ulric Engelbert, his disciple, *De Summo bono, Tract III.*, c. 3.

¶ He deserved, if any one ever did, the same epitaph as Alfonso Tostatus, the celebrated Spanish divine:

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scilicet discutit omne."

** Celestine III. became Pope when he was eighty-five years old; Raymond of Pennafort lived and worked till ninety-eight. Some say that Albert lost his knowledge when he became old: so most people do when past eighty-four. Newton, at the end, entirely forgot all his great discoveries, and Kant, all his critical philosophy. The legend referred to is mentioned by Flamininus, Leander, and Jammy. Lacordaire, also, mentions it in his *Histoire de Saint Dominique*, p. 37. D'Assailly relates that our Lady appeared to Albert, and asked him "Dans quelle science veux-tu devenir habile?" . . . "Je voudrais devenir habile dans la connaissance de la nature," répondit simplement Albert. "Tu seras ce que tu désires et le plus grand des philosophes," murmura la Vierge, un peu surprise et désolée, 'mais parce que tu n'as point préféré la science de mon fils, la théologie, un jour viendra, où, perdant même la science de la nature, tu te retrouveras l'intelligence, volée comme à présent.'" (D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand*, p. 48. Paris: Didier, 1870.)

†† His sanctity is evident from these words of Peter of Prussia: (*Vit. Alb.* p. 230.) "Cum

the genius of the Italian is directed and fostered by the genius of the German, the result cannot but be a glorious manifestation of cultivated ability and power.

beatus Thomas ejus discipulus sanctorum adscriberetur catalogo, *de Alberti etiam canonizatione* ut aiunt, *tractabatur*; licet propter negligentiam fratrum prosecutione careret." (See also Sighart, *cap. XXXVII. p. 285.*)

CHAPTER VIII.

TEACHING DOWN TO S. ANSELM.

BEFORE attempting an account of the studies of S. Thomas under Albert, a rapid sketch must be drawn, as with a stroke, of the course of the theological current up to the period of his pupilage.

There is nothing more sublime than the influence which one grand idea, introduced by the Redemption, has exerted on the most powerful of minds. Before the principle of Christianity, by which is meant the whole idea of the Christian dispensation, was set to work, the power of mere reason, the religion of passion and sense, ruled paramount in the world. I am not speaking of the isolated nation of the Jews, but refer to those multitudinous peoples whose ruling principle was naturalism and materialism, and whose highest efforts never reached beyond the misty vision of a doubtful splendour—too volatile to be firmly grasped, and too weak, compared with passion and pride, to affect the destinies of men. When a higher philosophy for a time seemed to gather to itself the natural aspirations of humanity after the good, the beautiful, and the true, the coarseness of nature soon eclipsed the refinement of reason; and those two sympathetic developments which domineer where Christianity does not counteract them—pride that ends in blindness, and sensuality that ends in despotism—took possession of the moral and intellectual man.*

Reason, left to itself, history assures us, will go astray; sense, uncurbed by illuminated reason, history as clearly says, will produce disorder. Reason has been tried, and reason has failed; sense has been master, and has proved a tyrant. God sent one to rule them both, and to use them as her servants.

Great was the struggle before faith became consolidated in her position. She is seen on the day of Pentecost, in flames of fire, descending upon the Apostles, and "sweetly interiorly burning,"

* See Cicero, *Tuseul.* I. 49. Plato, *Apol. Soc.* p. 40. Lucian, *Acad. quæst.* II. Aristot., *Post.* XXVI. 12. Xenophanes, *Frag. in Sect. Emp.* VII., 49. Seneca, *Ep.* 31.
"Nemo novit Deum. Indulge genti: carpatum dulcia: nostrum est
Quod vivis. Cinis et manes et fabula fies." (*Pers. Sat.* V. 131. *sqq.*)

See Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums* Erster Band, Zweite Abtheilung, *Das Bedürfniss der Offenbarung*, p. 451—515.

as S. Gregory says, and fully mastering the hearts and intelligences of men. Then she took her seat, with her Greek profile, and simple majesty, in Alexandria, and withstood, as one gifted with a divine power, two subtle and dangerous enemies, heathen philosophy, and heretical theology; and by means of Clement, and of Origen, proved to passion and misbelief that a new and strange intellectual influence had been brought into the world. Then, she appeared in the fourth century at Antioch, less eager, perhaps, regarding the speculative doctrines of theology, but more deeply interested in the Sacred text, and arming herself with sharp, bright weapons, against the thrust of the heathen and the blow of the heretic. Next, she combated, with her own fearless grace, and matchless dexterity, those who advanced, time after time, against her teaching on Grace, on the divinity of the Word, and on the Incarnation. Her form developed during the combat, in grace and elasticity, and she began to acquire the complete symmetry and perfect fulness of her beautiful proportions. The activity of assault simply made victory the more secure, and proved to the world her divine original.

S. Gregory of Nyssa, and S. Gregory Nazianzen—sometimes called the second Origen—were amongst her most distinguished champions. She appeared in the West, with almost the same garb as she adopted in the East. S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, Rufinus, and Cassian, drew the sharp instruments of their controversy, if not the riches of their rhetoric, from the more simple logic of the Grecian Fathers. And whilst S. John Damascene, in the East, with little individual originality, and without much comparative genius for advance, gathered into one all the learning of the past,* S. Augustine, in the West, who stands out like a giant amongst the greatest—with an originality of conception, richness of fancy, and severity of reasoning, that cannot be well surpassed—not only widened and advanced the boundaries of scientific Christianity by his contests with the Pelagians and Donatists, but left, in the efforts of his genius, so firm a groundwork of Catholic teaching, that the Church of this day may be said to rest upon it, as upon an immovable intellectual basis.

Thus, Faith had her great champions, whose courses, like lines of light, can be traced in the expanse of history, now burning steadily, now more brightly, now breaking into flame, at times converging into one great focus, and always manifesting one principle as the guide and mistress of brute force, and intellectual despotism.

* He chiefly follows S. Gregory Nazianzen: "Ἐρῶ τοιγαροῦν ἐμὸν νοσεῖν τὰ δε σποραδὴν θείοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι λελεγμένα συλληβδὴν ἐκθῆσθαι." (Joan. Damas. *Dialectica*, Opp., Vol. I., p. 9.)

As far as the West is concerned, the Champions of Faith never died out from decrepitude or age. Violence, the torrent springing out of the wilds of Northern Europe, overswept all in its flood. A new nationality, young and vigorous, took the place of the power of ancient Rome. It had to be civilized. A world-work had to be done. The Encyclopedic Capella (450), Cassiodorus (467), and the Aristotelian Boethius (480), led the way to Isidore of Seville (636), Tajo, and Venerable Bede (674—735), who were the first to arise after the world had been submerged. They proved that dogma and exegesis had not died, if they had slumbered. Faith, though seemingly eclipsed, had not been cast out. Retired into monastic retreats, and clothed in the simple habit of a Benedictine monk, she at length came forth to set the world in order, and raised up a man to do the work of reconstruction. Charlemagne was a man of stupendous gifts, whether as a soldier, a legislator, or a Christian. The one dominant principle of his life was the principle of faith. It is the key to his personal policy, and formed the foundation of his legislation. Under him, religion speedily regained her own. He was the warrior who set her on that throne, from which she ruled, with sovereign sway, during the feverish period of the middle ages. He it was who set on foot those schools which formed the transition from the monastic education of the past, to the academies and universities of the future. The teaching in them, to be sure, was meagre enough, not extending beyond the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*;* but hidden in their secret archives, were preserved priceless treasures of ancient literature and wisdom.

It was only in the twelfth century that medicine, scholastic theology, and canon and civil law, entered into the *Curriculum*. Amongst the learned men, with whom Charlemagne surrounded himself, was Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, and Alcuin (732—804). Alcuin, who was a scholar of Bede and Egbert, founded a school of laborious students. Fridegisus, Rabanus Maurus (776—856) Paschasius Radbertus, a disciple of Adelhard who was pupil of Alcuin,—all of them monks,—spent their days diligently writing, or rather collecting information, on history, dogma, and exegesis, and in preparing the subject-matter for the great contentions of a future day.† Then came the strife of truth with

* Sometimes expressed thus: "*Grammatica*: Quidquid agunt partes, ego semper prædico partes. *Dialectica*: Me sine Doctores frustra coluere sorores. *Rhetorica*: Est mihi dicendi ratio cum flore loquendi. *Musica*: Invenere locum per me modulamina vocum. *Geometria*: Rerum mensuras et rerum signo figuras. *Arithmetica*: Explico per numerum, quid sit proportio rerum. *Astronomia*: Astra viasque poli vindico mihi soli."

The three first, the *Trivium*: the next, the *Quadrivium*. They are also called the "Seven Liberal Arts."

† The first command the Bishops had, to establish at their cathedrals public schools, where scholars should be taught gratis, was in the Assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789. It was renewed by the III. Council of Lateran, in 1179. The Council of London, in 1138, and that of Rouen, in 1074, aimed at centralization.

error, and the consequent victory of truth. The controversy between Gotteschalc and Hincmar on predestination (819—868), the gentle smoulderings which afterwards blazed into a fierce flame of Nominalism and Realism, connected with the names of Gerbert, Heric and Remigius of Auxerre, and John the Sophist—the contest, above all, in which Berengarius (1003) and Lanfranc split, drawing from the latter that vigorous, violent, and witty *Liber Scintillarum*,—were but as the slight movements and distant rumblings in the earth, which were afterwards to grow into violent shocks and loud thunderings.* The world was set in motion, men's minds were becoming possessed with an idea, and we begin to leave the period of *catenæ* and *summulae*, of chronicles and annals, and to enter into that period of fermentation which was the prelude to the large scientific expression of Catholic truth in Albert, Thomas, and Bonaventure.

I refer to the period beginning with S. Anselm, and ending with the Lombard—a most exciting epoch, and one full of the contests and antagonisms of human thought. At this period it was that faith and reason, the principle of authority and self-assertion, stood over against each other, and grew into clear and distinct shape, and manifested their bearings on society with greater boldness than, perhaps, ever they had done before. This was the period in which those two sides of truth, the speculative and contemplative, and those two sides of the human mind, the reason and the will, created the great schools of scholastic and monastic theology.

Many causes led to the intellectual activity of the twelfth century. The increase of schools, the multiplication of professors, liberty of opinion, heat in the maintenance of personal convictions, the increased knowledge of theological and philosophical problems, the awakened sense of the power of human reason produced by the study of Aristotle's *Dialectics*, the study of Plato, public displays of intellectual fence—all this tended to develop the activity of the mind, and to bring out, clearly, truth and error from their opposing camps. Just as young men, when they first begin to study logic, are not satisfied till they are practising upon their companions, caring little for truth, but much for victory; so, now, men's minds began to grow sensible of their power; and the great fascination was not so much love of truth, as an unquenchable craving for single combats, and for victory over the intelligence of fellow men. Thus, when professors and students settled down in large towns, these lovers of mental excitement would

* In the thirteenth century, any collection of thoughts or extracts was called *Scintillaris*, or *Scintillarius*.

travel from place to place, spending their days in intellectual gladiatorial displays—upsetting gray-headed professors, and bringing confusion into the schools.* This was developing reason with a vengeance: and it is not surprising that the time was not distant when these bold knights should find themselves in open antagonism with one, fairer and more dexterous than themselves. Men who could deify the Aristotelian method of syllogistic reasoning, and could be absorbed by those miserable translations of his dialectics; who could abandon knowledge, to run after mere intellectual display; were just the persons to manifest little reverence for the mysteries of faith, and little respect for the traditions of the past.

The one central question, out of which many developments grew, was the dispute upon Universals. To omit a short account of it would be to turn the history of this period, and the one succeeding it, into an enigma. But the reader need not fear. Scholastic refinements and distinctions shall, as far as possible, be avoided in this volume.

When powder is dry, a mere spark can set it in explosion. So, one doubt, falling upon men's minds in a certain moral state, is capable of creating an activity which may issue in a revolution. Boethius and Rabanus Maurus, as far back as the ninth century, as well as an anonymous writer of the eleventh, had, in their meditative way, ventilated the question of Universals. But the period for an explosion had not then arrived.

At length it came. It originated with a problem translated out of Porphyry by Boethius, of which Porphyry himself did not dare to offer a solution. The *dicere recusabo* of Porphyry, soon set the curious and contentious minds of the twelfth century in motion. The question was this:—Have genus and species, such as animal, horse, &c., an independent existence of themselves, or do they only exist as we think them in our minds? If they do exist of themselves, are they body, or spirit? Do they exist separate from sensible things, or in them?†

* "Men at this time waste their whole lives in controversy; even disputing in the public streets. When too old for any other employment, they still retain their fondness for debate; always seeking but never arriving at truth, because they are ignorant of the ancients, or disdain to adopt their opinions; for ever framing new errors of their own, or, through poverty of judgment, retailing the opinions and sayings of others, and compiling an inconsistent mass, out of which each author would find it difficult to recover his own." (John of Salisbury, *Metalog.*, B. II., cap. VII., p. 364.)

† It will be interesting to give this in full:—

"Cum sit necessarium, Chrysostomi, et ad eam quæ est apud Aristotelem prædicamentorum doctrinam, nosse quid sit genus, quid differentia quid species, quid proprium, quid accidens; et ad diffinitionum assignationem, et omnino ad ea quæ in divisione et in demonstratione sunt, utili istarum rerum speculatione, compendiosam tibi traditionem faciens tentabo breviter, volui introductionis modo, ea quæ ab antiquis dicta sunt aggredi, ab altioribus quidem questionibus abstinens, simpliciores vero mediocriter conjectans. *Mos de generibus et speciebus illud quidem sive subsistant, sive in solis nudis intellectibus posita sint sive subsistentia corporalia sint an incorporea, et utrum separata a sensibilibus, an in sensibilibus posita et circa hæc consistentia, dicere recusabo. Altissimum enim negotium est hujusmodi, et majoris egens inquisitionis.*" [Porphyrius:—*Αντικα περι γενων τε και ειδων, το μεν ειτε υφεστηκεν ειτε και εν μοναις ψυλαις επινοιας κειται, ειτε και υφεστηκοτα σωματα εστιν η ασωματα, και ποτερον χωριστα η εν τοις αισθητοις και περι ταυτα υφεστωτα, παραιτησομαι λεγειν. βαθυτατης ουσης της τοιαντης*

Doubtless, some may wonder how such questions as these could have caused so violent an intellectual commotion as we know was in reality produced. It has been the fashion to dilate on the subtleties, refinements, and barren disputes of the scholastics; and some writers among the schoolmen have given an opening to the charge. But thus to stigmatize the question of Universals in the main, is to manifest either remarkable shallowness of mind, or a profound ignorance of its bearings—of its influence on moral conduct, and its relations with the relative and the absolute, with multitude and unity, with science and faith, with man and God. Destroy the Universal—say that whatever is not one and individual is a myth—and you destroy everything except the egotism of humanity. The principle of self, is the principle of barbarism, and of destruction, and naturally brings about the denial of the reality of the Universal. The Universal, the ideal, whether of the good, the beautiful, or the true, draws man out of himself, and disciplines him, and one may say, sanctifies, and lifts him up in his effort after its realization in himself. If goodness, beauty, and truth are absolutely nothing but words, if the only reality is in the concrete individual, then objects, which have been held in the greatest reverence by mankind, are phantasms or mockeries, such as Church, State, Country, and even Humanity itself. Kill ideas, blast theories, explode the archetypes of things, and the age of brute force is not far distant. The whole history of Christianity, of its victories, of the heroic sacrifice of its children in its defence, of their intense belief in its reality of their marvellous love for its severest laws, is the worship of an Universal, of an idea—an idea which has possessed such a reality as to have subjected the world under its control, and to have lifted up the noblest to its imitation.

Are these ideas to be considered illusions of the mind, or at best creatures of the brain? or do they possess sufficient reality to justify Christians in their love of ideal goodness, beauty, and truth?

Such questions as these, surely, were serious enough, and deserved to occupy the minds of men educating the world in the middle ages.* For, especially at this period, theory speedily resolved itself into practice; what to-day was a speculation of the schools, to-morrow became a fact; men lived quickly, thought quickly, and acted quickly in the days of William of Champeaux

πραγματειας, και αλλης μειζονος δεομενης εξετασεως.) Porphyrii introductio interpret. Boëthio int. (Boëthii opp. ed. Basil. 1570, fol. p. 50.)

* Hence we can understand John of Salisbury, when he says of this question that it is "Veterem questionem in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquitendo et regendo orbis Imperio consumpserit Cæsarea domus: plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Cræsus." (*Polyerat., Lib. VII., cap. XII. p. 661.*)

and Abelard. Reason was trying her wings and making her first ventures, and had not learnt as yet to control her liberty. She had to be broken in, and trained: and being disdainful, wanton, ambitious, and not wanting in self-conceit, it was no light task to subjugate and tame her, and teach her to be content with her proper place.

The first who brought the question of Universals to a point was Roscelin. He was a Canon of Compiègne, a celebrated professor, and a bold speculator. He had made his studies at Soissons and Rheims, had taught at Locmenach (near Vannes), and at Tours, and had succeeded in attracting round him a large and motley gathering of disciples. But the novelty of his views, and his audacity, soon drew upon him the keen eyes of trained theologians and philosophers. They were amazed to hear—what might, perhaps, have been advanced by infidels, and Pagan philosophers, but not by Christian thinkers, much less by a priest and a professor—that Universals were mere delusions of the mind, and that the only thing of which existence could be predicated was the individual. It was strange, indeed, to the ears of men who had been accustomed from youth to look upon the great ideals with reverence and admiration, to hear them proved away, and shovelled on one side as so much intellectual lumber, or derided as the fanciful creations of playful imaginations. Not only did this strange professor make out that Universals were mere sounds, that genus and species were pure abstractions of the human spirit; but he actually had the hardihood to affirm that the parts of a whole had no existence in reality: that they can only be found in the whole, and that the qualities of bodies, considered apart, did not exist at all: so, while he admitted the existence of man, he stoutly denied the existence of humanity; while he affirmed that a house existed, he denied existence to its walls; and while he admitted the reality of a coloured body, he denied, with the same breath, the existence of the colour. Either these Universals, he argued, belonged to the individuals, and thus the mind acquires the notions of them; or they belong to the intellect, being creations of its activity; and, in either case, they are simply unrealities, with names.

How far this professor had studied theology I cannot pretend to say. Possibly carried away by his love of intellectual display, he had neglected the deeper study of dogmatic truth, and the relations of reason to revelation. Anyhow, he brought his philosophical principles to bear directly upon the great corner-stone of all religion. He boldly opposed himself to the whole traditionary teaching of the Church in support of a system of philosophy that

had not, at that time, at all events, a single weighty name to recommend it. The one nature of the Three Divine Persons, according to his theory, was an Universal; and, therefore, its existence must be denied; and so the Canon denied it. Yet he did not admit that he denied the existence of the Creator—because he affirmed a God existing in Three Persons. He admitted the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as three distinct entities, like three angels, in the identity of power and of will. In point of fact, he taught that there were three Gods. This shows the temper of the times, and how thoroughly the human reason was being roused into activity.

But Roscelin's boldness soon met its match. S. Anselm,* in the name of theology, and William of Champeaux, in the name of philosophy, came forth to confront these dangerous novelties, and to support the cause of truth. To the pure Nominalism of Roscelin, S. Anselm opposed a Realism which harmonized philosophy with the doctrines of the Church. Gifted with vast power, with a tender heart, a warm imagination, a piercing intelligence, and a power of order and synthesis beyond any of his contemporaries, he did more than any man of his age towards constructing an organized theology on an intellectual basis, and towards accounting philosophically, by the precision, accuracy, and lucidity of his metaphysical reasoning, for those points of Christian theology which formerly had rested almost exclusively in revelation. The natural bent of his soaring and refined intelligence, and his practices of Divine contemplation, together with hours spent in the solitude of his cell over the pages of S. Augustine and the Fathers, made him particularly fit for the arduous task of directing the mind of the age in which he lived, and for combating, with reason tempered by revelation, the extravagance and wildness of ill-regulated philosophers.† His great imagination, yet extreme caution, gave him a singular power to meet and understand his opponents; his profound knowledge of Scripture, and his theological acumen, gave him a great facility in exposing the tendencies of their doctrines; and the wide sweep of his reasoning, and the firm grasp of his strong intelligence, directed and subdued in the school of contemplation,‡ gave him a mastery over what of all things was

* Disciple of Lanfranc; Prior and Scholastic, 1063; Abbot of Bec, 1078; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093. Died, 1109.

† The conduct of S. Anselm, before the Pope and the Greeks, is the most striking testimony to his extraordinary power:—

"From an elevated seat, Anselm began his discourse. He established from Scripture the orthodox doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son; with a self-possession, force of argument, and power of eloquence which seemed like inspiration. . . . A deep Amen was the one response of the whole assembly, when Urban exclaimed:—"Blessed be thy heart and understanding, blessed be thy lips and the words which flow from them." (Hook, *vol. II.*, p. 229.)

‡ "We are told, for instance, that he neither got up nor went to bed, nor, it was reported, even turned himself in bed without the command of his Director." (Hook, *Vol. II., cap. III., p. 267.*)

most cherished at that day, the dialectical skilfulness, the intellectual keenness, and the logical force of the human mind. Besides all this, he possessed a natural chivalry, and that delicacy of feeling, and that art of soberly meeting the boldest antagonist, which generally issued in his gaining the mastery, and in his rendering triumphant the cause of truth, liberty, and justice.*

It was whilst engaged in his lofty meditations, in the secluded valley of Bec, that he first heard of the astounding propositions which were being defended by the Canon of Compiegne. He saw at a glance what would be the issue of the destructive method of materialism which this Professor was establishing amongst his scholars. But it was rather as a theologian, than as a philosopher, that Anselm determined to upset his adversary.† Stung by the injury to religion, and the traditions of the Fathers, which this Nominalism created, he penned his *De Fide Trinitatis*, in which, though he may, as a theologian, be repeating the teachings of antiquity, yet as a philosopher, he can be considered the founder of the Realistic school.‡ With great force and point he lays down the teaching of the Church upon the Trinity and its relations; and not without a touch of scorn, asks: how men who blunder so ignorantly over the relations between one creature and another, can be capable of arguing upon the sublime doctrines which are included in the Trinity?§

In Roscelin and in Anselm we have fair samples of two schools, which divide the intellectual world even at this day. The materialism, experimentalism, and sensism of Roscelin, who maintains that nothing has any existence except in the individual, that is, that the senses furnish us with all that we can be said in any way to understand, and the spiritualism, mysticism, and intellectualism of Anselm, who, impatient of the trammels of mere sense, absorbed by the contemplation of spiritual things, bursts out of the shell of material existences, to expand in a purer and brighter air—to contemplate and possess, as far as may be, those very truths or essences the existence of which was scoffed at by his opponents.

The secular Canon, engaged in his active life, had not had the advantage of monastic contemplation. Anselm was a monk. He had lived retired with God. He had renounced material things. Contemplation, faith, tradition, meditation of the Fathers, the

* "The Western world was filled to inebriation with the nectar of Anselm's exalted character." (Eadm. *V. Ansel. T. II.*, 13.)

† He had a good library to consult: Lanfranc left 160 vols. at Bec.

‡ *De Fide Trinitatis*, L. I., cap. 4.

§ He seems to discover the real cause of Roscelin's unorthodox doctrine in his too great attachment to "human reason." (See *De Fide Trinit.*, L. I., c. 2.)

|| "Ad nomen proprietatis inhorruit." (Eadm. *in Vit.*, p. 8.)

exercise of reason under strict subordination to supernatural truth, had formed him into a theologian.*

It is the ascetic man, he whose heart loves, and whose spirit is exercised in contemplation, who—when some great crisis arises—comes forth and casts the light that is in him on the sophisms of clever men. He knows how, powerfully, to set the traditionary teaching of the Church against the brilliant originality of error—of philosophers who think much and love little, and have a strange tendency to put themselves on the wrong side in the great religious questions of their day.

It was the solitude of the cloister, the midnight office, the frequent vigil, and a life of prayer, that set Lanfranc against Berengarius, Anselm against Roscelin, and Bernard against Abelard.

The next chapter will show, in the case of Abelard, how the two confronting powers battled for the mastery, and what was the ultimate issue of the combat. It is necessary, for clearly understanding the position of S. Thomas, to touch upon these developments of an earlier date: for there are no great intellectual movements to be found in history which do not reach far beyond the place where first they were set in motion. The stone is dropped in the centre of a pool, the circling ripples expand till they touch the shore.

* He naturally shrank from the world, "and likened himself to an owl, which is only well when it is with its young ones in a hole: but if it comes out among crows and ravens, sees nothing on all sides but pecking beaks, and knows not which way to turn. (Hook, *Vol. II.*, cap. 3, p. 274.)

CHAPTER IX.

RATIONALISM AND IRREVERENCE. ABELARD. a

ABELARD is a type of the excitable and disputatious age in which he lived. Born in 1079, he was, like his brothers, destined by his father for the career of arms. But the brilliancy of his talents, and, above all, his headstrong passion for dispute, made him turn with disgust from the calling of a soldier, to dedicate himself to a life of intellectual activity. When only a lad of fifteen, he abandoned home and all it offered, and threw himself upon the wide world, bent on seeking his fortune amongst the logical contentions of the schools. He was, as St. Bernard declares, a "*vir bellator ab adolescentia*."* Roscelin appears to have been his first master, and he speaks of him with that contempt with which he seems to have been accustomed to repay the efforts of his teachers.† When only twenty years of age, having visited the provinces, and exercised himself in the subtleties and arts of dialectical disputation, astonishing all he met by his logic, wit, and audacity, he came to Paris to break a lance with the most experienced and skilful masters of debate.

At this period, William of Champeaux's reputation was at the zenith. He added to the dignity of Archdeacon of Notre Dame, a piety and asceticism which threw a charm round his person, and conciliated to him the reverence of those wild young men who pressed around his chair. His lectures on the great question of Universals, in which he went in direct opposition to the heresy of Roscelin—and endeavoured to start Realism as an independent philosophy, and the only foundation of dialectics—made him a sort of Apostle of the Faith. And the talent and originality which he manifested in defending the dogmata of religion, gained for him the proud appellation of "*Columna Doctorum*."‡

Shoals of scholars, from every coast, were attracted into the school of William. And so great was the excitement and emula-

* Epis. CLXXXIX.

† Hefele, however, denies this, but it would seem without adequate reason. (See Goschler's *Dict. Encycl. de la Theologie Catholique*. T. I., p. 12, ed. 3. 1869.)

‡ Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, T. XIV., p. 285.

tion amongst them, that, not content with their altercations in the schools, and sometimes in the streets, they occasionally brought their syllogisms to cuffs and blows, and had to be dispersed by the civil authorities of the town.

Abelard joined the noisy throng of disputants who poured into the lecture-hall of William. Having lived in this element from childhood, he cared little for contending with his equals, but he kept his eyes fixed steadily on the chair of William of Champeaux, and thirsted to overthrow the master, in proportion as he became aware of the greatness of his fame—yearning to display before the whole school his matchless powers of debate. So much ambition, and such parts, could not remain long in obscurity. Abelard boldly questioned his master, struck blows he could not parry; and, when once he began, speedily drew all eyes upon himself, by his precocious knowledge, by his flowing rhetoric, by his astounding memory, by the singular charm of his melodious voice, and by the grace and beauty of his personal appearance.

At first, William looked upon this extraordinary stripling, who showed an acuteness and depth so far beyond his years, with pleasing admiration. But his admiration was speedily turned to concern and to alarm. He found that neither his authority, nor his experience, nor his undoubted talent, could keep pace with the adroitness of a youth, who seemed bent upon displaying his dexterity by upsetting his professor. Neither gray hairs, nor position, nor *prestige*, had any effect on Abelard. To bring discomfort on the “Column of Doctors” was nothing but a treat to him. He had gained many a victory in the provinces, but to overset in his own chair, upon his own subject, the most famous doctor of the most famous school of the capital, and that in the midst of disciples who hung upon his every word, was an opportunity which such as Abelard could not possibly throw away.

Whilst the Archdeacon was disconcerted, some of his pupils looked upon the new comer with blank astonishment, whilst others, detesting Abelard’s love of popular applause, and jealous of the reputation of their masters, made up their minds to be revenged.

Though but three-and-twenty years old, Abelard determined to set up as master. William of Champeaux did all he could to prevent this move, but without success. The young Professor, surrounded by the young men who had witnessed his passages of arms with the *Columna Doctorum*, commenced his public lectures at Melun (1102). But here he was too far removed from the school of William. He went to Corbeil. Now William’s students

flocked to him, and he was looked upon as one of the first philosophers of the day.

Meanwhile, to the astonishment of all Paris, William of Champeaux suddenly threw up his Archdeaconry and Professorship, and, abandoning Notre Dame, retired to a little oratory dedicated to S. Victor Martyr, in a quiet suburb of Paris.* Here he determined to end his days in the practices of prayer and contemplation. This was the beginning of that famous school of S. Victor, which produced so many deeply-learned and monastic-minded men.

But William was not suffered to repose. Urged by Hildebert, Bishop of Mans, he opened a school, which was soon filled with those students who all along had remained faithful to their master, and with others who, having heard of the sanctity of the Professor, were drawn to listen to his word.

When Abelard heard that the old Professor had retired from his chair, he hurried up to Paris with the hope of securing it for himself. But William had anticipated him, and had placed one of his own disciples in it. Abelard then left Paris, invaded the quiet retreat of St. Victor's and gave out that he had determined to take lessons in rhetoric from William of Champeaux. William at this period was lecturing on Universals. He was opposing emphatically the materialistic doctrines of Roscelin, which had been condemned by the Council of Soissons. Whilst Roscelin by his materialism destroyed the Universal, and only admitted the real existence of the individual, William did the reverse. He did away, in reality, with the individual in his anxiety to affirm the Universal. Man is essentially one, and upon this one essence certain forms fix themselves, and constitute, for example, Socrates. This self-same man—this one essence—receives other forms, and we have Plato, or other individuals. Nor is there anything in Plato which is not, at the same time, in Socrates, except the Socratic form in the one, and the Platonic form in the other. So that, prescind from the forms, the humanity of both is identical. In fact, individuals are not necessary for the existence of the Universal, nor are men necessary for the existence of humanity—for the essences of things are not dependent on accidental forms. Such was the doctrine which William of Champeaux, with great weight of authority, was teaching his disciples when Abelard took his place amongst them.

But Abelard did not come to school to listen, or to seek truth,

* Sur une partie du vaste emplacement qu'occupe aujourd'hui [1860] l'Entrepôt des vins, on voyait alors une petite chapelle dédiée à S. Victor, et qui venait d'être érigée en prieuré; c'est là que Guillaume de Champeaux alla cacher son désespoir et la honte de sa défaite. (*Franklin*, vol. I., p. 136.)

or to establish a theory—he came simply to conquer. He had already shown himself to be a dangerous rival to William of Champeaux—he now determined to upset him once for all, to occupy his chair, and upon the ruins of the system he was bent upon destroying, to build up a system of his own. With his keen vision, like some intellectual hawk, he swooped down upon the vulnerable part of William's theory, and with merciless force burst it up into twenty absurdities. If the substance or humanity of Socrates be identical with the substance or humanity of Plato, then, when Socrates is at Athens, and Plato happens to be in Rome, in reality, they are both in each of those cities at one and the same time. It was useless for William to explain, and say that he did not mean that the Universal was *essentially* one in all individuals, but *indifferently* in them all. He may thus have managed to escape an absurdity, but it was at the price of all his followers. They lost their confidence in him, the spell was broken, and the full tide set in, in the direction of the brilliant and adventurous logician.

So great a reputation did Abelard acquire by this victory, that the Professor who was brought forward by William to oppose him, spontaneously offered his chair to Abelard, declaring that he would consider it a privilege to sit for the future at the feet of such an intrepid young philosopher.* William at once recalled the dazzled Professor; and having replaced him by a man of more stubborn mind, abandoned his retreat at S. Victor's and accompanied by a chosen few, buried himself in a still deeper solitude. Abelard returned to Melun.

But as may easily be conceived, he did not remain long at rest. He came to Paris, opened a school at Mount S. Geneviève, and began a violent crusade against the new Professor. William sprang from his retreat in support of his disciple. A fierce philosophical contest raged between the schools; till finally the Professor, thoroughly overcome by the power and brilliancy of his opponent, hurried out of the city, to hide his shame in the solitude of some distant monastery.

Having achieved such success as a philosopher, Abelard now made up his mind that he would be a theologian.

At this period another Anselm, a disciple of the Saint, full of the ancient teachings of the Church, and possessed of a copious store of erudition, was teaching theology with success at Laon. He was gifted neither with the originality of William, nor with

* Lanfranc seems to have acquired a similar reputation. "The youthful orator," says Ordericus Vitalis, "when pleading a cause, frequently triumphed over his veteran opponents, and by a torrent of eloquence, won the prize from men long in the habit of speaking eloquently." (*Lit. IV.*, c. 3.)

the logical acumen of Abelard; but he was a calm, simple-minded man, who taught what the Fathers had taught before him, and reached the soul, rather through the memory, than through the understanding. With a natural flow of pleasing eloquence, he poured out his varied knowledge, and on account of his erudition, and his grasp of dogma, was called "*Doctor Doctorum*." His strength was tradition, and positive theology, and he had waxed gray with the labour of forty years' teaching in the public schools. He could expound better than he could reply, and could state the doctrine of the Church more ably than he could defend it.

It was not likely that the rapid intellect of Abelard, so full of self-conceit, and conscious of his logical attainments, would bear in silence, for any length of time, the ponderous dogmatism of the venerable Anselm. Abelard listened to him patiently once and—after having expressed supreme contempt for his abilities—declared that he was, like the barren fig-tree, cursed by Christ, covered with leaves, but without a single fruit. He boasted that any man of ordinary gifts, with the help of the Fathers, could understand the Scriptures, and that all other masters were superfluous. Anselm's disciples were scandalized at his arrogance, and more so still, when he took into his hands Ezechiel the Prophet, and boasted that, next morning, he would prove the truth of what he said, by delivering a lecture on the Prophecy. With bitter irony some of his companions implored him to take a little longer time to prepare his lecture. He replied with disdain, "My road is not the road of custom, but the road of genius." He was true to his word: and mockery was speedily turned to amazement, when his companions, overcome by his eloquence, followed him, verse after verse, with increasing admiration, as he unfolded the hidden sense of the obscurest of prophecies, with a facility of diction, a clearness of exposition, and a readiness of resource, which subdued the mind and captivated the imagination.

This success encouraged him to continue his lectures. But Anselm's disciples, Alberic and Lotulf, calling to mind how he had emptied the flourishing school of William of Champeaux, whispered in the ear of their venerable chief that this arrogant upstart, by his rash treatment of the Sacred Scriptures, was putting in jeopardy the Word of God. Ezechiel was closed, and Abelard left Laon.

He came to Paris (1114). The chair of Notre Dame was empty. William of Champeaux had been raised to the episcopate. There was no one in Paris capable of rivalling Abelard in philosophy. He was received by the thronging students of the capital with transport, and they declared by acclamation that his astonishing

successes in the past entitled him to the vacant chair of the cloister of Notre Dame. It was a proud moment for Abelard when, by the unanimous voice of intellectual Paris, he was elevated to that distinguished position which he had coveted so long.

Having now no one to oppose him, he turned his attention to dialectics, and to the solution of philosophical problems, amongst which, as may be expected, was the interminable question of Universals. Having upset the Nominalism of Roscelin, which annihilated the Universal and prepared the way for the Materialism of Hobbes and Mill, and having exploded the false Realism of William of Champeaux, which pointed to the Pantheism of Spinoza and the Germans, he had to establish a reality which should exceed in neither direction—he declared Universals to be conceptions of the mind really existing.

Thoroughly to understand the merits of this system in its logical and ontological bearing, and to distinguish it from the teaching of Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle, the reader must refer to Abelard's tract *De Generibus et Speciebus*, discovered by M. Cousin. Suffice it to say here, that the brilliant logician was now at the height of his reputation and popularity. Not only the students, but the very inhabitants of Paris, paid him a homage which almost amounted to a sort of worship. He was the cynosure of all eyes. He could not pass to and from his lecture-hall without attracting the admiring gaze of the Parisians. The boys who thronged the streets, on his approach, with his fine figure, his beautiful countenance, and his distinguished air, respectfully made way for him, and for a moment arrested their boisterous mirth to gaze in silence upon the most brilliant philosopher of the age. The inhabitants of the houses by which he passed, left their occupations to watch him from their doors; and we are told that the women in the topmost stories of those lofty buildings would draw back the curtains of their windows, to catch a glimpse of the greatest of living orators—the gay and handsome cavalier, as he swept by, surrounded by a swarm of his disciples, who were still under the spell of his spirit-stirring eloquence.*

The charm of Abelard's teaching lay in its clearness and simplicity. A child could have understood him. He reminds one more of the classic days of the old Greek sophists than any other man who lectured in the middle ages. But he startled his hearers more by the originality of his genius, than by the novelty of his ideas; more by his critical sagacity, than by his fertility of inven-

* It reminds one of the days of Pope, when crowds would surround him, and almost quarrel, to get to touch his hand.

The under-graduates of the University, when they heard that Gray was passing through the quadrangle, would rush out from their dinners to look upon him.

tion. His power of luminous exposition, his subtlety, his facility of expression, his erudition, his richness of allusion, his elastic *vivida vis*, his boundless command of language—his *badinage* brightening the stream of his rapid eloquence, even his literary digressions, in which he brought Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and the poets to bear, with all the elegant taste of a scholar, upon dry matters of philosophy, then his impetuous spirit, his thirst after knowledge, and his unquenchable ambition to excel, made him stand pre-eminent amongst the greatest spirits of that day. His contemporaries were in the habit of saying of him that he was ignorant of nothing under heaven except himself. One Pope (Celestine II.), nineteen Cardinals, more than fifty Archbishops and Bishops, French, English, and German, and a much larger number of those men with whom Popes, Bishops, and Cardinals had often to contend, remarks Guizot, were his disciples. Five thousand young men at one time collected round his chair.*

But sensuality, which ever follows pride as its shadow, drew Abelard down from his high estate. His guilty passion for Heloise is but the logical result, in the moral order, of so much arrogance, and so much self-conceit.†

It is instructive to fix one's eyes on that once proud philosopher as, degraded in his own eyes, and in the eyes of those who once worshipped him with such boundless admiration, he creeps away, after the shameful vengeance wreaked upon him by the brutal Fulbert, heart-sick, to the Abbey of S. Denis, only too glad to bury himself for ever from the sight of men, and in place of lifting up his voice in the contests of the schools, to join simple-minded monks in the plaintive psalmody of the cloister.

After his terrible fall, misfortunes crowded thick upon him. Though humbled and broken, his contentious spirit would not suffer him to rest at peace with Bishops, Priests, or Monks. He quarrelled with the monks of S. Denis till they cudgelled him, he had a violent contention with Roscelin; and through the persevering malevolence of Alberic and Lotulf, he was summoned to the Council of Soissons, accused of heresy, compelled to recite aloud the Athanasian Creed, and to burn his own book with his own hand before the assembled Fathers.

This stroke almost broke his heart. He determined to leave for ever the society of men whom he declared were less Christian

* Comp. Crevier, *Hist. de l'Université de Paris*, T. I. Rémusat, *Abélard*, T. I., p. 45.

“People came to him from all quarters—from Rome, in spite of mountains and robbers; from England, in spite of the sea; from Flanders and Germany; from Normandy, and the remote districts of France; from Angers and Poitiers; from Navarre by the Pyrenees, and from Spain, besides the students of Paris itself.” Amongst his disciples were “Peter of Poitiers, Peter Lombard, John of Salisbury, Arnold of Brescia, Ivo, and Geoffrey of Auxerre. (Newman on *Universities*, p. 301.)

† This portion of his career calls to mind the words of the Prophet: “Superbia ejus, et arrogantia ejus, et indignatio ejus, plus quam fortitudo ejus.” (Isaiah, XVI., 6.)

than the Turks. And abandoning the Abbey of S. Denis, he concealed himself in a mournful solitude, near the city of Troyes. Here he made a hut of reeds daubed over with mud; and here he dwelt. But it was not long before his solitude became as populous as the Thebaid. The severity with which he had been treated at Soissons, the spirit of Alberic and Lotulf, which was known to be bitterly opposed to him, drew the thoughts of hundreds upon him, who could not rid themselves of the remembrance of his mighty gifts, nor get out of their ears the ring of his silvery voice. They discovered his retreat. The forlorn desert was peopled. These men provided food, and clothing, and shelter, for themselves, and for their master; and the days of the Egyptian Nile-valley seemed to have come over again, when innumerable anchorites surrounded some stately solitary, to drink from his lips his mystic parables and proverbs. But these men, says Cassian, "spoke of penance and humility, and the terrible day of account;" here all minds were pre-occupied with the mysteries of genus and species, and difference, and the more abstruse problems of existences.

Whether in the whirl of Paris, or in the suburbs of S. Victor, or at Laon, or in the mournful desert, Abelard never lost for a moment his power of attracting the young world around his chair. He appears to have possessed the special gift of rendering articulate the cravings of the age in which he lived. Others may have felt every bit as deeply as himself; but none had his gift of throwing those feelings into shape, and pouring them out in burning words.

Of his relations with Peter the Venerable, with Walter de Mortagne, of his quarrel with the monks of S. Gildas, of his hatred of S. Norbert, of his love of Plato, and of his spiritual relations with Heloise, much might be written. But I must hurry on to one important event which has a more intimate connection with the contests of these times.

If Abelard was a type of the age in which he lived, the austere S. Bernard represented that energy and authority which has never been wanting of the Church in days of trial. Reason seems to triumph in the combats of the world. Still, in the length and breadth of history, it is Faith, after all, that is victorious. Abelard had far greater gifts than Anselm of Laon. And in the judgment of the young men of that day Abelard proved himself superior to the venerable Anselm. But what has been the verdict of posterity? Faith was right; and reason was wrong. That is, reason, misdirected by a brilliant man, has had to submit to the calm and unexcited utterances of tradition directed by the spirit of the Church.

It is remarkable, considering how great an evil Abelard was

effecting, that twenty years should have elapsed between his condemnation at Soissons, and his condemnation at Sens (1140). S. Bernard, who, from his position, from his keen appreciation of the influence of principle, and his knowledge of Abelard, must have perceived the general drift, possibly was too much occupied with the antipope, to be able to attend to the dangerous teachings of the Paris Professor. It is clear, from John of Salisbury, that Abelard taught a large school, at his old hall of S. Geneviève in 1136. He was not content with lecturing in philosophy, but gave full play to the powers of his extraordinary intellect in ventilating the most subtle questions of theology. Besides S. Geneviève, there were other schools at Paris, such as S. Denis, S. Victor, and more besides of second-rate importance.

But of them all, the most popular by far was that of Abelard. The high reputation of the Professor gave it a name at once. Even to look on such a man, with his violent intellect, and genius for blow, and thrust, and parry, must have made a deep impression on young and ardent minds, which are more subdued perhaps by intellectual power, than by any other influence under heaven. To watch his countenance, to follow his eye, to listen to his voice—to marvel at his genius, and to despair at it—this must have been done by many a young man who came from the provinces to acquire fame in the great centre-seat of learning in the mediæval world. Besides, in those days, when the reason was beginning to feel its power, the method and manner of Abelard would hold out a peculiar charm. His school was the arena where reason was exercised to the full stretch of its capacity. At Notre Dame, the abiding reverence for ancient forms kept the natural craving of the mind for novelty within reasonable compass. At S. Victor's, the pure monasticism of Christian love brought an illumination from above, which captivated the reason to the obedience of Faith. But at S. Geneviève—under a professor who declared himself to be the only philosopher of Christendom; who, when a mere stripling, held theologians in such contempt as to dispense with their services altogether; who could attack S. Augustine, S. Hilary and S. Anselm; who could speak slightly of such men as S. Norbert and S. Bernard, and designate bishops as ignorant intriguers; who could turn a deaf ear to the loving warnings of Peter the Venerable; who did not shrink from probing the unfathomable mystery of the Blessed Trinity with the dangerous instrument of human reason, and who would gauge the infinite with the finite measure of human understanding—subjects would be handled, methods would be adopted, and conclusions would be

arrived at, which, whilst they attracted by their novelty, were fixed upon the mind by the ingenuity and genius of their author.

Not that Abelard had set himself consciously in opposition to the Church: on the contrary, he desired to be numbered among the humblest of her children. His bitter, and almost womanly lamentations at Soissons, his terror of being condemned, the tone of his writings, whenever he refers to the authority of the Church, prove that error was not so much seated in his will, as lodged in his understanding.* In fact, his will seemed full of deep humility; but his intellect seemed to have been strangely possessed by the demon of pride. His reason, even in its saddest moments—with the exception of his last days—had never been brought thoroughly to the foot of the Cross.

In point of fact, Abelard was the leader of the Liberal school of his day. His treatise, called *Sic et non*, gives a very fair insight into the workings of his mind, and the dangers of his method. It is an extraordinary advance towards the errors of days that were then to come. He founds science, as others did more clumsily hundreds of years later, in doubt. He balances the most fundamental truths of religion against the deadliest errors, without so much as hinting, or feeling any anxiety to say, which side the balance strikes. The *Sic et non* was a terrible armoury—containing weapons of all shapes and sizes, for attacking or defending matters which should ever be guarded with jealousy against the approach of danger; or which should be so securely established, that attack would only evince their solidity and strength the more.

Discussion, and the free use of the faculties, chains of reasoning, startling proofs—this was Abelard's passion. Truth was indispensable for this practice; so Abelard loved truth. Error was necessary for eliciting truth; so Abelard introduced error. Thus he throws the profound mystery of the Trinity into the balance; with its contradiction of error on the other side, "*Quod in Trinitate non sunt dicendi plures æterni; et contra:*"—a most dangerous method of dealing with the fundamental mysteries of religion.

Yet it must not be forgotten that if Abelard did not sufficiently respect the supernatural instincts of Faith, he effected a considerable advance in the order and method of theological science. His logical gifts created a habit of mind in him which, when not forced beyond its legitimate sphere, tended to clear that vast horizon beyond which are spread out the bright spaces and solemn heights of supernatural religion. And the order and succession

* We may, perhaps, say of Abelard what ancient writers are fond of saying of Erigena:—
"Potuit errare, hæreticus esse noluit."

of his ideas were not without their influence on the Lombard, and on S. Thomas. It was Abelard who first, in his "Introduction to Theology," brought out with exactness the distinction between arguments of authority and arguments of reason. The *loci theologici* owe to him the *probatur ratione*,—an expression which would hardly sound safe had it not been adopted by the Angel of the Schools. Then his readiness to secure truth, wherever he might find it, whether in the hands of Christian or Pagan, was not without its influence on theologians. To him the *loci* are indebted for arguments drawn from Pagan philosophy and history, which he was the first to use in a systematic way, in support of supernatural religion.

But, though all this be true, it cannot be denied that, from the day on which Abelard rebelled against Anselm, two distinct schools, the orthodox, and the rationalistic, sprang into being. The school of reverence and tradition on the one hand, and the school of brilliant, searching reason on the other.

On one side there was Gilbert de la Porrée and Abelard, two terrible dialecticians, surpassing all their contemporaries in their dexterity in debate. Abelard, vehement, rash, and never counting costs, but boldly advancing no matter what opinion, and stoutly defending it: Gilbert, cool, cautious, and taciturn, who supported Abelard indeed, but taking good care not to commit himself—so subtle was his mind—till he had safely secured his longed-for Bishopric. These two had one thing in common—an unflagging opposition to S. Bernard. He was the instrument of the condemnation of them both; one, at Sens, the other at Rheims.

The spirit of Abelard insensibly pervaded his school. There is nothing so catching, or so difficult to get rid of, as a spirit of criticism—of irreverence for the past, its forms and methods, and contempt for safe, able, holy, but not brilliant or quick men. For example: Otto of Freisingen, though first a monk, and then a Bishop, speaks slightly of S. Bernard. Peter Berenger speaks in a most unguarded way about the monks of Chartreuse. John of Salisbury is for ever indulging his overweening love of finding fault, and does not let the Pope himself escape;* and though a warm friend of the heroic Thomas á Becket, he must needs sit in judgment upon him. Arnold of Brescia, who seems to have possessed the full spirit of his master, violently abused the clergy, and declared that he had found in Scripture that they had no right to possess property, and by his passionate love of religious independ-

* His "Polyoraticus," which he wrote when Secretary to Theobald of Canterbury, evinces the independence of his thought.

once joined to a confused notion of political liberty, sowed the seeds, without knowing it, of future revolutions.

On the other side there was Robert Pulleyn, the first English Cardinal, a great theologian, a cautious writer, remarkable for his power of lucid classification, who followed the Scriptures and the Fathers closely, and was so highly esteemed by S. Bernard that he kept him in Paris as a check upon the rising rationalism of the day. Then there was Hugh and Richard of S. Victor, Hugh of Amiens, Robert Folioth the Englishman, Peter of Poitiers his disciple, and Alan de Insulis, all of whom in their place and turn opposed the rationalizing school. Then, again, there was Joscelyn, the philosopher of nature, afterwards Bishop of Soissons, Hugh Metel, and Walter de Mortagne, who, when John of Salisbury was a student, lectured in the theological schools of Paris.

These opposing schools did not exist, as may be imagined, without lively contests. The one party pushing forward tradition, and opposing the innovating and irreverent spirit of the rationalistic school; the other party, compassionating the dulness of its opponent, and developing every day in clearer outline the principles of its actual popularity and future condemnation. The motto of the one school was, "*Nisi credideritis non intelligetis*;"* the motto of the other, "*Qui credit cito levis est corde, et minorabitur*."†

But now we must hurry on to see what was the ultimate fate of the rationalizing spirit that acquired so great a prestige through the brilliancy of Abelard.

* Is., cap. VII, 9.

† Eccli., cap. XIX, 4.

CHAPTER X.

AUTHORITY AND REVERENCE. S. BERNARD.

HAD it not been for a monk poring over the Canticle of Canticles in his cell at Signy, possibly the meeting, I am about to relate, between S. Bernard and Abelard would never have taken place. This monk's name was William, called of S. Thierry, from an Abbey near Rheims. He had been governing Abbot, but wishing to dedicate himself wholly to contemplation, he resigned his position, and retired to Signy to end his days in peace. As a theologian he was highly esteemed for his subtlety and penetration, and for his extensive knowledge of the Fathers, whose doctrines he loved to expound, though he shrank instinctively from controversy. S. Bernard entertained so high an opinion of his judgment, that he was accustomed to send him his manuscripts for revision.* He was essentially of the monastic school: and his tracts on contemplation and Divine love breathe with all the sweetness, and flow with all the unction of his master, whilst a force runs through them that testifies to his intimate acquaintance with patristic theology. His heart was warm with the calm fire that comes of constant meditation, and silent prayer; and his mind, framed in the school of mystic awe, shrank almost with effeminacy from the jarring contentions of the schools. He seems to have shared S. Bernard's feeling, that there was a very slight shade between a heretic and a dialectician.

Such a character, it is clear, would feel little sympathy with the overbearing and contentious Abelard.† By a mere chance, while penning his commentary on the Canticles, he laid his hand upon Abelard's "Christian Theology." He read it, and was horrified. He put his writings on one side, and determined, first, to stir up the Bishop of Chartres and S. Bernard against the book; and,

* "Ut quid Libellus meus oculos ejus formidaret, cui se videndum animus quoque meus totus, si posset expanderet?" (*Epist.* 86.) The learned Maurist Benedictines looked upon him as surpassing all of his day in his application to the Fathers. (See *Hist. Litt. de la France*, T. IX., *Disc. prélim.*, p. 206.)

† He begins his *De contemplando Deo* quite in the spirit of S. Bernard, thus:—"In lacu miserie; et in luto fecis jam pene putrefactus, et in limo profundi infixus, in quo non est substantia, et de profundis dolorum meorum ad te clamo, Domine; Domine exaudi vocem meam. Si quidem in ultionem formæ tuæ (qua me tibi conformaveras, Creator bone, creans me ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam) quam neglexi et peridi, in hujus miserie formam, qua miser sum, deformasti me, et cum iniquitate deprimente in limo peccati infixus sum inferius. Posuisti super me manum justii et oculi iudicii tui præmentem super me, ne resurgam."—How different a spirit from that of Abelard! (Martène, *Amplias*, Coll., T. H., p. 334.)

then, using the *ipsissima verba* of the Fathers, to refute it. His energy was not without its effect. He called his book "An Argument of the Catholic Fathers against the Dogmata of Peter Abelard;" he suppressed his own name, declaring that it was not he, but the Catholic Fathers of the Church that spoke; and he dedicated the work to Hugh.*

In his letter to Bishop Godfrey, of Chartres, and S. Bernard, he speaks of the gravity of the occasion, of how the ancient Faith, consecrated by the blood of Christ, propagated by the blood of martyrs, and defended by the Doctors of the Church, was being corrupted; and how none seemed left to lift up their voices against its destruction. How the intensity of the feeling that prompted him to speak almost caused his heart to break. How important the subject matter under discussion was, no less than the Trinity, the person of the Mediator, the Holy Ghost, Grace, the Sacraments, and man's common Redemption. Then, he refers to the spread of Abelard's teaching: how it passed the seas; was borne over the Alps; and how new dogmas and strange opinions about the Faith were carried round the provinces, and from kingdom to kingdom, were praised extravagantly, and were reported to have force of authority even in the Curia of Rome itself. He shows what a deep hold the rationalizing principles of Abelard must have had on that generation; for he calls opposition to him the cause of God and of the Latin Church; and laments that nearly all the champions of the Faith are dead, and that the domestic enemy should constitute himself sole teacher in the ecclesiastical republic, and foist into the Sacred Scriptures his own theories and inventions; and make himself the censor and improver of Faith, and not its disciple and imitator, *emendator non imitator*. William then draws thirteen propositions out of Abelard's works worthy of censure, and after urging Godfrey to take the matter up, refers to the "monstrous" title and dogmas of the *Sic et non*.†

William sent this letter to S. Bernard during Lent. The Saint, at all times rigorous with himself, but at this season more rigorous than ever, having read the letter, returned a short and courteous reply, praising the writer's zeal, and saying that, when the penitential season had expired, he would meet him, and talk the matter over. It was not because S. Bernard was indifferent to the gravity of the question, or because he did not wish to purge error

* These are his words: "Contra ipsum (Abælardum) ergo quod scripsi, quia de fontibus SS. Patrum hausi, melius est, si ita vobis placuerit, ut suppresso nomine meo, inter anonyma relinquatur." (*Epist. ad Fratres de Monte Dei*.)

† See S. Bern. *Opp.*, *Epist.* 326. (Migne, *Vol. I.*, p. 532.)

For full information on this point, see Tosti's *Storia di Abelardo e dei Suoi Tempi*, *Lib. IV.*, p. 207.

out of the Church, that he delayed bringing Abelard to condemnation. Delay rather leads to the presumption that he fully appreciated the case. He knew that light and direction come from heaven alone, and are gained by prayer; he knew that silence and mortification cleanse the heart, and make the judgment upright.

His character was full of rigid force. With austere severity he trod the creature under foot, and spurned the world, whilst he governed both, as never monk before had governed either. He founded Clairvaux "in the heart of a savage forest, the haunt of robbers," of which, at this period, he was Abbot, and had been—it may be said—the founder of the Citeaux reform. His mind was possessed with the consuming love of God, the measure of which love, as he characteristically said, was to love without measure.* And, while the fire burnt calmly and brightly as it flamed freely heavenwards, when it met an obstacle on earth, it became a devouring furnace. His habits of personal austerity were terrific. The beech-leaves and cockle-bread—without salt at times—on which he regaled his monks, were horrible to look at, still more horrible to eat.

It is related that when he accompanied Innocent II. through France and Germany, they visited Cluny and Clairvaux. The monks of the former monastery sent out sixty gaily-caparisoned horses to meet the Pontiff; the monks of the latter issued forth themselves to meet him. And he and his court were so touched on seeing those emaciated forms advancing towards them, miserably clad, chaunting plaintive psalms, with their eyes on the ground, and preceded by a wooden cross, that they could not prevent their emotion bursting into tears. These men lived according to the principles of S. Bernard, which, hard indeed to flesh and blood, have been the instruments, first for converting, and then for ruling the world.

When the Lenten fast had expired, S. Bernard turned from his penances and contemplations to consider William of S. Thierry's letter. The more he pondered Abelard's errors, the more his mind appreciated their gravity. The independence of his dogmatic spirit, the rationalism of his method, and, more than all, the extraordinary manner in which his doctrines had spread far and wide, in towns and villages, in obscure hamlets, even to the mansions of the ignorant nobility, nay, beyond the Alps and across the seas, and were defended with energy by men in high position, brought a cloud across the brow of Bernard. He had watched the current of events for some time past. Thousands had come to Paris—and to the Paraclete, when Abelard could not leave even the Lord's

* *De diligendo Deo, cap. I., p. 974.*

Prayer alone—and had departed, some to Germany, some to France, some to England, and many, worst of all, to Rome, filled with the rash spirit of their master, and ready, come what would, stoutly to defend him. Bishops on the steps of the Papal throne—Cardinals clothed with the prestige of the Sacred College, possessing the influence of elective Princes of the Church—when young had been his disciples, and were now in possession of his books. They had rested under the mighty shadow of his soaring method and his personal sway—and had tasted the forbidden fruit.*

S. Bernard saw two things: first that he must act; and, next, that he would be bound to act with caution. He determined, according to the spirit of the Gospel, to endeavour, privately, to persuade Abelard to modify his teaching, and to convince his followers of the danger of indulging in a spirit of criticism, and in an irreverent handling of holy mysteries. He had an interview. It was marked by courtesy on both sides—by promises from Abelard; but nothing came of it.

S. Bernard was now roused. He fiercely attacked Abelard. He had his adversary's writings wrested out of the hands of his disciples. A noisy and angry contest was begun in earnest. All who were envious of the great logician, and those who belonged to the school of authority, sided with S. Bernard. Those—and they were thousands—who prized the new liberty which their chief had introduced them to—whose curiosity tempted them to argue when they should acquiesce, those who did not go quite their master's length, and those who went far beyond it—looked upon Abelard as their natural spokesman. His honour was their honour. Those grand principles of progress, criticism, and intellectual mastery, which he had awakened in their consciousness, were not to be expunged, if they could prevent it, by the fierce fanaticism of a few gloomy mystics. Fearlessly would they defend the ground inch by inch, return argument for argument, and offer insult for insult. So that, whilst a clamour of reprobation was hurled against the rationalistic dogmatism of Abelard—who was denounced as a necromancer, a sorcerer, and a personal friend of the devil—the opposite party rejoined by scurrility, nicknames, and lampoons, and with expressions of supreme contempt for the opinions of their assailants. Abelard himself, led on by his disciples, and by Arnold of Brescia, who had just been driven out of Rome by the Pope, treated S. Bernard and his companions

* A few selections from the *Argumenta Capitum* of the *Sic et non*, will show the spirit of Abelard: "Quod fides sit de non apparentibus tantum, et non. Quod sit credendum Deum solum, et contra. Quod non sit Deus singularis; et contra. Quod non sit Deus substantia; et contra. Quod divina persone ab invicem differant; et contra. Quod in Trinitate aliter sit unus cum altero, et non. Quod Deus Pater sit causa Filii; et contra. Quod sit Filius sine principio; et contra. Quod Deus non genuit se; et contra." (Vid. Tosti's *Abelardo*, p. 312.)

with his characteristic disdain, looked upon them as half fools, half knaves, who misstated facts, were blinded by ignorance, and did not know what they were talking about.

He wrote a scathing satire, full of that arrogance which he habitually dealt out to his opponents, against "one ignorant of dialectics,"—that is, against S. Bernard. He compared his accusers to the fox in the fable. He called them blind leaders of the blind, and said that they hated logic because they could not understand it. He said it was useless to argue with such folks; and he would, therefore, appeal to such Fathers as S. Augustine, to prove the necessity of dialectics. He then attempted to show that miracles had come to an end; that reason is more powerful than miracles, which he declared to be continually mixed up with the deceits and practices of the Devil.*

Meanwhile, S. Bernard was not idle. He was well aware of the popularity of Abelard. But what he dreaded most was the bias of those Bishops and Cardinals who had been his disciples, and were now in Rome. The temper of the rationalist, and the violence of his supporters, opened the Saint's eyes wider than ever to the danger threatening the Church. He wrote to the Cardinals of the Roman Curia, and drew a terrific picture of the universality and deadly effects of the growing heresy. He declared that Abelard left nothing to faith, and arrogated everything to reason, despised what he could not understand, and would never condescend so low as to believe. He refers to his teaching on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and to other novelties equally startling to the ears of Catholics,† and compares Abelard, in his letter to the Pope, to a serpent, to Satan, and to a dragon. He accuses him of inventing new dogmas, for the sake of imposing on posterity; and of boasting that he had taught science to the Ecclesiastics, the Cardinals, and the Court of Rome. In his circular-letter to the Bishops and Cardinals, he speaks with pathos on the sorrows of the mystic Spouse, and boldly points out to them their duty. He makes use of very strong language concerning Abelard. He

* The verdict of history is not so severe, naturally, as the condemnation passed by those who were actually in contention with Abelard. Mabillon, for instance, says:—"Nolumus Abaelardum hæreticum; sufficit pro Bernardi causa, eum fuisse in quibusdam errantem; quod Abaelardus non diffitetur." (S. Bern. *Op. prof.*) Natalis Alexander, "Non est censendus hæreticus: nunquam errores suos pertinaciter propugnavit." (*Hist. Eccl.*, T. XIV., *Dissert. VII. Art. II.*, p. 74, ed. 1788.)

† Abelard compares the doctrine of the Trinity to a syllogistic argument, in which the major, the minor, and the conclusion, being three propositions, make one syllogism.

S. Bernard thus wrote to Pope Innocent regarding Abelard:—"Habemus in Francia novum de veteri magistro theologum, qui ab inenunte ætate sua in arte dialectica lusit, et nunc in Scripturis Sacris insanit. Olim damnata et sopita dogmata, tam sua videlicet quam aliena, suscitare conatus, insuper et nova addit. Qui dum omnium quæ sunt in cælo sursum, et quæ in terra deorsum, nihil præter solum nescio quid scire dignatur, ponit in cælum os suum, et scrutatur alta Dei, rediensque ad nos refert verba ineffabilia, quæ non licet homini loqui. Et dum paratus est de omnibus reddere rationem, etiam quæ sunt supra licet rationem, et contra rationem præsumit, et contra fidem. Quid enim magis contra rationem quam ratione rationem conari transcendere? Et quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle quicquid non possit ratione attingere? (Bernardus Abbat. ad Innoc., *Ep. CXI.*, p. 357. Also *Tract. de Error. Abel.*, cap. I., p. 1055. Migne.)

calls him a persecutor of the Faith, an enemy of the Cross, a monk without, a heretic within, a religious without rule, a prelate without solicitude, an Abbot without discipline, a gossip with women, a reproducer of the most detestable heresies about the most sacred dogmas, and a seven-headed hydra. "He transmits," says the Saint, "by his writings, the contagion of his poison to the future, and glories in having infected Rome."*

Nothing could be conceived more damaging to the reputation of Abelard than this terrible letter. Not only the serious nature of the charges, but the character of the Saint would make it tell with crushing effect.†

When Abelard had heard of the course pursued by S. Bernard he was deeply affected. It was useless for him to disguise from himself the influence of his accuser. He would have much preferred, surrounded by his scholars, to have met these accusations in a public place. A spring of triumph would well up in his heart when he imagined himself skilfully putting his bright weapon through some powerful adversary. He went at once to the Archbishop of Sens. He explained his case, and implored him to call a Council, pledging to appear on the appointed day and answer all accusations. By this means, the world would learn his innocence, and his fame would no longer hang doubtfully in the balance. The Archbishop consented to Abelard's request; and a Provincial Council was summoned for the Octave day of Pentecost, 1140.

The schools were thrown into a state of great excitement when this issue was announced. The two greatest intellects of the age, the famous dialectician, and the constant apostle of authority, were to meet face to face in a great struggle of momentous interest to humanity. Reason, that highest natural gift of God to man, the crown of his noblest creation—was it to bow down before the stern voice of dogma? was it to kneel and adore the utterances of Faith? or was it to stand erect, and without shrinking, to question that voice, and sift those utterances, receive what it approved, reject what it condemned? Such questions as these, men must have felt even then, belonged not to one epoch, but to the course of human history;—for they are questions in which the past and the present bear upon the future, and affect the intellectual destinies of men. The conflict, which appeared to be simply a contest between two able men, would, in reality, divide the world.

* *Epis.*, CCCXXI., p. 536; CCCXXII., p. 537.

† That S. Bernard was actuated by charitable feelings is evident from the following passage from a letter, written by him to Guy of Chatel, a disciple of Abelard:—"I should do you an injury if I were to suppose that you so loved any man as to love his errors with himself. Whoever thus loves any one, does not know yet how he ought to love. Such love is earthly, animal, diabolical—equally hurtful to the person loving, and to him who is loved. (*Epis.*, CXII., p. 358.)

Abelard was the spokesman of thousands, from whose midst he would, as it were, advance, and proclaim the creed of human reason. S. Bernard, though in appearance an emaciated mystic from the solitude of a cell, would represent as many more, who saw beyond the range of human vision, and judged the highest natural gifts of God from the elevation of a life of Faith. No wonder that the schools were filled with the anxiety of an indescribable emotion, when thinking of the coming event, on the Octave of Pentecost.

Abelard, now, had no misgivings. He felt confident in his powers of debate, and told his disciples that God would show which side was to be victorious.

But S. Bernard was greatly troubled when the Archbishop informed him of the meeting of the Council. Though a better theologian than his opponent, he felt that he would be overmatched by his adroitness in the use of logic; and he feared to endanger the cause of truth by risking a public contest. He wrote to the Archbishop and said, that it did not become a servant of God to litigate, but to be patient with all men; that Abelard from youth had been engaging in intellectual combats, whereas he was quite inexperienced in them; that it was useless, and below the dignity of the Faith, to make it the subject-matter of dispute; that the writings themselves of Abelard, without discussion, were enough to condemn him; and that after all, it was the duty of Bishops, not of a monk and an Abbot, to give judgment on matters concerning dogma.

When S. Bernard's friends learnt how the Saint shrunk, they pressed round him eagerly, and represented to him the paramount importance, for the interests of the Church, that he should boldly grapple with the enemy. After much pressure, and many entreaties, the Saint yielded. With tears gathering to his eyes—tears, he said, which he was unable to suppress—he consented to make the dangerous venture. When his time approached, he set out, with a heavy heart, for Sens, without having made the slightest preparation to meet his adversary. As if convinced that, humanly speaking, in a mere trial of logical dexterity, he would be worsted, he turned his mind to a higher power than human artfulness, and continued saying over and over the words:—"Take no thought how or what to speak, for it shall be given you in that hour;"* and "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me."† Abelard put his trust in reason. Bernard found his stay in God alone.

The Archbishop had selected a day for the Council, which

* Matt. X., 19.

† Ps., CXVII., 6.

would, of itself, attract a vast multitude into the Episcopal City. The Cathedral of the Province of Paris was famous for the richness of its treasures, and for a valuable collection of the relics of the saints. On the Octave day of Pentecost, it was the practice of the clergy, with great ceremonial, in presence of a large concourse of Bishops and priests, and before a vast congregation, to expose the relics for public adoration. This year, had the case of Abelard never been heard of, the assembly would have been greater than usual. Louis VII., who, though an indifferent statesman, was certainly an ardent worshipper at the shrines of the martyrs, had signified his intention to be present at the ceremony. His presence with his lords, soldiers, and attendants would have filled the city. How great, then, would be the throng, when—added to the stream of worshippers who came to pray before the great altar of the Cathedral—another stream, larger and noisier, of doctors, clerks, and students, of Archdeacons, and Priors and Abbots, of barons, and knights, and men at arms, swelled the general flood?

It would have been worth while to have looked on that vast Cathedral, as gradually it seemed to attract half the city within its walls; or to have watched that gorgeous pageant slowly entering the great doorway, out of the light of day, into the gloom of that mighty nave, towards tapers that made misty halos round the shrines of the saints—humble priest in dalmatic or cope, broided with silver and green and fleur-de-lis, and learned doctors with cap and ring, and stately Abbots in simple attire; next the pious King with his regal crown and his velvet robes, and his gala lords; then Bishops and Archbishops two and two, with vestments woven with lions and dragons, and gaudy with blossoms and pearls, and massive with gold and with gems, with dazzling mitre, and solemn crosier, and sparkling cross, and measured step, passing slowly in—then the clouding incense, and the bursting song, and the clangour of arms, and the breathless stillness, as all bow down—from king to peasant—before priceless caskets holding the bodies of the saints.*

And, in the midst of this great function, doubtless many minds were distracted with the thought, “How different this from the coming meeting in S. Stephen’s! Bernard will be there, Abelard will be there, so will the Bishops, so will the King—how will it end?”

Preparations had already been made for the sitting of the

* It might appear that this description is hardly to the point. It is given to bring before the mind, once during these volumes, the fact of the influence of gorgeous ceremonials during the thirteenth century. For the costumes of the period, and the style of vestments used on these occasions—such as enter into the description above—see Fr. Bock’s learned *Geschichte der Liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, B. II. Bonn, 1866.

Council. Crowds began to press round the great door of S. Stephen's. Soon Bishops and Barons, and high dignitaries began to assemble, and were arranged in their various orders. There was the King on his throne. Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, legate of the Holy See, famed for the equity and moderation of his judgment, presided. On either side were ranged the Archbishops, and Bishops, who were to consult, to give judgment, to define. There sat Archbishop Henry, a man of noble birth, but of a secular and independent spirit, who was held in suspicion by the Court of Rome. Then came his suffragans: Hugh, Bishop of Auxerre, a contrast in every way to his Metropolitan, an austere and venerable man, who, seven-and-twenty years before, abandoning the world, had followed S. Bernard—with whose eyes he still continued to see, and with whose ears he still continued to hear—into the solitude of Cîteaux; Elias, Bishop of Orleans, who, eight years later, according to report, was disgraced by a Council similar to the one at which he was now assisting; Otto, Bishop of Troyes, his companion in misfortune; and Manasses II., Bishop of Meaux, of whom history is silent. Then, on the other hand, there was Sampson, Archbishop of Rheims, who was hated by the King, protected by St. Bernard, and finally deprived of his pallium by the Pope. He brought with him three suffragans: Alvisé, Bishop of Arras, Suger's brother, once Abbot of Auchin, and a man of considerable energy and ability; Godfrey, Bishop of Châlons, who, while Abbot of S. Metard, had treated Abelard with the tenderness of a friend, when, beside himself with shame and despair, he had been committed to that solitude by the Council of Soissons; and Joscelin, Bishop of Soissons, once master of Grosvin, the implacable enemy of Abelard, himself his rival in dialectics, and a companion of S. Bernard in his mission into Aquitaine. Besides these, many Abbots, religious, masters in theology, and learned men, of whom history does not hand down the names, were summoned to attend. Knights, and Barons, who could neither read nor write, but who could make good use of their eyes and ears, petitioned to be present. Amongst them was Theobald, Count Palatine of Champagne, famous for his princely charities, and the Count of Nevers, a pattern of Christian piety, who, a few years later, exchanged the gay tunic and mantle of a man of pleasure for the rough sack and shaven head of a Carthusian. Besides these, crowds of itinerant lecturers and intellectual quacks, with hundreds of famished students from Paris, and people from the neighbourhood, mustered strongly in the body of the Church.

It can be imagined how all eyes turned on S. Bernard, as he advanced, in the white wool of Cîteaux, to take his place in the

assembly. A searching scrutiny might have detected, in the mild majesty of the careworn face, lines of suffering and marks of tears. There was something sadly awful in that noble forehead, in the classic turn of those sensitive lips, in the glance of those piercing eyes, and in the movement of that slight frame wasted with long vigil, with terrific penance, with a burning love of the House of God, and with the ceaseless friction of a laborious life. This was he, who, when a child, had seen Jesus, had been visited by angels, had multiplied bread, and had lifted the dead to life.

And now Abelard, with his black Benedictine robe contrasting ominously with the white wool of the Cistercian, was making his way up the church. Many at the lower end of the nave were personally known to him. Amongst others, Gilbert de la Porrée, his old friend, a man of powerful mind, and a thorough-going rationalist. In passing him, Abelard whispered in his ear these prophetic words of Horace:—

*"Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."**

Abelard was not alone. He was preceded by his famous disciple, Arnold of Brescia, who, with all his crimes, was generous enough to stand by his master in the hour of need; and around him buzzed, as usual, a swarm of his gay disciples, who were looking forward with intense delight to the issue of the day—to the victory, which they took for granted their master would achieve over the malignant assailants of his orthodoxy, the implacable enemies of his fame.

But there were other faces that wore expressions very different from delight. The people of Sens had been taught from childhood to detest heresy. And eyes which gazed with awe on the saintly Cistercian, fired up with indignation, as they fixed themselves on the terrible enemy of the Church. Those who would eagerly press forward to kiss the hem of Bernard's garment, shrank from Abelard, as from a curse. Though in his sixtieth year, with a frame worn by the ceaseless chafing of a restless and turbulent spirit, though bearing in his bosom the embers of a passion that had been his bane—still, the manly beauty of that countenance was not entirely effaced, and there was something in the elastic independence of his carriage which spoke of that self-control, which is learnt in the face of great assemblies, and is perfected by practice and success. It was not so much the grace of God, as an inward consciousness of power, the pride of life, and the strength of fame.

A man of far less keen sensibilities than Abelard would have

* *Ep. I., 18, 84, ed. Delphin.*

perceived, at a glance, that the current had set dead against him. That the people should loathe him, was to be expected. They had never been carried away by his triumphs in Paris. They had lived in a cathedral town; and had learnt to look upon a teacher of unsound doctrine with unmixed dislike. And, as to the Bishops, some had been his rivals, not to say his enemies: others had taught almost the reverse of his system on the great question of the day. The Legate was constitutionally prudent; and nothing is so trying to a prudent man as the unregulated vagaries of genius. Others, again, shocked by Abelard's unchristian spirit, would feel little compassion for his misfortunes. All, probably, would experience some satisfaction in breaking his influence, putting an end to his agitations, and in reducing him to silence.

As he advanced up the church, and fixed his eyes upon the King, and carried them along the line of mitres, they were distracted by a movement amongst the Fathers. It was S. Bernard. He was making his way into the midst of the assembly. He held a scroll in his hand. It contained the heresies gathered out of Abelard's Theology. He came forward, and with his clear voice, deliberately read them out in order. He then fastened his calm eyes on his antagonist, and with a tone of authority informed him, in the name of the Council, that he might choose out of three courses:—to defend the propositions; to amend them; or to deny they were his. There was a moment's pause. In an instant all eyes were turned on Abelard, and the pulses of that assembly quickened whilst waiting, though for a moment, for the first sounds of that well-known voice, which had rung out the issues of many a victory in the arena of intellectual strife.

Abelard spoke: "I will not answer the Cistercian," he exclaimed—"I appeal from the Council to the See of Rome."

The assembly was speechless with astonishment. The Bishops looked at each other in blank surprise. And men had hardly recovered from the shock, when they were conscious that Abelard had turned his back upon King, Legates, and Bishops, and, followed by his wondering disciples, had left the church.

The rest of Abelard's history, as far as we are concerned, is soon told. The Council condemned his doctrines, but since he had appealed from it to Rome, his person was left to the judgment of the Holy See. Peter the Venerable—whose gentle heart could not bear to see any one in misfortune, and who loved Abelard very tenderly, perhaps on account of his great gifts and generous nature—consoled him as well as he was able, and persuaded him to retire into a monastery, away from strife, and to end his days in peace. Whether it was the sharp trial he had gone through in opposing a

Saint, or the soothing influence of his venerable and loving friend, or the light of grace, working as it could work, in his fierce restless mind, or all these together, which is most probable—whatever was the cause—Abelard's pride was broken; his heart sought for rest; he saw he had done wrong—that reason becomes a brutal power when it strives against Divine faith, and that, though man's intelligence is a glorious thing, its glory is only preserved under the shadow of the Cross, and in obedience to the teachings of the Crucified. He made his reconciliation with S. Bernard. Reason submits, and bows down, and strikes its breast, and cries out *peccavi*, before the calm, stern majesty of authority; and Abelard, having shown to the world how brilliant can be the aberrations of the human mind, proves at the same time how worthless they can be, and how the most gifted of men, at last, has to make his submission to a power greater than any creature's—to the voice and command of Truth speaking with authority. S. Bernard, in his serene, yet severe meekness, receiving the broken and repentant Prince of Dialecticians, and, then, lifting him up in love and hopefulness, is but a picture of the ultimate issue of all fair contests between the spirit of rationalism and irreverence, when it has the hardihood to cross weapons with the spirit of reverence and authority.

Abelard not only made his peace with the grave Cistercian, but also with the Pope. And it was not without great self-humiliation that he confessed to those against whom, before, he had so contemptuously and proudly spoken, that he had set greater store, in his past days of vanity, on being "a second Aristotle," than on being a follower of Jesus Christ.

Nor was Abelard the man to be converted by halves. Spirits like his, when they enter into any career, throw themselves into it with ardour—with an *élan* and an impetuosity which belong to high and noble natures. Having dismissed all vain, rebellious thoughts, he gave himself up wholly to commune with the unseen world—to live to God, and to prepare to meet Him. Peter the Venerable was deeply touched on seeing this once proud philosopher, a man who had been so run after and courted, give himself up, like a little child, to the practices of monastic life, desiring to be forgotten by all, save by Christ, and His Blessed Mother. Speaking of how humble he was, and how poor, Peter says, that there never was greater nakedness in S. Martin, or more humility in S. Germanus, than in him.

Yes: it is a strange, and, I may say, an awful change—looking upon it through the distance even of so many years—which the whole being of a man undergoes, when the bonds of pride and self-

sufficiency, and the blindness produced by mere human talent, are all swept away; and just, good, beautiful, in a word, *Divine* authority assumes their place, and gives to the soul that freedom and elasticity with which Christ has made man free. The very furniture of the little cell in which Abelard prayed, and penanced himself, speaks of the power of Christian truth. All he had was a poor crucifix, a wooden candlestick, a hard pallet, a rough table, and one chair. His library, not Aristotle and Plato, not human reason—though in its place it is bright and good,—but the Scriptures, and some treatises of the Fathers. His very expression, his gait, his bearing, the subjects uppermost in his mind, and on his lips, were the reverse of what they had been before. His manner was that of the lowest and most obscure brother in the community. When charged with the duty of giving instructions, what were the topics on which he loved to dwell? Ever on these two points: on Divine humility; and on the nothingness of human things.

Thus he lived, fixed in the contemplation of the unseen, and here he found peace of soul. After a long search, he came upon the priceless pearl, which so many seek after with feverish hearts, but never find. But he found it, though at the eleventh hour, and he kept it too.

He had not long to wait for the realization of his dreams. Attacked with a cutaneous disorder, the Abbot, by the advice of physicians, sent him for change of air to the Priory of St. Marcellus, near Châlons-sur-Saone, which was only four leagues from Cluny. But the keenness of the air, though it appeared for a time to brace him up, in reality aggravated his complaint. He was seized with fever, and he felt the final change coming over him. He prepared with gentle meekness, and humble courage for the great transition, and died on the twenty-first of April, 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Peter the Venerable, in the epitaph which he wrote for him, after describing the multiplicity of his knowledge, and his genius, adds:—

“Sed tunc magis omnia vicit
Cum Cluniacensem monachum moremque professus,
Ad Christi veram transivit Philosophiam.”*

* It runs thus:—

“Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus Hesperiarum
Noster Aristoteles, Logicis quicumque fuerunt
Aut par, aut melior, studiorum cognitus Orbi
Princeps, ingenio varius, subtilis et acer.
Omnia vi superans rationis, et arte loquendi
Abelardus erat: sed tunc magis omnia vicit
Cum Cluniacensem monachum moremque professus,
Ad Christi veram transivit Philosophiam.
In qua longæve bene complens ultima vitæ,
Philosophis quandoque bonis se connumerandum
Spem dedit, undenas Maio revocante calendas.”
(Abel. *Opp.*, p. 103. Migne.)

Such was the end of the most brilliant rationalist that the world has ever seen. Man is little more after all, than a child crying to God for light; and he finds his true satisfaction in practices of humility and self-denial. The Platonic element in the mind of Abelard, his connection with monasticism from the first, and his unwillingness obstinately to stand against authority, brought him, after a stormy voyage, safe to port.*

In fact, the same old error becomes, at different times, incarnate in various forms, and has to be fought with almost the same weapons. If there are Abelards and rationalism on the one side, there are always to be found S. Bernards and monasticism on the other.

* The similarity between Socrates and Abelard is very striking. Both were founders of schools. The former, of the Attic philosophy; the latter, of the conceptualistic and rationalistic philosophy. Abelard made lecturing on truth the business of his life; Socrates was a sophist by profession. The companions of Socrates could find no one with whom they could compare him; Abelard surpassed all his contemporaries in the gifts they admired most. Socrates was renowned for captivating all who approached him, by his extraordinary powers; personal fascination is one of the most singular features in the character of Abelard. Socrates loved intellectual combat, and was famed for the simplicity and directness of his method; Abelard was never happy save when breaking a lance with some opponent, and simplicity was the special charm (as has been already remarked) which drew those crowds of scholars round his chair. Both men were remarkable for dialectical adroitness, and for a certain vein of humour which ran through their expositions. Both men had ardent friends; both men had deadly enemies. If Aristophanes saw in Socrates an enemy to tradition, and a corrupter of the mind of youth through his method of universal doubt, S. Bernard saw in Abelard an enemy who was doing a like injury with respect to the dogmatic teaching of the Church. And here I drop the comparison, which might be pursued still further were it necessary.

CHAPTER XI.

MONASTIC THEOLOGY. S. VICTOR'S.

PART I.

THE contest of William of Champeaux and Abelard, the energy of the ascetic Saint Bernard, and the quiet and steady orthodoxy of Anselm of Laon, naturally carry the mind from individuals to schools. Did William of Champeaux leave his mark? Did the brilliant rationalism of Abelard die with his death? What became of the learned and despised Anselm of Laon? Did these men, in a word, form schools, and were their principles embodied in systems, which held their own, and fought their way in a later age?

The answer to these questions finds its simplest and best solution in the history of the institute established by William of Champeaux, when, abandoning his Professor's chair, he dedicated himself to God in religious life, and founded the celebrated school of S. Victor. Around this school, rationalism and pantheism floated. This was the stronghold too of monastic theology. Here Hugh, and Richard, and Adam were educated; and here the famous Lombard prepared the way for the Angel of the Schools. To treat, then, of the school of William of Champeaux, will be to carry the reader down in a straight line to the teaching of S. Thomas.

The school of S. Victor, from a mean beginning, grew speedily to importance, and was singularly favoured by Popes, Kings, and Bishops. William of Champeaux, who had buried himself in its seclusion after his contest with Abelard, and who, with five companions, had taken the habit of Saint Augustine, became Prior; but on being made Bishop, left his hermitage, to do battle with the world. Gilduin, a Parisian—one of the few Parisians who distinguished themselves in the middle ages—William's favourite disciple, was first Abbot.* Gilduin had acquired so high a fame for sanctity, that Louis VI. selected him for his director. From

* S. Victor's was raised to an Abbey in 1113, by Louis VI., the same year in which William became Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne.

this period, S. Victor's made rapid advances in prosperity. The King, with princely magnificence, enriched the Canons with large grants of lands, and prebends. He declared that he thus freed them from anxiety in order that they might, without solicitude, dedicate their minds entirely to study, and their hearts entirely to praying for him and France. Pascal II. confirmed their foundation. The King lavished more favours. Henry had a son, who became a religious, and imitated his father's generosity. Theobald, Archdeacon of Paris (1133), left them some valuable volumes. The Bishop of Paris offered them stalls in his Cathedral, and, what they no doubt equally appreciated, allowed them the run of a portion of the river for fishing, and a mill situated on its banks, to grind their corn; whilst the Dean and Chapter of Paris presented them with a serviceable farm. Obizon, the Royal Physician, gave them his books, and joined the Order. Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, the Deacon James, the Canons John Lombard, and Francis D'Ast, added greatly to the Library, not counting the later gifts of Adam, Peter of Poitiers, Gervase, and Cardinal Halgrin (1236). Bishop Stephen left them his Library,* Queen Blanche presented a magnificent Bible, and the King, not satisfied with all he had done for them when living, bequeathed two thousand livres, to be distributed amongst forty of their Abbeyes, at his death. In return, the Canons offered Mass daily for his Majesty, feasted a beggar daily in his name, and, on the recurrence of his anniversary, clothed one poor man from head to foot, and regaled an hundred of his fortunate companions on bread and meat, and wine.

In 1138, S. Victor formed a considerable congregation. The reputation of the Canons Regular, for sanctity and learning, spread with rapidity. Innocent II. praised them to the skies, and bishops were glad to entice into their jurisdiction men, who, instead of using their influence to undermine authority, had been known to sacrifice their lives in its defence. On the death of Gilduin the Canons possessed as many as forty-four houses, and are said to have given seven Cardinals, two Archbishops, six Bishops, besides fifty-four Abbots to the Church.†

Their rule was an imitation of S. Benedict's. They lived on legumes, were never permitted to touch meat, seldom saw fish, and were never allowed to ask for it. They rose at midnight, and walked to the church, preceded by a blazing torch. Contempla-

* Stephen de Senlis, sixty-seventh Bishop of Paris, left his dignity and joined the convent, and was buried in the choir. His epitaph makes mention of his books:—

"Hic jacet inter oves Stephanus, qui Parisiensis

Exiit Ecclesie pastor, et hujus ovis.

Hanc inopem, parvamque, novamque, plus pater auxit,

Extulit, ornavit rebus, honore, libris."

In 1790, the library of S. Victor had 34,000 volumes, and 1,800 MSS.

† Elle fut si féconde, et il en sortit tant de rejettons, que, s'étant étendus sur la montagne voisine, ils formèrent ce que, dans le siècle suivant, on appella l'Université. (Le Beuf, p. 66.)

tion, and manual labour, occupied their time. The more skilful were set to copy books, which they did with reverence, and regarded it as an honourable service. They remembered how Holy Fulgentius, and Dunstan, and Anselm, and Alcuin, and Lanfranc had plied the pen, and collated texts before them, and how the glory of Charlemagne himself would not have been so bright had he not, with his own royal hand, written out the Holy Gospel. Strictest silence was observed in the Scriptorium, which to be removed from all distraction, was situated out of the monastery, but within the Enclosure. The Superior, and the librarian who directed the work in detail, were alone permitted to enter here. The writers were carefully chosen by the Abbot himself, and no one was suffered to walk about the room, whilst the rest were transcribing. It was thus, under strict rule, that holy men, who had abandoned the world without, with skilful, unwearying industry, in peaceful stillness, in course of time, formed valuable libraries, such as those of York, Bec, S. Gall, Corby, Rheims, and Fontenelle.*

The Canons were excessively generous to the poor; and needy students—boys who had travelled to Paris from the provinces, or perhaps from far-distant countries, and who had little knowledge of the city, no experience and scanty means—were hospitably received, lodged, fed, and taught by them.† James de Vitry compares S. Victor's to the Pool of Probatia, by bathing in whose healing waters, the blind, the halt, and the withered, regained sight, and soundness, and strength. We read of the Prior of our own S. Alban's thanking the Prior of S. Victor's, for his kindness to his little brother; and of a certain Roman nobleman thanking the good Canons, for their courtesy to Master Hugh.

It was through the influence of S. Bernard, who delighted in this convent, who was its founder's dear familiar friend, and who imparted to it a portion of his mystic spirit, that Peter Lombard, who afterwards exercised so wide an influence, came to S. Victor's to be educated.

Not only the needy, but the rich and noble, loved to bide under the same roof with these laborious men. Men of all nations joined the Canons Regular. Many bishops resigned their Sees to join the convent. We read of our own countrymen becoming

* A library could soon be made by diligent transcribers, at least, if it be true that Maurus Lapi copied a thousand volumes in less than fifty years, and another monk in Austria wrote so many that they were almost too heavy for a waggon and six horses. At S. Victor's they kept paid copyists also, whose labours did much towards enriching the library. They were supported out of the funds of the monastery. How beautiful are the words that were used in the solemn benediction of the Scriptorium of monasteries:—"Benedicere digneris Domine, hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum et omnes habitantes in eo."

† In the thirteenth century they let poor scholars have books to study—a thing not heard of at S. Germain-des-Prés and S. Geneviève. In the necrology, it is written more than once—e.g., "Gervasi . . . qui dedit nobis libros glosatos . . . hos omnes libros dedit ad usum claustrallium et pauperum scholarium." (Franklin, v. I, p. 153.)

Canons—of Englishmen being elected Priors, and even Abbots.* When William of Champeaux opened the school, one of his first pupils was a young noble of the Counts of Blankenberg, named Reinard, who had been sent from Saxony to Paris to study under this celebrated man. Reinard soon distinguished himself by his piety and parts, and became one of his master's favourite disciples. Having finished his course with credit, he returned to Saxony, and was raised to the Episcopate as Bishop of Halberstadt. Almost his first act was to invite the Canons to his diocese, hoping that their example would tend to restore discipline, and that their holiness and learning would help the cause of piety and truth. They settled at Hamerleve, and dedicated this Convent to S. Pancratius. From the charter of its foundation, it is evident that a large concourse of scholars flocked to their schools, and that it soon became the centre of considerable intellectual activity in Saxony. Naturally enough, the Bishop recommended his favourite place of education to his brother. He asked the father of little Hugh, his nephew, to send the boy to be brought up by the Canons. He consented; and it is evident on reading Hugh's "*Didascalía*," with what interest the little lad took to his books, and how his ingenuity, his sagacity, and his lively fantasy, gave tokens of that future greatness with which he afterwards surprised the world. Here it was that, in his leisure moments, he loved to take out his instrument, and charm his ear with sweet harmonies, exciting the curiosity of his mind, at the same time that it soothed the senses. Here it was that he passed whole nights in watching and wondering at the stars.† So attached did he become to his professors, and so pronounced was his bent for monastic life, that, in spite of the displeasure of his parents, he determined to dedicate his soul to God, and embraced the rule of S. Augustine. But political and religious disturbances, under Henry IV., obliged

* John of Toulouse mentions the names of some of the principal men:—"William de Champeaux; Gilduin; Thomas, deuxième prieur; André, Adam et Hugues de Saint-Victor; Etienne, Maurice et Eudes de Sully; Adenulf d'Anagni; Bernard, archidiaque; Obizon; Yves et Pierre de Saint-Victor; Hugues, cardinal et légat en Angleterre (1184); Thierry, évêque d'Amara en Norvège; Arnoul de Liseux; Alexis, neveu d'Alexandre III. et cardinal; Estienne de Bourges; Henri, archevêque d'Ydrunte en Norvège; Geoffroy de Poissy, évêque de Meaux; Etienne D'Orleans, évêque de Tournay; Pierre Comestor; Pierre de Poitiers; Achard, Garin, Absalon, Jean, Guillaume de Saint Lô. Pierre Le Duc, abbé de Saint-Victor; Eudes, premier abbé de Sainte-Geneviève; Leonius; Robert de Flamesbure; Godefroy et Richard, sous-prieurs de Saint-Victor; Jean Bouin, Parisien; Girard de Grandvillé, doyen de Beauvais; Pierre de Condé aumônier de Philippe le Bel; Jean de Moutholon; le président Lemaistre; Jean Pastoureaux, président de la Cour des comptes; Pierre des Boves, chanoine de Troyes, &c." (See Franklin *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques des Paris*, Tom. I., p. 158.)

† See how full of sweetness and unction is the *Erudit. Didascal.*, Lib. VII., vol. II., p. 811, 834. For example, cap. IV., *De earumdem [creaturarum] pulchritudine*. "Quamvis multis ac variis modis creaturarum pulchritudo perfecta sit, quatuor tamen precipue sunt, in quibus earumdem decor consistit. Hoc est in situ, in motu, in specie, in qualitate. Quæ quidem quis investigare sufficeret, mirabilem in eis sapientiæ Dei lucem inveniret. Et hoc utinam ego tam possem subtiliter perspicere, tam competenter enarrare, quam possum ardentius diligere. Delectat enim me quia valde dulces et jucundum est de his rebus frequenter agere, ubi simul et ratione eruditur sensus et suavitate delectatur animus, et æmulatione excitatur affectus. Ita ut cum Psalmista stupemus, et admirantes clamemus: *Quam magnificata sunt opera tue, Domine! Omnia in sapientia fecisti* (Psal. CIII.); et alibi: *Delectasti me in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo. Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! nimis profunde factæ sunt cogitationes tue. Vir insipiens non cognosceret, et stultus non intelliget hæc.*" (Psal. XCI., p. 814.)

him to abandon the home of his adoption. His uncle, the Bishop, advised him to go to Paris, where he himself had spent so many pleasant and profitable days, and to drink in from the fountain-head the precious streams of piety and knowledge. Hugh was delighted, and he persuaded his great-uncle, the Archdeacon of Halberstadt, though very far advanced in years, to accompany him on his journey. They travelled through Saxony, Flanders, and Lorraine, where they were received with the respect suited to their position; and finally arrived at Paris, and entered the peaceful seclusion of S. Victor Martyr. Gilduin was Abbot, and he received the venerable priest, and the tender youth, with that benevolence and courtesy which finds a natural home in the school of perfect charity.

The memory of Reinard was still fresh amongst the Canons; and they counted it an honour to number amongst their brethren one of the noble family of Blankenberg. They were still more gratified, when they discovered in this gentle boy, a maturity of mind, a sweetness of disposition, a courtesy of manner, and an unmistakable promise of distinction, which, some day, might bring honour to the Order. Though a delicate child, he possessed that which is often allied with a fragile constitution—a robustness of mind, and an aptitude for speculation, which, in one so young, was excessively remarkable. He began his studies without delay; and when he had completed them, he took the place of his professor, Thomas, who had succeeded William of Champeaux in the direction of the studies of the monastery.*

This is about all that is known of the life of Hugh of S. Victor's. He died at the early age of forty-four. Whoever would wish to know how he occupied himself, during the time of his hidden life, might open his celebrated treatise, "*De Sacramentis*," in which, with an unusual power of logical sequence, he establishes and develops, in the speculative order, the truths of Revelation. His writings, not only with regard to their contents, but with regard to their conception and their style, stand in the first rank amongst the noblest and most beautiful creations of the mediæval mind.†

* See how wide and Christian a view he takes of the temper a student should aim at, in his *Lib. Tert. Erudit. Didasc.*, cap. VII., VIII., p. 770, 771; cap. XI., XII., and especially cap. XIV., *De Humilitate*, p. 772-775. Take, as an example, the short chapter XIII., "*De Disciplina*: Sapiens, quidam cum de modo et forma discendi interrogaretur: 'Mens, respondit, humilis, studium querendi, vita quieta, scrupulum tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena: hæc reserare solent nonnulla obscura legendi.' Andierat puto quod dictum est: 'mores ornant scientiam,' et ideo præceptis legendi, præcepta quoque vivendi adjungit, ut et modum vite suæ et studii rationem lector agnoscat. Illaudabilis est scientia, quam vita maculat impudica. Et ideo summopere cavendum est ei qui querit scientiam, ut non negligat disciplinam." (p. 773.)

† Hugo's Schriften gehören, sowohl was den Inhalt, als auch was die Form und den Styl betrifft, zu dem Schönsten und Herrlichsten, was der christliche Geist des Mittelalters hervorgebracht hat. Das Geist- und Gemüthvolle, was in denselben liegt, lässt sich nicht leicht wiedergeben; man muss diese Schriften selbst lesen, um den vollen Genuss davon zu haben." (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* von Dr. Albert Stöckl, *Erster Band*, § 89, p. 305.) How beautifully he speaks of the use of travel for the study of Truth:—"It is a great beginning of virtue for the mind to commence by degrees to leave these visible and transitory things, that afterwards it may also relinquish them. He is as yet delicate to whom his country is sweet.

But of his influence presently. His death was a counterpart to his life, and since it has been related by an eye witness, and manifests the practical workings of his own theory in his own heart, I shall make no apology for introducing it.

Brother Osbert the Infirmarian, who attended Hugh in his last illness, thus writes to his friend Brother John :—

“I will not speak to you of the sincere, entire, and perfect confession which he made to the Lord Abbot, and to me; nor of the abundant tears which he shed, nor of the great contrition of his heart, nor of the frequent acts of thanksgiving which he made to the Lord Jesus Christ for his present malady, letting this cry of praise often escape from his heart, ‘Blessed be the Lord my God in eternity!’ I will tell you at once what he did and said in the last moments of his life.

“The day before he died, I went to him in the morning, and asked him how he felt: ‘Well,’ he answered, ‘in soul and body.’ He added, ‘Are we alone?’ I answered, Yes. ‘Have you said Holy Mass?’ Yes. ‘Come and breathe on my face in the form of a cross, that I may receive the Holy Ghost.’ I did as he desired. At once rejoiced and strengthened, ‘I believe by the Holy Spirit,’ he said with transport, ‘Now I am at peace, now I walk in truth and purity, now I am established on the rock, and nothing can ever shake me now; now were the whole world offered to me, with all its pleasures, it would not have my esteem were it to be my only recompense; for the sake of it, I will not offend my God. Now I recognize the mercy of God in my regard. Of all the graces which God has given me during the whole course of my life up to this day, none could be more mild, more sweet, more agreeable to me than the one he deigns to bestow upon me at this moment. Blessed be the Lord my God in eternity!’”

“After these words, he humbly asked for absolution of all the faults which he had committed against God. I gave it him, and left him to repose, according to his wish. I went away from his bed.”

“The following night, about cock-crow, his condition became more serious; his strength began to fail him. I hastened to him. His first word was about his soul. When the brothers who were present had given him absolution, I suggested to him the thought of receiving Extreme Unction: he asked for it with joy. He himself gave orders that whatever was necessary should be prepared at once. When all was ready, it began to get light. The brethren

He is brave to whom every soil is his country. He is perfect, to whom the whole world is a place of exile. The first fixes his love upon the world, the second scatters it, the last extinguishes it. I have been an exile from a boy, and I know with what grief the mind sometimes deserts the narrow space of a poor cottage: with what liberty afterwards it may despise marble courts and golden roofs.” (*Erudit. Didasc. Lib. III., cap. XX., p. 778. De Exilio, p. 778.*)

being assembled, surrounded him according to the custom, reciting psalms and prayers. Then I asked him if he would like me to anoint him, or if he would prefer to wait for the Lord Abbot, who was then absent: he had been sent for, and would come at once to the sick man. He answered: 'Do what you ought to do, for you are all around me.' A great many religious, monks, Canons regular, priests, and other ecclesiastics, had come, and even several laymen were present."

"After having administered Extreme Unction I asked him if he wished to receive the Body of our Lord: they had not brought it because he had communicated two days before. 'My God!' he cried, with a show of indignation, 'you ask me if I wish to receive my Lord! Run to the church, and bring to me the Body of my Master quickly' When I had executed his orders, I approached his bed, and holding the Sacred Bread of Eternal Life in my hands, I said to him, adore, and acknowledge the body of your Lord. Then rising as much as he could, and stretching out both his hands towards the Blessed Sacrament, he said, 'I adore Thee, O my Lord, and I receive Thee as my salvation.' After he had consumed the Sacred Host, he asked for a crucifix which was near him, and taking it into his hands, he formed on himself the sign of the Cross, and having devoutly embraced it, he rested the feet of the crucifix upon his lips, and kept it like that a long time, as if he would gather into his mouth the blood that ran down from the wounds of the Saviour. He fastened himself on it like a child to the breast of its mother, and sucked it while shedding torrents of tears.

"There was a moment's silence, after which I recalled to his mind this verse of the Holy Scriptures, 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.' He thought I asked him a question—that I asked him the explanation of the verse. He answered, 'The Lord Jesus, when about to leave this world, said to His Father, *Into Thy hands I commend my spirit*; and His Father received it.' And you, I replied, who are also on the point of going out of this world, you ought to pray God to receive your soul. At this word he gathered up his strength for an instant, then heaving a sigh which all could hear, he pronounced these words: 'Lord I commend into Thy hands, and into Thy power, the spirit which Thou hast given me, and which I received from Thee.' He spoke, and then held his peace. His last hour having approached, and not being able to talk, he collected himself together again, and regaining his powers, began to speak, but his voice being almost gone, it could not be heard. I asked him what he said? He answered in a clear tone 'I have obtained it!' I said, What

have you obtained? He was no more. This was the 11th of February, 1138.*

Such was the death of him whom Trithemius calls another Augustine, the most celebrated doctor of his time, a man deeply versed in Sacred Scripture, and without his equal amongst the ancients in philosophy, not less venerable for the purity of his life than for his erudition. Some go so far as to say that Hugh had the gift of miracles. His epitaph contains a concise appreciation of his merits:—

Conditus hic tumulo Doctor celeberrimus Hugo
 Quem brevis eximium continet urna virum.
 Dogmate præcipuus nullique secundus amore
 Claruit ingenio, moribus, ore, stylo.

It is very evident, from what has been said, that the school of which Hugh of S. Victor's forms the central figure, had very little in common with that of Abelard and his disciples. Both were powers of immense strength, drawing to themselves men of rare ability, and dividing the world of thought sharply into two distinct divisions. Anselm and Roscelin, Bernard and Abelard, were as wide asunder as the poles.

The excessive horror of William of S. Thierry, when he turned from his pious contemplation of the mystic Spouse, to the rationalizing theology of Abelard; the passionate vehemence of S. Bernard—who was celebrated for his self-control—whenever he makes mention of Abelard's name; must be attributed to a deeper cause than the fretting of human prejudice and passion.† It points to the energizing life within the human spirit, which was touched, as it were, by a rude hand, on the centre-quick, and which instantly responded by springing forward with a spasm.

The fact is there have ever been in the world two schools. Before Plato was born there were Platonists, and before Aristotle saw the light there were Aristotelians, who detested the principles of Platonism. They began with the first brothers of the human family—and Cain, standing over the body of his bleeding brother, is but a figure of the moral action of opposing schools. Plato's name would have been buried in forgetfulness, and so would Aristotle's, had there not been in humanity a deep-seated sympathy, on the one hand, with the contemplation of expanding truth; and on the other, with the exercise of the activity of the intelligence upon truth. To gaze steadily and fixedly on an

* Stephen of Bourbon is quoted by some writers as giving a story about Hugh of S. Victor's, which is brought forward as a proof of the slender knowledge of Greek there was in his day. As it bears also upon the character of Hugh, it will be well to narrate it. Hugh appeared, it is alleged, after his death, to a pious person, and said that he was condemned to the sufferings of purgatory *propter zenedoxiam* (sic). The pious person did not understand him, and after having looked, found that the word meant "vain glory."

† See *Vita*, Anctore Alano, *cop.* F., n. 17.

object, and take it in—to become one with it by contemplation, has a profound effect upon the soul. If the object be pure and elevating, the soul, through its influence, will be purer and more noble than before.* The sense of the elevation of the object, charms and subdues. To look upon an object in order to analyze its parts, to compare, and divide, to balance, and weigh it, and to pass it through a process of sifting or manipulation, possesses also its special charm; but it is the charm, not of subjection, but of mastery; not of repose, but of activity. Some minds—according to the mould in which they are cast—have more natural sympathy with the first, others, with the second method. Each is good within its sphere, both are pernicious when they outstep their sphere. Both are necessary for the perfection of the human mind. For man has a will to love, and an intelligence to know. He can fix himself on the object in faith; or probe and analyze it with his reason.† Plato, represents rest; Aristotle, inquisitiveness. The tendency of rest, is to take for granted, to possess: the tendency of inquisitiveness, is to divide, and prove: the former is synthetical, the latter is analytical. *Quies*, is monastic: inquisitiveness, is dialectical: the excess of *Quies* leads to the pantheism of Erigena, David of Dinanto, and his followers; the excess of dialectics points to rationalism, such as that of Gilbert de la Porrée, Abelard, and Arnold of Brescia.‡

It is of the monastic side of nature of which I am now about to speak. It is the most beautiful, and the most Catholic side. It is the side of the mind of Jesus—it is the philosophy of the Sacred Heart, and of the Divine intelligence. God contemplates. He does not reason. He that "believes" shall be saved. He does not say, he that *reasons* shall be saved. This is the philosophy of the first ages of the church: it is engraved in the mind of the Fathers, who drank from the spring of truth at the very source.

* "J'entends maintenant la communication intérieure d'un esprit supérieur à nous, qui nous parle, que nous entendons en dedans, qui vivifie et féconde notre esprit sans se confondre avec lui; car nous sentons, que les bonnes pensées, le bon mouvement ne sortent pas de nous-mêmes." Maine de Biran, (*Eurr.* p. 410.)

See how Plato expresses himself on the "Divine sense" which is in man: *Timæus*, 98, 99, p. 247. (Ex recensione C. E. Ch. Schneideri, Vol. I.) Again: "L'homme qui, par l'amour de la vérité, travaille surtout à développer en lui le sens de l'immatériel et du divin, celui-là, nécessairement attèndra l'immortalité autant que la nature humaine en est capable; et puisqu'il n'a cultivé en lui que le divin et qu'il a nourri dans son âme l'esprit divin que y réside, il doit aller à la souveraine félicité." (See Gratry, *De la connaissance de Dieu*, T. I., p. 93.)

† "Platon dans l'histoire de l'esprit humain, représente l'idéalisme, et par conséquent la synthèse: il s'adresse surtout aux âmes données de cette merveilleuse puissance d'intuition qu'on appelle aussi enthousiasme. . . . Aristote, au contraire, représente le sensualisme, et par conséquent l'analyse. Son œuvre est à la portée de tous les esprits laborieux; et, comme tous les jours il en naît de pareils, elle a pu se conserver par leurs soins, et se transmettre comme un héritage entre des mains connues." (Ozanam: *Œuvres*, T. VI., Ed. 2, partie, III., cap. II., p. 282.)

‡ "If after more than five hundred years," says Thomassinus, "our most celebrated Doctors refer their philosophic education to the school of Aristotle, it must be remembered that all the Fathers refer theirs to the school of Plato." (*Præf.*, I. II., n. X.) Thomassinus quotes Baronius, somewhere as saying:—*Academia Platonis, Ecclesie velut vestibulum.*" Then the baneful influence of Aristotle on Artemon and Theodotus was a warning to the Fathers against "Aristotelic subtilty."

They, in a remarkable manner, developed the monastic side of the mind of Christianity. They left the contentious side to the Pagan, and the Apostate. If they did descend to the arena, it was with reluctance, and only when serious danger was threatened to the Church. They loved, and quoted, and sympathized with Plato, because in his contemplative system, the eye of the mind, without disturbance, could calmly gaze upon the vast fields of truth, and fix itself upon its solemn ranges, and its glittering heights; and because it more perfectly than any other system, brought before the Catholic consciousness, the Divine plan of man's salvation.* They loved to rest, and bask in the light of the great gift of revelation. They did not feel pleased at being intruded on, with impertinent definition, and analysis.†

Now, Aristotle was all activity. The Fathers looked coldly on him. In the hands of skilful assailers he had viciously struck at them, and at that which they loved dearer than themselves: he was the Pagan's friend. They could not get over his teaching the eternity of the world, and the destruction of the soul: and many of them remembered what havoc he had committed in the Arian strife, in the person of Eunomius, who may be considered as the precursor of the extreme nominalistic school of the middle ages. Werner makes mention of twenty of the Fathers who speak with disparagement of Aristotle.‡

The Fathers, in their cast of mind, were essentially monastic: indeed, the monastic system has been a traditionary one in the Church from the earliest ages, and rests upon two fundamental facts, studied by all deeply thinking minds, viz.: first, that Christ—who taught a Divine philosophy, as well as a Divine theology—has never said "Blessed are they that see and then believe," but "Blessed are they who have not seen;" and, again, "Love is the fulfilment of the law." Man's primary scope is, not to know, but to love: not to see, but to believe. Belief, and love, these are the

* See Mosheim: *De turbata per Platonicos recentiores Ecclesia*: Helmstädt. 1732. Compare Werner, *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der Christlichen Theologie*, Fünfter Band. (Eufes Buch, § 794, p. 33.)

† "The piety of Platonism, its abstractedness from the visible world, its elevation of moral sentiments, recommended it forcibly to the imagination and the feelings of the contemplative theologian. It appeared eminently, in contrast with other systems, a knowledge of Divine things: a knowledge which led the mind to 'acquaint itself with God, and be at peace.' The Aristotelic philosopher was regarded as a profane intruder, bringing the noisy jargon of the world into the sanctuary, where every thought and feeling should be hushed in holy contemplation." (Hamden's *Bampton Lectures*, Ed. III., Lect. II., p. 62.)

‡ Justinus: *Dial. cum Trip.* C. 2. Hermias, Irenæus: *Adv. heres.* II. 19. Tertullian: *Præscript. heres.* C. 7: *adv. Hermog.* C. 1. Clemens Alexandrinus: *Cohort. ad gent.* *Strom.* V. Origenes: *Contr. Cels.* libb. I., II. Eusebius: *Præpar. Evang.* XV., 1, 3-7, 9; *Hist. Eccl.* V. 27; VII. 26. Lactantius: *Contr. gentil.* I. 6; II., 11. Athanasius: *Adv. Maced.* dial. 2. Basilus: *Contr. Eunom.*, I. n. 5 et 9. Gregor. Nyss.: *Contr. Eunom.* orat. 6 et 11; *præf. catech. orat.* Gregor. Nazianz.: *orat.* 26-28; *orat. ad conc. Constantinop.* Epiphanius: *Adv. Hæres.* II., 69; de Aëtianus: III. in *indiculo*, et C. 76. Theodor. Antioch.: *De Incarnatione*. Faustinus: *Contr. Arianos* C. 2. Chrysostomus: *Homil.* 3 in *Rom.* 1; in *Psal.* 115; *hom.* 24 in *Joann.* Hieronymus: *Contr. Pelag.* I; *Ep.* 62; *contr. Helvid.* X. in *Nahum.* C. 3. v. 13; *contr. Luciferianos.* Ambrosius: *Offic.* I. 13; *De Fide.* I., 5. Augustinus: *Confess.* VIII., 2; *contr. Julian.* I., 4; II., 10; III., 2; V., 14; VI., 18-20. Cyrillus Alexandrinus: *contr. Eunom.*, assertio. II; *contr. Julianum* IV. Eneas; in *Dial. Theoph.* (Vol. I. p. 46.)

two master-passions of all monastic minds—looking up with confidence, crying out “My Lord and my God,” and then, with all the passion of the soul, embracing the sovereign Good.

But, it may be asked, why call the synthetical principle monastic? The answer is simple; for the same reason by which the analytical principle is called scholastic. The analytical principle is called scholastic, because the scholastics were the first to reduce the method of analysis to system: S. Anselm is called the first of the school-men, because he is said to have been the first to bring the canons of logic to bear upon the mysteries of religion. Now, monks were the first who, in the middle ages—as well as long before—reduced the methods of synthesis to something like a system. As men reasoned before they possessed syllogistic laws, so men also worshipped before the canons of the mystic life were scientifically understood.* The solitaries of China and of India, the Chaldean and the Egyptian, sought after a higher goodness and truth than they found within themselves, they sought caves and mournful solitudes, that they might, undisturbed, commune with the Great Spirit in the skies. Or, look at the Eastern monks—those terrific men, those wrestlers with Satan and the flesh—battling in the wilderness, with their great synthetic minds, who lived, and suffered, and adored, and died!

In the West, of which I am now speaking, S. Benedict was the first and only legislator of monasticism.† He saw the immense force of the religious life of the East, such as it was. He reorganized it, putting it on a more practical, and more perfect footing. The Easterns buried themselves in solitude, there to remain, and converse with God; S. Benedict had humanity in view: he hurries to the rugged fastness, to live to God, and having lived to God, to come forth, and subdue the world, through the synthetic influence of the Cross.‡ His system is written in what, *par excellence*, is called “The Holy Rule:” a rule which S. Gregory, S. Thomas, S. Antoninus, and S. Hildegard, declare to have been immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost. Its whole scope demonstrates that S. Benedict held that “love” was power. He left

* “Diligere Deum super omnia,” says S. Thomas “est quiddam connaturale homini.” (*Sum.: Theolog.: I, II., q. CIX., art. 3.*) “Rationalem naturam a Deo factam esse justam ut illo fruendo beata esset, dubitari non debet. . . . Ad hoc itaque factam esse rationalem naturam certum est, ut summum bonum super omnia amaret et eligeret, non propter aliud, sed propter ipsum; si enim propter aliud, non ipsum, sed aliud amat. . . . Quapropter rationalis natura justa est facta, ut summo bono, id est Deo, fruendo beata esset; homo ergo, qui rationalis natura est, factus est justus ad hoc, ut Deo fruendo beatus esset.” (*Cur Deus homo, Lib. I., cap. I., p. 401.*)

† He is called in a Papal privilege of the eighth century; “Patrem omnium monachorum, monasticum, legislatorem, quem Deus omnibus per totum orbem monasteriis præfecit.”

‡ His spirit is shown by his love of the Fathers and of the Scripture, of which his rule is but an expansion. “For him who is going to perfection,” says the Rule, “there are the lessons of the Holy Fathers, which lead to the very summit. For what page, what passage of the Old or New Testament, coming as it does with Divine authority, is not the very exactest rule of life?” (*Chap. LXXIII.*)

"knowledge," and trod it under foot; for, though but a child, the eyes of his "faith" had been opened.* He found love in the mountain cave. Of mere human, or mental activity, he makes little account. Light comes from without, not from within. Love is not the offspring of analysing, and dividing, and arguing, but it is the child of contemplation, and peace.† How is this love acquired? The Holy Rule lays down the method. Love is acquired by two things, viz., by contemplation, and by purity of heart.‡ He who has a pure heart, and contemplates truth, loves truth. The contemplation will be clear in proportion as the heart is pure: and the heart will be pure as the spirit is humble. The two grand principles on which that Rule—which has given its colour to every other—is founded, are the contemplation of love, and the practice of humility. But what is the object of contemplation? The object is Christ. Christ seems incarnate in this Rule. The Abbot holds the place of Christ; the community are to look upon him as Christ, and obey him as Christ. Christ is adored in the poor; Christ is seen in the sick; Christ is served in the guests. The monk is to "deny himself to himself, and to follow Christ." The community is all one in Christ; and the Holy Legislator insists that nothing is to be placed before the love of Christ. In fact, it may with truth be said here: *Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*§ As a man, after looking on the sun, appears to see suns floating everywhere, so the monk, from the contemplation of Christ in faith, and through self-annihilation, sees his Lord in all his creatures. It was in order that the monk should have this vivid appreciation of the Saviour of the World, that the Holy Father dedicates so very large a portion of his Rule to a treatise on humility; for he knew that purity of heart alone is gained by humility; and that it is the pure of heart exclusively, who look upon the face of their Christ.||

Now, it is self-evident that, in proportion as the spirit contem-

* Despectis literarum studiis . . . relictis domo rebusque paternis . . . desepit jam quasi aridum mundum cum flore. (S. Greg., *Dialog. II.*)

† "Whatever makes the mind gravitate towards the creature, is inconsistent with monastic simplicity." (Dr. Newman, *Atlantis I.*, p. 44.)

‡ See how terrified S. Benedict was at temptation: "Exutus indumento, nudum se in illis spinarum aculeis et urticarum incendiis projectit, ibique diu volutatus, totus ex iis vulneratus exiit. Ex quo tempore, sicut ipse postea perhibebat, ita in eo est tentatio voluptatis edomita, ut tale aliquid in se minime sentiret." (S. Greg. *Dialog. II.*)

§ Ad te ergo nunc meus sermo dirigitur, quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluntatibus Domino Christo vero Regi militaturus, obedientiæ fortissima atque præclara arma assumis. (*Prolog. 2.*)

In Christi doctrina . . . perseveremus (*id.*)

Omnes in Christo unum sumus. (*Cap. II.*, 16.)

Nihil amoris Christi præponere. (*Cap. IV.*, 21.) Christo nihil præponant. (*Cap. LXXII.*, 11.)

Abnegare semetipsum sibi ut sequatur Christum. (*Cap. IV.*, 10.) Non timore gehennæ, sed amore Christi (humilis regulam servat). (*Cap. VII.*, 89.) Passionibus Christi per patientiam participemus. (*Prolog. 26.*) Hanc Regulam adjuvante Christo perfice. (*Cap. LXXIII.*, 9.) Again: Abbas vices Christi agere creditur—vocatur Dominus honore et amore Christi. Christus in hospitibus adoretur qui et suscipitur. In pauperibus Christus magis suscipitur. Sicut revera Christus ita infirmis servitur. (*Vide Reg. passim.*)

|| "Ecce ego et tu," writes the Benedictine S. Ælred to a friend: "et sporo quod tertius inter nos Christus sit." Think too of S. Gertrude.

plates Christ, and the heart is pure, the will elicits perfect acts of love. Again, in the relation of man to his Maker, there is always a disproportion, which becomes more evident as he advances in love and purity of heart. In the same degree as the creature knows what the Creator is, he realizes his own position as a creature. S. Gregory expresses it thus, when he tells us how it was that S. Benedict saw the whole world, as it were, in one solar ray of light: *Quia animæ videnti Creatorem angusta est omnis creatura*.* What then do we call the result in the mind of the realization of this disproportion? Surely, Reverence.† The love man has for God is an adoring love. Love, reverence, adoration, purity—these are the four pillars of the grand monastic system. Those who were real monks were thoroughly possessed by these gifts. They created the atmosphere in which they lived, and consequently in which they thought. They formed the character of the man, and the temper of his mind; and monks could no more think independently of their influence, than we can think outside the grooves of space and time. If this were the case, it stands to reason that this temper would greatly influence those occupations which most preoccupied the monastic mind. But, of all occupations of monasticism, none has been more engrossing than the study of revealed truth. In a word, the synthetical method of monasticism would greatly influence the monk's manner of handling theology and philosophy.‡ His whole treatment of divine things, and human too, and especially his system—which does not depend upon individual perfection—would speak loudly of love, and reverence, and adoration. He would prefer, if he could help it, not to analyze, not to discuss, rather to push forward in knowledge, that his love might be the stronger; ever looking to the advancement of his spirit in perfection; and counting methods which do not, at least indirectly, tend to this, as so much loss of labour. His treatment would not be dry, stiff, formal, logical, but rather from time to time filled with the unction of overflowing

* "Omnis etiam mundus, velut sub uno solis radio collectus, ante oculos adductus est. Quia animæ videnti Creatorem angusta est omnis creatura." (*Dial.* II., 34.) In the tower in which S. Benedict lived at Monte Cassino, there is this inscription:—"Universum mundum divini solis radio detectum inspicit semel et despezit." S. Bonaventure says of the vision, "Mundus non fuit coangustatus in uno radio solis, sed ejus animus dilatatus, quia vidit omnia in illo ejus magnitudine omnis creatura angusta est." *De Luminaribus*, Sermon 20. (See *Les Moines D'Occident*, Tome Deuxième, p. 67. 1860.)

† "Religio habet duplices actus, quosdam quidem proprios et immediatos, quos elicit, per quos homo ordiatur ad solium Deum, sicut sacrificare et orare et alia hujusmodi; alios autem actus habet, quos producit mediantibus virtutibus, quibus imperat, ordinans eos ad divinam reverentiam." (S. Thom., *Sum.* II., II. q. LXXXI., art. I.)

‡ How profoundly S. Augustine felt the influence of the monastic principle! How marvelously Truth drew him to Christ! "Ranum viridem ostendit ovi et trahit illam. Nunc puero demonstrantur, et trahitur. Si ergo ista, que inter delicias et voluptates terrenas revelantur amantibus, trahunt; quoniam verum est: 'Trahit sua quemque voluptas' non necessitas, sed voluptas, non obligatio, sed delectatio; quanto fortius nos dicere debemus, trahi hominem ad Christum, qui delectatur veritate, delectatur beatitudine, delectatur iustitia, delectatur sempiterna vita, quod totum Christus est?" (*Tract.* XXVI., in Joan. Cf. *Hettinger's Apologie des Christenthums: Die Dogmen des Christenthums, Erster Vortrag, Grund- und Aufriß*, p. 1-74; *Beweis des Christenthums*, X, XI, XII., Vortrag.)

love and thankfulness, running where the spirit led, and ever making Christ the one living centre round which all things should revolve.*

The most extraordinary feature of this method is that it is extremely practical. Monks have ruled the world. They may not have become first among theologians and philosophers, through their monasticism. But it was through monasticism that they have given to Christendom the most distinguished Popes, statesmen and apostles. Their systematic commerce with the unseen gave them force, and light, and direction; gave them courage, independence, liberty; made them, in the highest sense, men of the world, because they were in no sense worldly men.

Now, monasticism found its principal school at S. Victor's. The synthetical system was here brought gradually to bear upon the teachings of theology. Hugh of S. Victor's was its able exponent. But the school was not founded by him. He improved upon what went before him. William of Champeaux founded S. Victor's as has been seen. Now, William was the scholar of Anselm of Laon, that hero of positive theology. Anselm of Laon was the pupil of S. Anselm the monk—which accounts for his shrinking from contentions, and for the scandal he took at Abelard, when he had heard of his treatment of the Sacred Scriptures. The professor of Laon lived in the monastic system, and imbued his pupils with it.

But William of Champeaux had another power bearing upon his mind and character. He was the familiar friend of the first who drew the broad outlines of the monastic system of theology in the middle ages—that is, of Saint Bernard.† It is not surprising that, being under the influence of such a man, though so much his junior, William of Champeaux should have brought S. Benedict's spirit into S. Victor's.‡ Now Hugh, as a young man, was thrown into the midst of this strong synthetical influence. He became absorbed by it. His friendship for S. Bernard, with whom he passed much of his time, shows of what spirit he was.

* A monk of Tegernsee writes thus, in the tenth century (in his commentary on S. Paul, 1 Cor., I. 20), and expresses the monastic thought: "Stultam fecit Deus sapientiam mundi hujus postquam exsicavit fluxivos Ethan: præ dulcedine enim decem chordarum. . . . pæne oblitus sum totidem categoriarum Aristotelis."

† William was also a great friend of S. Stephen.

‡ I freely admit that S. Bernard and William had their differences, but that does not destroy the fact of the influence of the Saint. Abbé Michaud appears to me to make too much of their discrepancy in character. (See *Guillaume de Champeaux*, cap. III., p. 440–463.) He sums up, however thus: "Tandis que Saint Bernard, tout en vivant dans son intelligence, vivait par son cœur, Guillaume de Champeaux, au contraire, tout en vivant dans son cœur, vivait par son intelligence; là c'était surtout l'ardeur, ici surtout la prudence; là on se complaisait dans les élans enthousiastes, ici l'on s'en défiait pour ne se complaire que dans les mouvements réfléchis. Bernard accablait tout d'abord ses ennemis, quels qu'ils fussent, Abélard, Henri de Chuny ou Pierre le Vénéral; Guillaume n'a pas laissé dans l'histoire une seule parole d'amertume contre Abélard, malgré les discussions qui se sont élevées entre eux. En un mot, si Bernard et Guillaume se chérissaient, ce n'était pas parce qu'ils se ressemblaient, mais parce qu'ils se complétaient. Quand l'amitié était en eux deux ils n'étaient qu'un; mais lorsque la pensée reprenait le premier rang, d'un ils redevenaient deux." (p. 463.)

His death-bed points to that love and adoration, and reverence, and purity of heart, of which his theology is full.

But I must touch upon S. Anselm, and S. Bernard, in their relations to monasticism, before I enter into the spirit and teaching of Hugh and his followers at S. Victor's.

S. Anselm, from his tender childhood, manifested a taste for monastic life. Before he was fifteen, he had made up his mind that the monastic was the most perfect state. He prayed that sickness might come upon him, thinking that thus an obstacle would be removed to his joining a religious order.* When quite a child, he had a dream, which points in the same direction. His home appears to have been situated in the midst of magnificent scenery, and "Anselm, while yet a child, dreamed that on the summit of one of those mountains, which taught the youthful dreamer to look from nature up to nature's God, he saw enthroned the King of Kings. It was the time of harvest, and he saw the reapers in the valley neglecting their work. He determined to complain of them to his Lord and their Lord. As he approached the throne of glory, he heard a still, small voice asking in sweet accents the young child's name. Unintimidated, Anselm approached his Heavenly Father, and narrated every remembered incident of his short life. He received a piece of pure white bread, and departed, strengthened and refreshed."†

His mind was essentially synthetical. His talents were of the rarest class. Being pupil of the clear, logical Lanfranc, he learnt how to join to the reverential and unctuous temper of the monastic school, the keen, penetrating activity of the genuine scholastic. He combined, in their highest forms, the analytical power of Aristotle, with the synthetical ability of Plato. The noblest gifts of contemplation, and the most accurate mental action, directed reverently on truth, are seldom found so happily combined in one intelligence.

Though the writings of S. Anselm are severely logical, and speak of the special training he must have received under his master, still there is that about his style which speaks of the influence of the cloister.‡ The intense veneration which he manifests for revelation does not proceed from the action of the reason so much as from the influences of monastic life. A merely logical mind would have made the common and rational distinction between faith and reason, and there have left the matter.

* His beautiful nature is shown in this prayer:—

"Take from me, O Lord," he cries, "if it be Thy will, my substance; take from me the members of my body, my hands, my feet, my eyes, only leave me a heart, with which I may be able to love Thee!"

† Hook, *Vol. II., cap. III., p. 171.*

‡ *De Fid. Trinit., cap. II., p. 263-5.*

But S. Anselm speaks of the "presumption" of pretending to reason, before faith has fully mastered, and held the object-matter of discussion.* He does not reason, that he may believe; but he believes, and then begins to reason. His grasp, and conviction of truth, is one thing; his analyzing, and bringing reason to establish it, is quite another. His conviction rests in the Scriptures, and in the light of faith. Reason, cannot be true reason, which contradicts Scripture and revelation.† He maintains, moreover, that to acquire knowledge; a man must gain purity of heart, by virtue and self-restraint.‡ To fix the eye on God, and to look upon Him, the eye must be clean and bright.

The great theological master-piece of the Saint was his *Tractate on the Trinity*. Here, following S. Augustine, and holding by the Fathers of the Church, he safely scales those dizzy heights which lead up to the hidden mystery of the Triune God. The marvellous synthetical power which he shows here, is only equalled by the clear analysis by which he detects and draws out the various relations of God to the creature, and the various relations in the Blessed Trinity.§ His *Monologue* treats this matter speculatively. In his answer to Roscelin, and in his argument with the Greeks, he deals with it on its positive side.|| He was the first, in the middle ages, to treat the subject of the Blessed Trinity with scientific precision, and his labours on this subject have served as the point of departure for every treatise on the question written since his time.¶

* Rectus ordo exigit, ut profunda Christianæ fidel credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere. (*Cur Deus homo*, L. I., cap. II., p. 361.) Neque enim quero intelligere, ut credam, sed credo, ut intelligam. Nam et hoc credo, quia nisi credidero, non intelligam. (Prosl., cap. I., p. 227. See also *De Fide Trinitatis*, L. I., cap. II., p. 263, cap. IV., p. 272. *Monol. prof. Cur. Deus Homo*, L. I., cap. II., p. 362. See also, *Medit. I.*, § 2, p. 711.)

Christianus per fidem debet ad intellectum proficere, non per intellectum ad fidem accedere aut, si intelligere non valet, a fide recedere: sed cum ad intellectum valet pertinere, delectatur, cum vero nequit quod capere non potest, veneratur. *Epis. XLII. (Opp. pars III. Lib. II. p. 1193.)*

He sent his *Monologue* all the way to England, to Lanfranc, to criticise and amend it. (*Epist. XLIII. Opp. pars III. Lib. I., p. 1134.*)

† "Sic itaque Sacra Scriptura omnis veritatis, quam ratio colligit, auctoritatem continet, cum illam aut aperte affirmat, aut nullatenus negat." (*De Concord. Præsc. Dei cum Lib. Arb.*, cap. VI., p. 528.) "Certus enim sum, si quid dico, quod sacra Scriptura absque dubio contradicat, quia falsum est, nec illud tenere volo, si cognovero." (*Cur Deus Homo*, Lib. I., cap. XVIII., p. 338.)

‡ *De Fid. Trinit.*, Lib. I., cap. II., p. 263. "For to the humble," says John of Salisbury, "God gives illuminating grace, enabling them to understand truth, and they despise not the person of the teacher, nor the doctrine, unless opposed to religion; and without this, all capacity of genius, tenacity of memory, and diligence of study, will only serve to lead men into greater error, as the swift horse sooner carries his rider from the way." (*De Nugis Curialium*, Lib. VII., cap. XIII., p. 666.) "A good reader, or student, ought to be humble." (Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Doctrinale*, Lib. I., cap. 28.) "Learn as if you were to live for ever: live as if you were to die to-morrow."—Alan de Insulis. "Mundus Deus, mundo corde conspiciatur."—S. Jerome. "The sixth operation of the Holy Spirit, which is intelligence, relates to the clean of heart, who, with a purified eye, can behold what the eye hath not seen."—S. Augustine. (See *More's Catholicism*, which has much on the same point—*Vol. II., cap. IV., p. 553.*)

§ *Monolog.*, cap. I., p. 144; cap. II., p. 146; cap. III., p. 147; cap. IV., p. 148. *Comp. De Fid. Trinit.*, cap. IV., p. 272-276.

|| *De Fid. Trinit.*, p. 259; *De Process. Spirit. Sanct.*, p. 286-326.

¶ Abbot William of Hirschan, who drew, it seems, greatly from the experiences of Constantine the Carthaginian (born 1026, died in 1091), was the first to formularize a syllogistic proof of the existence of God. Though in 1078, he was in correspondence with S. Anselm, he does not appear to have been acquainted with his philosophical labours while engaged in his own. He throws his proof into the form of a dilemma. "Per quotidianam vero dispositionem idem [quod Deus existit] sic probatur: ea quæ disponuntur, sapienter disponuntur, ergo aliqua sapientia

But the fame of S. Anselm principally attaches itself to the attempt he made—the boldest perhaps ever made by Christian theologian or philosopher—to discover a new proof of the existence of God.

He had penned the *Monologue* at the request of some of his brethren. As he pondered over what he had written in that admirable treatise, the thought came across his mind, that it would be a useful thing, if he could construct a proof of God's existence, which should simplify the methods then generally in use. After he had meditated on this point for some time, he seemed to have discovered what he was looking for. He declared that he had hit upon an argument to prove God's existence—an argument which was so strong, he said, as to render all other proofs superfluous.* He thought he had succeeded in bridging over the yawning chasm between the fact of thought, and the fact of being.†

This proof, whatever its logical merits, is essentially Platonic, synthetical, monastic. The intensity of contemplation, the fixing of the gaze of the intellectual eye on the one great Object of human thought, seems to have brought that presence so near upon him, that he could not but imagine it to be, when he had the faculty to think it, with such vividness. An obscure man, Gaunilo, whose name would never have been heard of, had it not been for the immortality of the Saint, assailed the newly-discovered proof of Anselm.‡ Whether or no the Saint's reply would satisfy the cautious philosophers of the present day, who verify proof more carefully than did the ancients, this is not the place to discuss.§ Even if his proof be not strictly according to the requirements of the present age, none will deny him his due place as a great metaphysician, a bold, ingenious thinker, who possessed a grasp,

. sed sapientia illa vel divina vel angelica vel humana : humana motum et vitam conferre non potest: angelica vero sapientia quomodo ipsos angelos dispoieret? Divina ergo sapientia est, quæ hoc agit, sed omnis sapientia alicujus est sapientia: est igitur, cujus est illa sapientia, sed nec est homo nec angelus, Deus ergo est." (See Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, Zweiter Band, XIII., p. 84.)

* The most enlightened of the early scholastics saw the call, clearly to establish faith on scientific grounds; for example:—"Rationabili necessitate intelligam, esse oportere omnia," says S. Anselm in another place, "quæ nobis fides Catholica de Christo credere præcipit." (*Cur Deus homo*, L. I., cap. XXV., p. 400.) Hugh of S. Victor's says: "Quod tenemus ex fide ratione apprehendere et demonstrativæ certitudinis attestazione firmare." (See Liebner, *Hugo von S. Victor und die theologischen Richtungen seiner Zeit*, 1832, § 64, p. 173.) He says elsewhere that there are "tres gradus promotionis fidel, quibus fides crescens ad perfectum contendit: primus per pietatem eligere, secundus per rationem approbare, tertius per veritatem apprehendere." Hence, three classes—viz., "in primis sola pietas facit electionem, in secundis ratio adiungit approbationem, in tertiis puritas intelligentiæ apprehendit certitudinem." (*De Sacramentis* L. I. Pars X., cap. IV., p. 332, 333.)

† "Postquam opusculum quoddam (Monologium), veluti exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei, in persona alicujus tacite secum ratiocinando quæ nesciat investigantis edidi; considerans illud esse multorum concatenatione contextum argumentorum, capi mecum quærere, si forte posset inveniri unum argumentum, quod nullo alio ad se probandum, quam se solo indigeret; et solum ad astruendum, quia Deus vere est, et quia est summum bonum nullo alio indigens, et quo omnia indigent ut sint et bene sint, et quæcunque credimus de divina substantia, sufficeret. (*Proemium ad Prolog.* p. 223.)

‡ Lib. pro Insipiente.

§ Lib. Apol. cont. Gaunil.

an elasticity, and a dryness of intellectual light rare amongst the most gifted of philosophers.*

The nobility of his mind and temper is evident in all his views: especially when he writes on freedom, on purity, on truth and goodness, and on the rectitude of the human will. His gift of seeing analogies was very striking, and his keenness in severing an intellectual knot is evident, from the masterly manner in which he exposes the fallacies of Fredegisus and Erigena. Though written at different times, and in answer to special calls, a unity runs through all his works. They find their crown in his splendid treatise on the Incarnation. Who knows that it was not the glory of Christ that he was aiming at, in drawing all his thoughts on that one point, in which rests the mystery of man's redemption? Though he was emphatically the precursor of the great voluminous scholastics of the thirteenth century; still Christ, and purity, and reverence, and love, and the odour of monastic life, claim him as a son of the Benedictine spirit.†

* S. Thomas, *Contr. Gent. I., cap. XI., Sum. Pars I., q. 2, ar. 1, ad. 2.*

† He did not forget that, without Christ, all knowledge of vice and virtue, of their origin and advance, is unavailing. "Christ," says Eadmer, "was never absent from his lips." (See Möhler's life of S. Anselm, p. 12.) Prantl, with quite another end in view, shows how the monastic spirit jars with dialectical contentions. He speaks of the Lombard's "älterer Zeitgenosse Bernhard von Clairvaux," who "sich offen als Feind der Dialektik bekennt," of Hugh of S. Victor's, who "eine feindselige Gesinnung gegen die Dialektik hegte," and "scheint er selbst die allgemein zugängliche Litteratur der Logik verschmäht zu haben." (*Logik. XIV., p. 110, 111.*) Prantl also has an exceedingly low opinion of S. Anselm as a logician. "Wie Wenig durchgebildet aber die Auffassung der Logik überhaupt bei Anselmus gewesen sei, erhellt am deutlichsten aus der Schrift, welche den Titel 'Dialogus de grammatico' führt." (*Ibid., XIII., p. 89.*) Monasticism and realism has ever, naturally shrunk from logic-chopping, which wears out the mind without putting anything into it, and throws a man upon himself, the most miserable of beings, instead of carrying him out of self, into God.

CHAPTER XII.

MONASTIC THEOLOGY. ST. VICTORS.

PART II.

IF S. Anselm was essentially the forerunner of the scholastic, S. Bernard was the great founder of the monastic method. Anselm was a contemplative, but he was pre-eminently scholastic. Bernard was scholastic, but he was pre-eminently contemplative. Anselm laid the great lines of theological science, Bernard drew the first great sketches, with a few master strokes, of the monastic system of theology.* Anselm actively employs his reasoning faculties, and his keen powers of discrimination and of analysis; S. Bernard comparatively lets these rest, and occupies himself with the thought of the Supreme Good, and only makes distinctions when he is obliged. Anselm rejoices, and freely flies with swift wing, in the high region of pure metaphysics; Bernard dwells with weak, struggling humanity, and is only in his element when he is treating on the love of God to man, the methods of man's salvation, and the scheme for obtaining bliss. Anselm overshadows the Benedictine element by the rationalistic; Bernard, the rationalistic by the Benedictine. The method of the former would make theologians, the method of the latter would make men.

The tendency of S. Bernard's mind is evident from the subject-matter of his most important works. His treatise on grace, and free will; his book on contemplation, "*De Consideratione*;" his writings on the love of God: and, then, his tract on the degrees of humility, all point to the one object which possessed his mind. Love and faith, purity and humility, these make up all the strivings and aspirations of S. Bernard's life.† His profound remarks

* "Der erste Vertreter der mystischen Richtung ist Bernard von Clairvaux. Er ist der eigentliche Schöpfer der mittelalterlichen Mystik. Wahr ist es, dass der Ruhm dieses grossen Mannes vorzugsweise auf dem Gebiete des Lebens erwachsen ist. Aber obgleich er auf diesem Gebiete nach allen Seiten hin thätig war, und in alle kirchlichen und politischen Ereignisse der damaligen Zeit eingriff: fand er doch noch Musse genug, wissenschaftliche und mystisch-contemplative Untersuchungen in Rede und Schrift auszuführen. Und so legte er den Grund zum Emporblühen der mittelalterlichen Mystik, indem er die Grundzüge derselben entwarf und deren Elemente darlegte." (Stöckl, *Erster Band*, VI., § 88, p. 293-294.)

† When a youth, one Christmas Eve, after he had been long meditating on the mystery of the Incarnation, he beheld our Saviour in a dream, as if still in his human infancy, and the sight so charmed him that he thenceforth could think of nothing but how to serve God in the best way he might.

He wrote eighty-six sermons on the Canticles of Canticles, and then the work was unfinished. (See *Opp.* vol. II., p. 786-1198.)

upon sin, and its relations to human freedom; his views of human freedom itself—though taken from Saint Augustine—are tokens of the bent of his mystic mind.*

His views on the working, and the place of grace in the human soul, and the fulfilment of the human destiny in another world—of which the soul seems to get momentary glimpses when raised in ecstasy in this—all point to the ceaseless eye he keeps upon building up, not so much a theory, as *man*, in the love of God, and in humility of heart. In fact, his treatise on grace, and the human will, is simply a preparation for his treatise upon the love of God. Here Bernard is evidently in his element. The cause of our loving God, is God himself; the measure of love, to love without measure.† The very voice of nature within man, loudly calls upon him to love God.‡ Love is not mercenary. Love is the reward of love.§ Love is not attained at once. There are four steps to perfect love. It begins with self; next, man loves God selfishly; then he loves Him unselfishly—for His own sake; and lastly, he loves—not God alone, for His own sake; but he loves himself, and all other things for the love of God. That is the highest perfection of Divine love. But the fullest perfection of this form is only then experienced, when the soul, for the moment, is carried by mystical rapture as it were, beyond itself.||

But love cannot be treated without touching on its counterpart—humility. What purity of heart was to S. Anselm, that humility was to S. Bernard. These great pure-minded thinkers laid the principal stress on that which seems to be almost entirely disregarded at this day. It was as evident to them that the soul could not contemplate truth if its eye—the heart—were not clean, as it is to us that we cannot see when our eyes are shut. They saw distinctly what we forget, or ignore, viz.: the intimate connection, more intimate than that of body and soul, between the intellectual and moral faculties—between the intelligence and will.

Humility is the virtue, says the Saint, by which a man looks meanly upon himself, through a perfectly accurate appreciation of himself.¶ This is the way to knowledge.** There are twelve

* De Gratia et libero arbitrio, cap. VII., n. 21, 22., p. 1013, '4. Cap. VIII., n. 24, p. 1014. Also, Sermo LXXXI. in Cantica—De convenientia et similitudine animæ cum Verbo secundum identitatem essentie, et vitæ immortalitatem, et arbitrii libertatem, n. 7, p. 1174.

† "Vultis ergo a me audire, quare et quomodo diligendus sit Deus? Et ego: Causa diligendi Deum, Deus est; modus, sine modo diligere." (De diligendo Deo, cap. I., p. 974.)

‡ Ibid., cap. II., 6, p. 976.

§ Ibid., cap. VII., 17, p. 984.

|| Ibid., cap. VIII., 23, p. 977; cap. X., 27, p. 990; cap. XV., 39, p. 998.

¶ Humilitatis vero talis potest esse definitio: Humilitas est virtus, qua homo verissima sui agnitione sibi ipsi vilescit. (De Gradibus Humilitatis, cap. I., 2, p. 942.)

** "Clamat igitur errantibus, et viam ignorantibus, Ego sum via: dubitantibus et non credentibus, Ego sum veritas: jam ascendentibus, sed lassescentibus, Ego sum vita. Satis, ut reor, ostensum est ex proposito capitulo Evangelii, cognitionem veritatis fructum esse humilitatis." (Ibid., cap. I., 1, p. 942.) See also that beautiful chapter (VI.) headed "Tertius gradus veritatis mundare oculum cordis ad contemplanda cœlestia et divina." It ends thus. "ab omni ergo

degrees,* before man arrives at the full blaze of enlightening truth. But he declares that humility is not enough. In order to possess the highest form of knowledge, love must be added to humility.† When man has arrived at the higher form of life, through love and humility, then he begins to enter into the mystic region. The first step here, is consideration, which is an intense application of the mind, acting discursively upon some given truth. The next is contemplation, which, passing beyond the discursive action of the reason, rests fixed intently on the object. The effect of contemplation is to produce admiration and wonder; so much so, that, being overcome by the power of the majesty before it, the spirit is lifted, as it were, out of itself, and for the time is plunged in the ocean of illimitable truth.‡ As a drop of water falling into wine seems to become wine, taking its taste and colour; as the red-hot iron takes the properties of, and becomes fire; as the air penetrated with light seems to become an illumination, and no longer air; so, in the other world, will the soul be carried away in God.§ For the creature thus possessed of God, marvellously forgets itself, and, altogether leaving self, wholly goes to God, and, from henceforth adhering to Him, becomes one spirit with Him. The difference between the doctrine of Erigena and S. Bernard is this—that the system of the former tends to annihilate the individuality of the creature; whereas the system of the latter, though he makes this union as intimate as is possible, asserts the individuality of the creature in its most perfect unity with God.

Such is a very brief sketch of the outline drawn by S. Bernard of the synthetical school of theology; of which he may be said to be the founder. Love of God, and humility—treading self under foot to reach up to Him, this, S. Bernard taught: this, S. Bernard did. The golden stream of the monastic theology of the Church,

labe infirmitate, ignorantia studiove contracta, flendo, justitiam esuriendo, operibus misericordie insistendo, mundatur oculus cordis, cui se in sui puritate veritas videndam promittit: *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.* (Matth., v. 8.) Cum sint itaque tres gradus seu status veritatis, ad primum ascendimus per laborem humilitatis, ad secundum per affectum compassionis, ad tertium per excessum contemplationis. In primo veritas reperitur severa; in secundo, pia; in tertio, pura. Ad primum ratio ducit, qua nos discentimus; ad secundum affectus perducit, quo aliis miseremur; ad tertium puritas, rapit, qua ad invisibilia sublevamur." (19, p. 952.)

* "Hanc itaque legem, qua reditur ad veritatem, Beatus Benedictus per duodecim gradus disponit. Illud quoque quod in scala illa, quæ in typo humilitatis Jacob monstrata est, Dominus desuper iniunxit apparuit (*Gen., XXVIII., 12, 13*), quid nobis aliud innuit, nisi quod in culmine humilitatis constituitur cognitio veritatis?" (*Cap. II., 3, p. 943.*)

† "Bona tamen via humilitatis, qua veritas inquiritur, charitas acquiritur, generationes sapientia participantur. Denique sicut finis legis Christus, sic perfectio humilitatis, cognitio veritatis. Christus cum venit attulit gratiam: veritas quibus innotuerit, dat charitatem. Innotescit autem humilibus ergo dat gratiam." (*Cap. II., 5, p. 944.*)

‡ (*See De Consideratione, cap. XIII., 27, 28, 29, p. 804; also, cap. XIV., p. 805-807.*)

§ "O amor sanctus et castus! O dulcis et suavis affectio! O pura defsecata intentio voluntatis! eo certe defsecator et purior, quo in ea de proprio nil jam admistum relinquitur: eo suavior et dulcior, quo totum divinum est quod sentitur. Sic deificari est. Quomodo stilla aqua modica, multo infusa vino, &c." (*De Diligendo Deo., cap. X., 28, p. 991; see also cap. XI. 30-32, p. 993, 994.*)

This prayer was that of S. Joseph Cupertino when in ecstasy:—
"Fiat Domine cor meum immaculatum, ut non confundar!" Görres, *Die Christliche Mystik*, B. II., p. 257.)

sprung from him, as from a fountain whose hidden springs lay deep in the mystic teaching of that Holy Rule which he loved and practised, not merely in the mechanical performance of certain duties, but in the full scope, and free spirit of its deepest meaning.*

Now Hugh of S. Victor's, called Didascalus, during the quiet years he spent in his convent, summed up, and advanced the labours of Anselm and Bernard, in a remarkable degree. His powers of speculation, though less strong than S. Anselm's, were greater than S. Bernard's; and his contemplative spirit, though, perhaps, less soaring than S. Bernard's was of a stronger wing than S. Anselm's: and his clearness, method, and breadth, took in the excellencies of both. From him, built upon S. Anselm, we may say, the scholastic method takes its spring: from him, built upon S. Bernard, the monastic method of theology concentrates into a systematic form. The analytical and synthetical methods here manifest themselves in larger, more extended, and more complete results. Hugh was the first theologian of the middle ages to form into a scientific whole the teachings of the Church. What S. Anselm did for the Trinity, he extended to the revelation of religious truth. He laid the foundation-stones of speculative, and positive theology, and carried up the fabric of mysticism from the point where S. Bernard left it, to that stage on which Richard, his disciple, raised a broad and lasting platform for all future speculations.

His work, "*De Sacramentis*,"† alone, would have rendered him famous. It is a worthy monument, not so much on account of its originality, as on account of its completeness. And for order, logic, lucidity of expression, and definition; for clear, fluent, easy, diction; for elevation of thought, and happy facility of antithesis; for honesty, and simplicity of purpose: it surpasses all the writers of his century. His grasp of abstract truth, and his power of analyzing it when grasped, give his writings the double merit of breadth and accuracy. And the intense purity of his heart, and the monastic temper of his whole intelligence, throw an indescribable charm over everything that comes from his pen, lifting up the mind by a species of illumination, and warming the heart, as if by the living voice of a simple, loving, man of God.

Though the treatise "*De Sacramentis*" has to do with the speculative side of theology, Hugh never seems to lose sight of the fact that the great end of love, and of religion, is the posses-

* He resembled his great master Stephen Harding in his intensely monastic spirit, and in his power over men. Stephen was brought up by S. Benedict's rule from his boyhood.

† *De Sacramentis Christianæ Fidei*. (Migne, vol. I., p. 174-618.) In two books; the first carries the student from the beginning of the world to the Incarnation; the second, from the Incarnation to the end and consummation of all things. The first book is divided into twelve parts, the second into eighteen.

sion of the Supreme Good.* He is never carried away by a passion for mere science, because his heart is beforehand so fully possessed by the love of God. His treatment of the relations of faith and knowledge, points to the one idea of contemplation. When he speaks of the three eyes, that of the flesh, that of the reason, and that of contemplation, he is but preparing the way to demonstrate the necessity of grace after the sin of Adam, for repairing the blindness of man.† Sin, he says, utterly blinded the eye of contemplation, damaged the eye of reason, and alone leaves the eye of the flesh with its original powers.‡ Faith takes the place of the vision which belonged to sinless men. With S. Bernard he makes humility the foundation of knowledge.§ He lays great stress upon purity of heart.|| “*Hæc sunt sola,*” he says, “*quæ querere debent homines, veritas et bonitas.*”¶ Wisdom he says “is life, and love of wisdom is the happiness of life.** Truth does not come, willingly, without goodness.†† In another place, he says, of necessity, while the mind is corrupted within, the intelligence is deceived in the judgment of things without.‡‡ Again, reason, before sin, comprehended more easily, and perfectly, what now with great difficulty, and less perfectly, and from a distance, it can see; many things, also, it knew then, which now it does not know. His whole feeling is summed up in the words “*Ubi caritas est, ibi claritas est.*”§§ In his treatment of most of the general questions of theology, such as the Trinity, the attributes of God, the Creation, predestination, evil, and the rest, Hugh keeps mostly to the beaten track. When he comes, however, to speak of the relations between the soul and body of man, he takes a decided, and original view. He compares the body to an appendage, rather than to something which goes to make the perfect man. The soul is the man, he makes out, in the true acceptance of the word.||||

* His mind seems filled with this thought of his: “Idcirco ascende dum potes quantum potest, nunquam nimis potes nbi nunquam potes totum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, ut ex illo totum tuum impleatur, etiamsi a tuo totum illius non capiat. Totum replet te, et superabundat in se. Si vas non deficit, oleum sufficit. Cor tuum vas est, amor illius oleum est. Quandiu vas habes, ille oleum infundere non cessat, et postea cum tu amplius vas non habes, ille adhuc amplius oleum habet.” (*De Sacramentis, Lib. II., pars XIII., cap. IX., p. 535. See also, cap. VI., p. 528. VII., p. 531-534.*)

† *De Sacramentis, Lib. I., Pars X., cap., II., p. 329.*

‡ “Postquam tenebræ peccati in animam intraverunt, oculus quidem contemplationis extinctus est, ut nihil videret, oculus autem rationis lippus factus est, ut dubie videret. Solus ille oculus (carnis), qui extinctus non est in sua claritate permansit.” (*Ibid., p. 329; see also Pars VI., cap. XIII., p. 271.*)

§ *Didasc., Lib. I., De Studio Legendi, cap. II., p. 741. “Anima: Oculus cuncta videt, seipsum non videt, et eo lumine, quo reliqua cernimus, ipsam, in qua positum est lumen, faciem nostram non videmus.” “Homo: Oculus tuus nihil bene videt, si seipsum non videat. (Soliloq., De Arrha Animæ, p. 953, 954.)*

|| *De Arca Morali, Lib. III., cap. VII., p. 654.*

¶ *De Tribus Diebus, cap. XXI., XXII.*

** *De Sacramentis, Lib. II., Pars XIV., cap. IX., p. 570.*

†† *Ibid., Lib. II., Pars XIV., cap. IX., p. 574.*

‡‡ “Unde necesse est, ut dum mens interius corrupta prave afficitur, intellectus quoque in iudicio eorum quæ foris sunt, decipiat.” (*De Sap. Animæ Christi, Prolog., p. 847.*)

§§ *De Sac., L. II., Pars XIII., cap. XI., p. 339-345.*

|||| *De Sacrament. Lib. II., Pars. I., cap. XI., p. 406, sqq.; also p. 407-910.*

He applies the same theory to our Lord; and declares, that Christ, when his soul was separated from his body, did not cease to be a true and real man, because it is the soul that makes the man and not the body.* The reason he puts forward why the Almighty has united the soul and body of man, is, to say the least of it, ingenious. Because, seeing that God could unite in harmony such very different elements, man would not think it impossible for Him to exalt so humble a creature to His glory; and, seeing the pleasure men enjoy, from the fact of the spirit dwelling in a corruptible body, he could imagine what an intense joy would result, from the union of the Divinity with the soul in life everlasting.† Of Hugh's treatise on meditation, I need not here dwell; he developed, and more fully analyzed the work of S. Bernard; and what has to be said upon contemplation will come better when touching on Richard, his disciple.

The great treatise on positive theology, which has generally been attributed to the learned Hildebert of Lavardin, Archbishop of Tours, modern criticism has shown to be manifestly the work of Hugh.‡ The similarity which exists between the *De Sacramentis*, and the *Tractatus Theologicus*, points to an identity of authorship; and the fact of parts of it being absolutely, word for word, the same, renders the consequence conclusive.§ It must have been written not much later than 1130. Here is an attempt to consolidate the entire teaching of theology—somewhat as Hugh, in his “*Eruditio Didascalica*,” endeavoured to form an encyclopædia of knowledge, and to point out the object and position of its various branches. His smaller writings, such as his “*De Arca Noe Mystica*,” “*De Arca Noe Morali*,” “*De Arrha Animæ*,” and his “*De Vanitate Mundi*,” are merely developments of various points in his larger works, and refer chiefly to the practices of contemplation. Hugh was acquainted with Erigena's writings, and with those of Denis the Areopagite, but he was too deeply grounded in reverence, and positive teaching—though his mind was essentially Platonic—to be led into the pantheistical tendencies of the one, or the Neoplatonism of the other. Like most of those whose minds had a greater bias towards the monastic, than towards the scholastic system of theology, he was excessively keen in perceiving unsoundness, and he had an instinct, which men

* *Ibid.* I., 299, 410, 411. But S. Thomas saw the flaw. (*Sum Theolog.*, p. III., qu. 50, art. IX.) Abelard, *Exposit. Symb. Apostol.*; Robert Pulleyn, *Sent.* II., cap. X.; Peter of Poitiers, *Sent.* IX., cap. XXI.; and Robert of Mulen, and others, seem to have been of Hugh's opinion.

† The latter says, “*Compositio illa (animæ cum corpore) non fuit partium, sed unio quadam naturarum diversarum.*” Hugh's expression is, “*Est namque anima persona, sicut Angelus.*” Abelard says, “*Persona quasi per se una dicitur.*” (Compare Werner, vol. I., p. 355.)

‡ *De Sacrament.* Lib. I., Pars. VI., cap. I., p. 263; also *De Vanitate Mundi*, Lib. III., p. 721-740.

§ See Liebner, *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*: Jarg. IV., B. I., p. 254, seq.

¶ See Stöckl, *Gesch. der Philos. des Mittelalters*, B. I., p. 391. Also Ritter, vol. III., p. 476.

who love God tenderly often possess, of scenting errors, and detecting them at a distance. It was that spirit of holy fear, and Divine love, running through the hearts and intelligences of these men, which kept them within the true revelation of God, and that gave them clear eyes to see where danger, through the rashness of others, was being threatened to the Church.*

But not only did Hugh introduce a more systematic teaching of truth; he did something, perhaps, more valuable still. He introduced into the schools the principle of working for an end, in the pursuit of knowledge. He taught that the perfection of man, and his faculties, was to be aimed at, so that he might, by seeing and embracing truth, and exercising himself upon it, fit himself all the more, one day, to possess it in its fulness.

When it is remembered what distinguished men were educated by Hugh, one cannot but rejoice at his having raised the tone of studies, and having spoken against the superficial arrogance of professors, who pretended to be strong in every science, when, in reality, they had not taken the pains thoroughly to be masters of one. Stephen of Tournay, the celebrate canonist, was his disciple; so was Obizon, the physician; and Achard, the Englishman, a theologian, a philosopher, and a literary man; Adam, also an Englishman, celebrated most as a grammarian, but also distinguished as a subtle philosopher, and an able rhetorician; then Arnulf, the poet; Walter, the vehement enemy of everything in the shape of heresy; and Richard, the most able and brilliant of all the children of S. Victor's; and, finally, the celebrated Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences. I could not finish better than by quoting a passage from a letter of Hugh to a friend, which manifests the whole bent of his mind: "I love, indeed, your condition, but I love still more to contemplate Him: because what I love in your condition, is only lovely to me from its leading me to contemplate Him." Such was Hugh of S. Victor's: "a man of vast capacity, quick intelligence, tenacious memory, eloquent tongue, graceful speech, and persuasive manner; effective in work, gracious in conversation, the most gentle and humane of men."

Richard of S. Victor's, a Scotchman, like many other students of this epoch—for instance: Achard, Adam, John of Salisbury, and Robert of Melun—came to Paris, attracted by the fame of the

* "Dno sunt motus cordis, quibus anima rationalis ad omne, quod facit, agendum impellitur. Unus est timor, alter amor." (*De Sacramentis, Lib. II., Pars XIII, cap. II., p. 527.*)

"I mistici ordinati nello studio della loro scienza furono sempre ed a buon diritto stimati quasi censori degli scolastici esagerati e disordinati. Certo il temperamento alla ragione, che può assai di leggieri (come è intervenuto) sbrigliarsi ed imbaldauire nel ministero analitico della teologia scolastica, verrà sempre dalla parte mistica della scienza teologica. . . essa e altresì scienza correttrice della scolastica: e San Bernardo ben chiaramente il dette a vedere, allorchè con le armi della mistica cercò di vincere le esagerazioni e gli errori dell' audacissimo Abelardo." (*Capecelatro, Storia di S. Caterina de Siena, p. 270.*)

schools. He entered at S. Victor's, and was professed under the first Abbot, Gilduin. After Gilduin's death he became Sub-Prior; and the Abbot, who was an Englishman, and a most dissipated liver, almost ruined the community, and gave Richard considerable anxiety. Richard was Hugh's favourite disciple. He succeeded his master as Prior, taught in the monastery, and died in 1173.

Richard was to Hugh, what the flower is to the bud. By the force of his genius, combined with deep humility and ardent love, he was enabled to complete the fabric of the monastic system, upon which men, every bit as able, had worked before him. It would almost seem that, as far as the mystic spirit, and a vivid appreciation of the various actions of the supernatural life are concerned, Richard was superior to his predecessors.* His logical readiness, and resource, if not his philosophic temper were quite equal to—nay, may I not even say, surpassed—S. Anselm's? His keen intelligence, which saw the real divisions of truth, and separated it according to its natural grain, squaring it out into great blocks on which to rest some towering superstructure, was equally at home in the dry, and unornamented forms of abstract reasoning, as in the allegorical and mystic methods of contemplative life. His treatise on the Blessed Trinity surpasses, if I may venture to say it, that of the great S. Anselm.† There is a certain careful measuring of evidence; a series of distinctions at the outset; and a weighing of the different elements of proof, which point to a man of strong masculine mind, not easily carried away by an over-wrought fancy. He wishes not merely to give probable, but *necessary* arguments, to prove the truth of the faith that is in us.‡ He does not, like Hugh, give a *resumé* of the circle of human knowledge, but, what he does treat of, he handles like a master. Of his speculative powers regarding the Trinity, of his proofs of the existence of God, of His eternity, His immensity, His beatitude, His personality, His glory, the reader must consult the book itself. What is particularly aimed at here, is to give an outline of his mystic teaching regarding the methods of contemplation, not merely because he brought to its fulness that, which S. Ber-

* "Seine allgemeinen Grundsätze, besonders so weit sie im mystischen Gebiete sich bewegen, weichen von denen Hugo's im Ganzen nicht ab. Nur hat er das mystisch-contemplative Moment auf der Grundlage der von Hugo hierüber aufgestellten Grundsätze weiter und eingehender behandelt und ausgeführt als Hugo. In ihm beginnen bereits die in Hugo's Lehre niedergelegten Keime sich auszubreiten und zu entwickeln. Seine Schriften bewegen sich zum grössten Theile auf dem Gebiete der Mystik, und es ist nicht zu läugnen, dass in denselben eine tiefe Kenntniss des innern mystisch-contemplativen Lebens, wie solches durch das christliche Prinzip bedingt und gebildet wird, sich kundgibt. Die Allegorien, welche für Richard so zu sagen den Rahmen bilden, in welche er das Bild des christlich-mystischen Lebens einfügt, sind zwar zum grossen Theil bei Hugo schon angedeutet; aber Richard hat sie dennoch in einer Weise ausgeführt, dass sie bei ihm wieder als in einem gewissen Grade originell erscheinen." (Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philos. des Mittelalt.*, Erster Band, III., § 105, p. 356.)

† *De super Divina Trinitate Theologicum opus*. It was printed in 1510 by H. Estienne. In Migne, it is called, simply, *De Trinitate, Libri Sex*.

‡ *Lib. I., cap. IV., p. 892.*

nard and Hugh had laboured at before him, but because to appreciate the moral, and ecstatic life of S. Thomas of Aquin, some knowledge of the relations of the mind with contemplation, and spiritual intuition, is requisite.

What possibly led this extraordinary man so deeply into the mystic life, and gave him so great a power in analyzing man's various faculties, was his overpowering self-distrust, his supreme conviction that light comes from God alone, and that science, and all its pride, is odious, in comparison with seeking purity, and love. His first principles regarding knowledge are identical with those of the holy men who went before him. Faith comes first: "If we do not believe, we cannot understand: knowledge must enter by faith; it must not indeed rest in the entrance, for it should *always* hasten on to interior and profound things, and, by earnest study and diligence, seek to advance daily in the understanding of those things which we hold by faith: these are the best riches—these are the eternal delights."* Again: "The first study of a manly mind ought to be how to govern its affections, and the second, how to command its thoughts."† Then he manifests his diffidence: "But it is better," he says, "to leave this point to be explained by erudite minds, than on such a matter to presume anything rashly beyond our strength."‡ He felt that "it was a great height of science perfectly to know oneself."§

Such was the temper in which men in Catholic ages set about the work of developing the human mind. Such was their holy awe, their fear of themselves, their trust in Him, Who alone can send down His light. "*Noli putare*," these great men seem to warn us, "*te ipsum esse Lucem*."

Before treating of Richard's theory of contemplation, a word must be said of his view of the human soul. He starts with the assumption that the soul is a simple substance, which gives life and sensibility to the body.|| He divides the spiritual portion into spirit and soul, according to the more or less elevated attributes belonging to each. Every reasonable man possesses two gifts—one of reason, by which he knows; another of affection, with which he loves. Reason points to truth; affection to virtue. The affections have sensuality as their help; reason possesses the imagination.¶ Without these two active influences, the soul

* *De Trinitate*, Lib. I., cap. III., p. 892.

† *De Eruditione Hominis Interioris*, Lib. I., cap. II., p. 1234.

‡ *Benjamin Major*, Lib. IV., cap. X., p. 146.

§ "Magna altitudo scientiæ seipsium perfecte cognovisse. Mons magnus et altus, plena cognitio rationalis spiritus. Omnium mundanarum scientiarum cacumina, mons iste transcendit, omnem philosophiam, omnem mundi scientiam ab alto despicit. Quid tale Aristoteles, quid tale Plato invenit, quid tanta philosophorum turba, tale invenire potuit?" (*De Præp. Animi ad Contemp.*: *Benjamin Minor*, cap. LXXV. *De Supereminencia Spiritualium Theoriarum*, p. 51.)

|| *De Contemplatione*, Lib. III., cap. XX., p. 124.

¶ *De Præp. ad Contemp.*, cap. III., p. 3. *De Exterminatione Mali*, Tract. III., cap. XVIII., p. 1113.

would be powerless. Considered in their relation to the object, our faculties are threefold. The imagination, the reason, and the intelligence. The reason stands between the imagination and the intelligence.* The office of the imagination is to seize, and hold, sensible impressions; the reason is the instrument of discursive thought, by which we advance, by way of premises and conclusion, towards the truth.† The intelligence is a still higher power which, as the senses seize, by immediate apprehension, their proper objects, grasps, in an immediate manner, its proper object. The intelligence is pure, inasmuch as it excludes the imagination; and simple, inasmuch as it excludes processes of reasoning.‡

Now, to these three powers of the soul, correspond three methods of knowledge: thought, meditation, and contemplation—*cogitatio*, *meditatio*, and *contemplatio*. Thought, comes from the imagination; meditation, from the reason; and contemplation, from the intelligence. Thought wanders about here and there, without direction, slowly, as at will; meditation, with great labour of the soul, strives, by hard and difficult ways, towards the given end; contemplation is carried, with freedom and great facility, wherever the power bears it, to its proper object. Contemplation is seeing truth pure and naked, without any cloud or shade standing in the way.§

Richard's view on human liberty, as it is ingenious and original, should not be omitted. We do not say that the choice of man is free because he can do good or evil, but because he is at liberty not to consent to good or to evil. A man's freedom does not lie in his being able to do evil, nor does it lie either in his being able to do good. The former is a weakness of the will; the latter is the result of its strength. But the freedom of the will consists in this, that its consent can neither be forced nor impeded. Nothing, of all the gifts of God is more noble, or more sublime, than free-will. As freedom is essential to the mind, it cannot be destroyed or diminished.¶ By sin, man did not lose his freedom, but he lost the

* *De Contemp.*, Lib. III., cap. VII., p. 117.

† *Ibid.*, Lib. III., cap. IX., p. 118.

‡ "Simplicem intelligentiam dico quæ est sine officio rationis, puram vero quæ est sine occasione imaginatioms." (*Benjamin Major*, Lib. I., cap. LX., p. 74.)

§ "Cogitatio per devia queque lento pede, sine respectu perventionis, passim huc illucque vagatur—meditatio per ardua sepe et aspera ad directionis finem cum magna animi industria nititur. Contemplatio libero volatu quocunque eam fert impetus mira agilitate circumfertur. Cogitatio serpit, meditatio incedit et ut multum ecurrit. Contemplatio autem omnia circumvolat, et cum voluerit se in summis librat. Cogitatio est sine labore et fructu. In meditatione est labor cum fructu. Contemplatio permanet sine labore cum fructu." "Speculatively tamen et proprie contemplatio dicitur, quæ de sublimibus habetur, ubi animus pura intelligentia utitur. Semper autem contemplatio est in rebus, vel per sui naturam manifestis, vel per studium familiariter notis, vel ex divina revelatione perspicuis." (*Ibid.*, cap. III., p. 60, 61; *Cf.*, cap. IX., p. 74. Lib. V., cap. XIV., p. 184-187.)

¶ "Totus infernus, totus mundus, totus denique militiæ cœlestis exercitus in unum concurrat, in hoc unum conjuret, nunc ex libero arbitrio consensus in qualicunque re invito extorqueri non valet." *De Statu Interioris Hominis* (cap. III., p. 1119.) "Non autem arbitrium hominis ideo liberum dicimus, quia promptum habeat bonum vel malum facere, sed quia liberum habet bono vel malo non consentire. Posse quidem facere malum, est infirmitas; posse facere bonum, est potestatis, neutrum autem libertatis. Libertatis vero est quod consensus ejus

power of his free-will towards good. The slavery the Scripture talks of, is the weakness of the will towards good, and its inclination to evil. Without grace, we can neither know truth, nor love virtue.* This is the general psychological basis on which Richard builds his mystical system.

The foundation of the contemplative life consists first, in the practice of virtue. The heart must be pure, if a man wishes to see God.† It is the old method of monasticism, which runs through the hearts and minds of the learned saints of God. Richard compares the reason and the will to the two wives of Jacob—Rachel and Leah. Jacob, first, had seven sons and seven daughters by Leah; and then, Rachel had a son. So, it is only after the fructifying influence of the Holy Spirit has acted on the will, that it can be elevated to a more perfect knowledge. Now, virtue consists in the well-ordered and moderated affection of the soul—well ordered, when it is directed to its proper object; moderated, when it is just as much as it should be, nor more nor less. There are seven sources of virtue, as Leah had seven children, viz.: hope and fear, joy and sorrow, hatred and love, and shame.‡

The second foundation-stone of the mystic life is self-knowledge. In fact, love and humility, according to the monastic principles of the "Holy Rule," are the two bases of the whole fabric of the spiritual life. The soul is as a mirror, in which the picture of God's glory and beauty loves most to reflect itself; and in which, in a particular way, we can see and know Him. The soul was created to the likeness of God; and if His mark is seen in nature, how much more in that spirit, which was created after the image of Himself. Hence, if man would wish to contemplate God, he must purify and cleanse this mirror, by his efforts after virtue, and moral perfection. When he has well cleaned and brightened it, if he look with care into it, by degrees, the Divine light will begin to dawn upon him, and the vast ray of an unaccustomed vision will appear before his eyes.§ But, it is only through self—through

extorqueri vel cohiberi non potest." (*Ibid.*, cap. XIII., p. 1126.) "Quomodo ergo arbitrium hominis vere (iuxta summe) liberum non est, quod sua libertate nulla vi, nulla potestate privari potest." (*Ibid.*, Tract. I., cap. XXIII., p. 1132; Cf., Tract. I., cap. XIII., p. 1125, 1126.)

* "Nam sine co-operante gratia omnino non sufficimus vel ad cognitionem veritatis, vel ad amorem virtutis." (*Ben. Maj. Lib. III.*, cap. XXIV., p. 133; Cf., *Lib. IV.*, cap. VI., p. 139.)

† "Scimus autem quia cordis intima nihil adeo purgat, mentisque munditiam nihil adeo reparat; nihil sic ambiguitatis nebulas detergit, cordisque serenitatem nil melius, nil citius adducit, quam vera animi contritio, quam profunda et intima animæ compunctio. Sed quid ait Scriptura? *Beati, inquit, mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt* (Matth. V.) Studeat ergo cordis munditiæ, qui cupit Deum videre, qui in divinorum contemplationem festinat assurgere." (*Ben. Maj., Lib. IV.*, p. 139.)

‡ "Filii Jacob, ex Lia, ut diximus, nihil aliud sunt quam ordinati affectus. Qui quidem si inordinati sunt, ejus utique filii dici non possunt. Septenaria itaque Lia proles, septem sunt virtutes."

"Principales ergo affectus septem sunt qui ab una animi affectione alternatim surgunt. Spes videlicet et timor, gaudium et dolor, odium, amor et pudor." (*Ben. Minor., cap. VII.*, p. 6.)

§ How splendid are not these words!—"Tergat ergo speculum animum, mundet spiritum suum, quisquis sitit videre Deum suum!" "Exterso autem speculo et diu diligenter inspecto, incipit ei quedam divini luminis claritas interluere. et immensus quidam in-

a knowledge of self, that man can mount up to God. Without this knowledge, it is impossible. A soul which is not well exercised, and fully instructed, in a knowledge of itself, is not lifted up to the knowledge of God. The eye of the heart in vain looks up to see God, when it is not even fit to look upon itself. Let a man first learn to know his own invisible things, before he presume to be able to apprehend the unseen things of God. "If thou art not able to know thyself, with what face dost thou presume to apprehend those things which are above thee?"*

God is the proper object of contemplation: but the soul can also fix itself upon other objects. According to the subject-matter, there are six steps of contemplation.† The first is in, and according to, the imagination (*in imaginatione et secundum imaginatione*). This looks upon the beauty and variety of creation, and thus is drawn to wonder at, and honour the wisdom and goodness of God. The second is in the imagination, and according to reason (*in imaginatione et secundum rationem*). This marvels at and considers the causes of the world of sense, "according to reason," because the conclusions of reason are necessary for proceeding from cause to effect. The third is in reason, and according to imagination (*in ratione et secundum imaginationem*). Here we conclude from the facts of sensible nature to the world of ideas, which are brought before the intelligence. "In reason," because the reason alone can move from sensation to the world of ideas; "according to imagination," because that faculty provides matter for the operation of reason. The fourth is in reason, and according to reason (*in ratione et secundum rationem*). At this step, the mind is fixed on the unseen world of spirits, their nature and attributes. It is done "in reason, and according to reason," because the imagination is now dropped, and the spiritual element, alone, is the object of thought. The fifth step is above reason, but not beside reason (*supra rationem, non præter rationem*). It rests immediately in God, inasmuch as He can be known by our reason. To this step belong those truths which we know by reason, but cannot comprehend. They are *supra*, because we cannot grasp them; they are not *præter*, whilst they can be an object of the reason. The sixth, and highest step of contemplation is above reason, and beside reason (*supra rationem et præter rationem*). Its

solitæ visionis radius, oculis ejus apparere. Hoc lumen oculos ejus irradiaverat, qui dicebat: *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine, dedisti letitiam in corde meo (Psalm IV.)*. Ex hujus igitur luminis visione quam admiratur in se, mirum in modum accenditur animus, et animatur ad videndum lumen, quod est supra se." (*Ben. Minor, cap. LXXII, p. 51, 52.*)

* "Animus, qui in sui cognitione diu exercitatus pleneque eruditus non est, ad Dei cognitionem non sustollitur. Frustra cordis oculum erigit ad videndum Deum, qui nondum idoneus est ad videndum seipsum. Prius discat homo cognoscere invisibilia sua, quam presumat posse apprehendere invisibilia divina. Si non potes cognoscere te qua fronte presumis apprehendere ea quæ sunt supra te?" (*De Præp. ad Contempl. Cf. cap. LXXV., p. 54; see, also, cap. LXXXV., p. 60, 61. Also, De Exterminatione Mali, tract. I., cap. V., p., 1076, cap. VI, p. 1077.*)

† See *De Contempl. Lib. I., cap. III., p. 60. Also, De Præp. ad Contempl., cap. LXXXVI., p. 61, 62.*

object is the impenetrable mysteries of God, which transcend all reason. Its object is both *supra* and *præter rationem*, because the human reason of itself can neither comprehend nor arrive at it.*

There is something supernatural in all these steps of contemplation: for if a man would raise himself up in contemplation, he must do so through the illumination of grace. No mortal can look upon the mysteries of God, unless he be lifted up by God Himself to the vision: all the more, since sin has wrought a thick veil over the eyes of men, which can only be removed by the action of the grace of God.†

Contemplation is also distinguished, according to its intensity, into three grades. The first is enlargement (*dilatatio*), when the vision of the soul is wider and stronger: the second is elevation (*sublevatio*), when, through the influence of Divine light, the soul is carried beyond its natural capability, still without being lifted out of the general conditions of its empirical knowledge. The third is alienation (*alienatio*) by ecstasy, in which, through the action of Divine grace, the soul is placed in such a position, that all thought of present things, all consciousness of empirical knowledge, vanishes, and the soul is wholly absorbed in the vision of things Divine. The first grade results from the operation of the soul itself; the second, from the action of human activity and grace, combined; the third, is solely dependent on Divine grace.‡

Ecstasy can spring from three causes: from the influence of great devotion, from wonder, and from exultation. But the gift alone comes from the free grace of God, though man can, and should, dispose himself for its reception, by virtue and pure-heartedness. As the bride decks herself out for the worthy reception of the bridegroom, so should the soul of man ornament itself, and purify itself, for the reception of so high a grace. But all this is a mere preparation; it can never bring about of itself the ecstatic state. It is for man to spread out the wings of ecstasy, but it is for God to set them in motion. A man, however, can lead himself towards that perfection—so that the entrance into the ecsta-

* "Sex autem sunt contemplationum genera a se et inter se omnino divisa. Primum itaque est in imaginatione et secundum solam imaginationem. Secundum est in imaginatione secundum rationem. Tertium est in ratione secundum imaginationem. Quartum est in ratione et secundum rationem. Quintum est supra, sed non præter rationem. Sextum supra rationem, et videtur esse præter rationem. Duo itaque sunt in imaginatione, duo in ratione, duo in intelligentia." "Sextum contemplationis genus dictum est, quod in his versatur quæ sunt supra rationem, et videntur esse præter, seu etiam contra rationem. In hac utique suprema omniumque dignissima contemplationum specula tunc animus veraciter exultat atque tripudiat, quando illa ex divini luminis irradiatione cognoscit atque considerat quibus omnis humana ratio reclamatur." (*Benj. Major, L. I., cap. VI., p. 70-72.*)

† "Sed in ultimis istis duobus [generibus contemplationum] totum pendet ex gratia et omnino longinqua sunt, et valde remota ab omni humana industria, nisi in quantum unusquisque cælitus accipit, et angelicæ sibi similitudinis habitum divinitus superducit." (*Benj. Major, Lib. I., cap. XII., p. 78; Cf. Ibid., Lib. III., cap. II., p. 110.*)

‡ "Primum surgit ex humana industria, tertius ex sola gratia divina, medius autem ex utroque permissione, humanæ videlicet industriæ et gratiæ divinæ." (*Benj. Major, Lib. V., cap. II., p. 170; Cf., cap. III., p. 171, cap. V., p. 174.*)

tic state very greatly depends upon his own will; but even this dependence is conditioned by the grace of God, which is powerful in those who, in morality of life, have advanced to high perfection.*

The ecstasy of the spirit can take place in each stage of contemplation. It oftenest takes place in the two highest stages. And then, without any veils of creatures, not *per speculum in ænigmate*, but in its pure simplicity, the soul gazes upon Truth. Into this vision the spirit wholly ascends, and the motions of the lower faculties are quieted. The spirit, as it were, soars above itself, above the memory of external things, and the sense of the body, and is rapt in the contemplation of supernal truth. When, in this rapture, the mind is carried away in the contemplation of Divine things above itself, man becomes forgetful, not only of those things which are outside of himself, but of those things which are within him. He becomes wholly self-forgetting. Consciousness of self ceases, the multitude of thoughts exist no longer before the mind, and the discursive powers of the reason are subdued under the might of contemplation. The natural light of reason is absorbed by the higher light of contemplation, as Rachel died in the birth of Benjamin. Her life was sacrificed to render his life possible; for Benjamin is nothing else but contemplation in the ecstatic condition. "*Quid est enim Rachelis interitus, nisi rationis defectus?*"†

Since man, in the state of ecstasy, is forgetful of all but the object of contemplation, it follows that this is a condition of the highest rest and contentment. And as the state of rapture depends upon the grace of God, so, in the ecstatic state, man can advance his love of God, and unite himself with Him, ever more and more intimately.‡

But in these high regions of the spirit, Satanic deception can easily come in. And, therefore, just as Christ had two witnesses of his transfiguration—Moses and Elias, so should the soul, in these realms of contemplation, be accompanied by a test of truth—Holy Scripture. Richard held in suspicion all truth which was not confirmed by the authority of the Sacred Books.§

* "Ad hoc siquidem nobis datur huiusmodi gratia, ad hoc, inquam, infunditur æternorum intelligentia, ut sciamus quid iudefessi debeamus per studium quærere, vel per desiderium suspirare. Alioquin frustra in nobis divinæ cognitionis abundantia crescit, nisi divinæ in nobis dilectionis flammam augeat." (*Benj. Major, Lib. IV., cap. X., p. 145.*) "Deberes sane scienti dilecti tui columba in foraminibus petre, in cavernis maceræ suspensis alis, colloque protenso foras prospicere, et nunci tui adventum cum columbino quodam cautu et gemitu quærere et expectare." (*Ibid., cap. XIII., p. 150. See also cap. XXIII., p. 166, 167; Lib. V., cap. XV., p. 187.*)

† "In tanta namque quotidiani conatus anxietate, in huiusmodi doloris immensitate, et Benjamin nascitur, et Rachel moritur, quia cum mens hominis supra seipsam rapitur, omnes humane rationationis, angustias supergreditur. Ad illud enim quod supra se elevata, et in extasi raptâ, de divinitatis lumine conspiciat, omnis humana ratio succumbit. Quid est enim Rachelis interitus, nisi rationis defectus?" (*Benj. Minor, cap. LXXIII., p. 52. Cf., Benj. Major, Lib. IV., cap. XXII., p. 164; cap. XXII., p. 166. Benj., Minor, cap. LXXXII., p. 58.*)

‡ (*De Exterminatione Mali, cap. XVIII.: De Quietæ Contemplationis, p. 1113-1116; De Contemplat., Lib. IV., cap. X., p. 143.*)

§ "Sed si jam te existimas ascendisse ad cor altum, et apprehendisse montem illum excelsum et magnum, si jam te credis Christum videre transfiguratum, quidquid in illo videas, quid-

Such is the outline of the scientific attempt made by Richard of S. Victor's, to systematize the facts of the contemplative life. He is far from teaching that the mystic method of gaining knowledge is the *via ordinaria*. He teaches the reverse. It is essentially a supernatural state, the result of free grace, and the earnest practice of the soul in the perfection of a moral life. Thus, he escaped the error of confusing the two orders, and the accusation which has, with justice, been brought against Scotus Erigena, of tending, at least in a dangerous way, to pantheistical idealism. As long as discursive methods of the reason, by premiss and conclusion, are held fast as the *via ordinaria* to the knowledge of God, and the mystic method of vision is looked upon as extraordinary, and purely supernatural, there will be no danger of falling into the extremes, which, for want of a positive theology, the mystics of heathendom and heresy seem never to have been able to escape.

The work of S. Bernard, Hugh, and Richard of S. Victor's, for this portion of Church-science, may be considered fundamental. What the saint and the theologian began ;—the saint, through the experiences of his own spotless soul ; the theologian, through holy meditation, and the application of science,—that Richard's powerful fantasy, clear logical head, and holy reverence, which kept him steady in the dizzy heights, completed. The Fathers of the Church had emancipated pure scientific speculation out of the hands of the heathen, and our scholastics had perfected their work ; but on the science of contemplation—contemplation which has resulted in such marvellous influences on the world—nothing had ever been done in the same way. True, S. Augustine had indicated the direction, but there is no attempt in his writings at forming a scientific treatment on the mystic life. Denis the Areopagite, though deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and possessing very extraordinary gifts for the work, was too much tainted with Neoplatonism—which had such an attraction for Erigena—to create any real confidence in his theories. So it must be considered that Hugh, and Richard of S. Victor's, laid the broad foundations of their wondrous science—the science of the saints—upon which succeeding speculators built. In the works of S. Theresa, and, particularly, of the standard mystic theologian of the Church, S. John of the Cross, the influence of these two great and pure thinkers is evident in every page.

If the moral character of S. Thomas of Aquin cannot be fully

quid ab illo audias non ei facile credas, nisi occurrant ei Moyses et Elias. Scimus quia in ordinarum vel trium stat omne testimonium. Suspecta est mihi omnis veritas quam non confirmat Scripturarum auctoritas, nec Christum in sua clarificatione recipio, si non assistant ei Moyses et Elias." (Benj. Minor, cap. LXXXI., p. 57.)

explained without a slight knowledge of the contemplative system of the monastic theology, it is equally certain that, without a brief notice of Peter the Lombard—the friend of S. Bernard, and the pupil of Hugh of S. Victor's—it would be impossible to indicate, in an intelligible manner, the position of our Saint in the theological world.

Peter was born of obscure parents in Novara, in Lombardy. Through the generosity of a friend, he was sent to commence his studies at Bologna. Thence, he betook himself to Paris; and having obtained commendatory letters from S. Bernard, was received into the Convent of S. Victor's; here, after having filled his mind with knowledge, he occupied, with great credit and industry, a chair of theology, and only left his monastery when elevated to the dignity of Bishop of Paris (1159)—a dignity he did not long enjoy, dying, as some affirm, in 1160, as others maintain, in 1164.*

It was in the twelfth century, that the minds of men, in a particular way, seem to have craved after unity—moral, political, and theological. The great collectors of law, and its arrangers, and the celebrated work of Ivo of Chartres, materially helped to open men's minds to the advantage of some kind of systematizing in the multitudinous confusion of a thousand points of belief. Possibly, the energetic efforts of such Popes as Gregory VII., in breathing a more harmonious unity into ecclesiastical government, and the bracing up of the moral order—making men feel, more sensibly than before, the hand of supreme authority—may have opened their eyes to the advantage of possessing, in the realm of speculation, something analogous to the Pontifical system of ecclesiastical government. In fact, William of Champeaux, the founder of the Lombard's school, had the idea in his mind of something of the kind. He composed a book of Sentences, just as Anselm of Laon, and Hugh did after him. And Abelard, in his *Sic et non*, while instituting a most dangerous procedure, manifested the want of a summary of authoritative teaching. It is said the Pope Eugenius, for this end, caused the works of S. John Damascene to be translated. But, in point of fact, the "*De Sacramentis*" of Hugh of S. Victor's, is the first important step in this direction. But here there is wanting the weight of authority from the Fathers. Robert Pulleyn, or White, and Robert of Melun (1153),† that keen dialectician,

* His love of Scripture is evident from the books which composed his library—for he left Notre Dame all his books (May 3, 1160), which consisted only of commented extracts from the Holy Bible, with the exception of an exemplar of the Sentences, and a *Decretum* of Gratian.

† "Iste in responsionibus perspicax, brevis et commodus." (*Metatogicus. Lib. II., cap. X., p. 867.*)

preceded the Lombard in their attempts at a synthetical treatment of belief; whilst Hugh of Rouen, and Peter of Poitiers followed him—the latter, having the privilege of repeating all his master's blunders, without improving upon his style. The clear verdict of scholars, and posterity, has been in favour of the Lombard. His four Books of the Sentences held, far away, the first rank amongst the classics of the schools.

It may be asked how is it that the Sentences of the Lombard so far surpass all similar works of the same period?—for the other works of Peter, save that on the Psalms,* had little popularity; and even the Sentences have been violently attacked for something more than inaccuracies. Walter of S. Victor's absolutely designates him as one of the four labyrinths of France, and ranks him with Abelard, Gilbert, and Hugh of Poitiers. Abbot Joachim accused him of turning the Trinity into a quaternity; but the Abbot was condemned for his pains in the Council of Lateran. Still in 1300, the theologians of Paris determined to cease teaching sixteen of Peter's propositions; and hence, at the margin of some editions of his Sentences, we read the words, "*Hic Magister communiter non tenetur.*"†

Still, in spite of all this, the four books held their position. Commentaries without end have been written, and made upon them, of which the most celebrated are those of Scotus, Thomas, and Bonaventure. It is related that, in England alone, as many as one hundred and sixty-four men busied themselves upon the text. The fact is, this one work of the Lombard filled a void, and satisfied a craving. Men were looking for some point from which they could get a sure and clear *coup-d'œil* of theologic teaching. They wished to see the truths of religion thrown into organic form. Peter satisfied them. He presented them with a work which, though not very artistic in arrangement, was essentially the expression, not so much of the notions of the individual mind, as of the objective truths of religion. It was based upon the monastic principle, and stood on S. Augustine; it used the weightiest words of the weightiest fathers in the weightiest manner, and manifested a mind, not restlessly seeking after truth, but possessed of it: and calmly, and systematically, without swerving to the right or left, communicating it to others. Then, with all this, there was a tone about the whole, which unmistakably spoke of S. Victor's—which spoke of peace and rest; of the loving mind, and the nobleness of Hugh; of the monastic sub-

* Petri Lombardi *Commentarius in Psalmos Davidicos*. (Patrol., Tom., CXCL., p. 62-1296.)

† How active his opponents were in getting his work into ill-repute can be seen in Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte, Fünfter Band, Zweite Abtheilung*, 544-546.

limity, and sweet mysticism of Richard—all of which could not help acting, especially in days of great mental friction and excitement, with a soothing influence on the mind. To get to Peter's book, after the contentious excitements of logical disputation, which were so rife in the schools, would have been like getting to port after an angry storm at sea.

Besides, there are two other reasons for the popularity of the Sentences. The one is, that this work expressly embodies the reaction which must have taken place against the dangerous rationalistic teachings of such as Abelard. It has been seen what an influence his speculations exerted: how he carried with him, in the exaltation of the moment, all the students of Paris: how he scorned the teachings of those who did not go his own lengths: how, in fact, he managed to lead the mind of the rising generation on, to the perilous, exposed highway of independent thought. It was in the nature of things that a reaction had to come. It was merely a question of time. Enthusiasm, even in the cause of truth, generally results in something less enthusiastic than a calm. When enthusiasm is created by error, decked in the guise of truth, by bright visions and imaginings, which, in the nature of the case, must melt away, then the reaction is as inevitable as the cause is unsound. It came. It is represented by the monastic school of S. Victor's.

William of Champeaux did not establish a school at St. Victor's, after all he had seen and gone through, without grave reasons; nor was it without a cause that he took the holy habit of religion, and dedicated his life to the practices, not of liberty, but of subjection. Hugh and Richard more than hint at the object of their fears. The tenor of their lives, the whole method of their teaching, are in complete antagonism to the temper of the terrible rationalistic school. The Lombard gives it a very unmistakable blow in the opening sentence of his Prologue. Then the condemnation of Abelard, at Sens, and Soissons—Abelard, who filled so large a space in the public eye, must have exerted an immense influence on thinking minds. It made them cling all the more closely to the methods, and teachings of tradition; it made them more ready patiently to interrogate antiquity, and feel glad to harmonize its varied voice; it taught them that love, humility, a fear of self-assertion, were elements which acted powerfully upon the efforts of learned men, and that, however gifted, original, brilliant, or profound, a man may be, his own authority, and his private views are not sufficiently stable a foundation upon which to build the edifice of Catholic faith. Now, the Lombard's book is essentially traditional. It hits out straight at the method of the *Sic*

et non. It leaves the ebb and flow, and eddying of mere human ingenuity, and raises a superstructure on the solid basis of the teaching of the Fathers. When they appear to disagree—taking what he believes to be the teaching of the Church—the Lombard endeavours to make evident, that, though there might be an apparent divergence, in reality, there is a harmony. He freely used the labours of those who went before him; there are traces of Richard, and continual appearances of Hugh of S. Victor's in his volumes. Even Abelard himself is prized, and used as an element in the general structure of theology.*

On such a work as this, men could securely rest.

Then, secondly, it was in a singular manner adapted to the schools. Its system, naturally enough, serving as an antidote to the rationalizing methods of more brilliant theologians, was the very thing to fix in the minds of the rising generation. Its clearness, brevity, fulness, the opening it offered to the various hues of theologic thought, made it a most eligible text-book of theology. It served as a pier that runs into the sea—to break the force of the rationalizing tide—at the same time that it carried men further than before into the depths and distances of Christian speculation. Surely a man, in these days, who could succeed in forming a text-book of theology, to do for us, what the Lombard did for his generation, would be deserving of every honour and esteem.†

Men did not overlook his movements. They called him, emphatically, the Master of the Sentences. Then he was raised to the Episcopate: and, to show its sense of the weighty services he rendered to theological science, the University of Paris celebrated his anniversary every year, as its founder, in the church of S. Marcellus, where his bones reposed.

Peter the Lombard may be said, as a theologian, to have grown out of the antagonism between Abelard and William of Champeaux. The contest of truth with error, of true methods with false—in the Church, at least—has ever issued in some advance upon the past, in enlarging the horizon of truth, and in consolidating and clarifying men's apprehension of the revelation of the Church of God.

* "Pierre Lombard,"
comme le chef et le modèle de l'Ecole. Il mérite effectivement ce double titre, soit par l'excellence de sa méthode, la meilleure, pour ne pas dire la seule, à laquelle on puisse s'attacher, soit par la justesse et la sagacité de son esprit, qui se manifestent dans presque toutes ses décisions; soit par l'étendue et le choix de son érudition, dont on voit des traits frappants dans ce nombre prodigieux de passages de l'Ecriture et des Pères, qu'il emploie pour l'ordinaire avec goût et discernement dans ses livres; soit enfin par la netteté de son style, qui, à quelques endroits près, est le mieux assorti au genre des matières qu'il traite." (*Vid. Patrol., Tom. CXCL., notitia* 2 IV., p. 25.)

† Charles V. founded two professorships at Louvain, one for interpreting the Scriptures, the other for interpreting the "Book of the Sentences." (*See Pref. ad. Pet. Lomb. Sent. Louv., 1553.*) This shows for how long a period the Lombard was looked upon with reverence in the schools.

Dante beautifully touches on the gentle humility of the Lombard, when he says:—

"L' altro ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro,
Quel Pietro fu che con la poverella,
Offerse a Santa Chiesa il suo tesoro."*

The same shines forth in his prologue to "The Sentences:"—†
"Desiring," he says, "with the poor widow, to cast something out of our poverty into the treasury of the Lord, we have presumed beyond our strength, moved by the zeal of the house of God, to oppose our faith to the errors of carnal and animal men."‡

The general plan of the Sentences is this: The author divides his work into four grand divisions, following S. Augustine's distinction between *res fruendæ et utendæ*. The exclusive object of fruition, is God, or the Blessed Trinity—of this the first book treats. All things out of God are objects equally of fruition and use, such as men, angels, &c.—or they are exclusively objects of use, as the things of the visible world. Power, virtue, and the rest, ever belong to objects of use—of use, not for their own sakes, but as means towards God. These objects are treated of in the second and third books—the second, being about angels, the visible creation, man before and after the fall, and about the relations of freedom to grace and sin; the third, about the Incarnation, the renovation of the human race, the life of Christian virtue founded upon it, and the visible signs by which men receive the grace of God; and finally, the most important points on the last things, are treated in the fourth book. Every book falls into a certain number of distinctions. The first contains forty-eight; the second, forty-four; the third, forty; and the fourth, fifty. The method is as follows: the author states a theological proposition, and then quotes evidence from Holy Scripture: next he learns from the Fathers in what sense this or that proposition is to be understood: if the Fathers differ, he seeks to combine them—so that their views may bear upon the point in hand. This comparing, and combining, and selecting evidence on theological questions, brought the practices of specu-

* Dante, *Parad.*, *Cant. X.*, 105–108.

† Peter held a principle pregnant with truth, and thus beautifully expressed by John of Salisbury:—

"Quisquis ergo viam philosophandi ingreditur, ad ostium gratiæ ejus humiliter pulset, in cuius manu liber omnium sciendorum est, quem solus aperit Agnus, qui occisus est, ut ad viam sapientiæ et veræ felicitatis servum reduceret aberranteum. Frustra quis sibi de capacitate ingenii, de memoriæ tenacitate, de assiduitate studii, de linguæ volubilitate blanditur." (*Poly-crati*, L. VII., cap. XIII., p. 668.)

‡ The original manuscript was given, most probably by the author, to the library of Notre Dame. In the list of books of the year 1271, these words occur: "Item originale Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi, in quodam libro cooperto de corio vitulino, jam quasi, dipilato, cum clavis rotundis de cupro in asseribus." (*Magnum Pastorale Ecclesiæ Parisiensis*, Lib. XX.)

"On garde le livre de Pierre Lombard en original dans la bibliothèque du Chapitre de Notre Dame. Il est couvert d'une peau de veau usée arrêtée avec des clous de cuivre à tête ronde enfoncés dans la couverture." *Eloge Historique de l'Université de Paris, Discours Prononcé aux Ecoles de Médecine le XI., Octobre, 1770.*—Quoted by Franklin. (*Hist. Gen. de Paris*, vol. I, p. 17.)

lation and critical reasoning into play.* One of the fundamental ideas of the whole work is the saying of S. Augustine that "in every creature the likeness of the Trinity is expressed."†

Such is a rough sketch of the most celebrated treatise on theology that appeared during the earlier portion of the scholastic period. Such was the fruit produced by the monastic tree of the school of S. Victor's. Such is the groundwork, scientifically, perhaps, of inferior value, but as a body of positive teaching, of priceless worth, upon which later theologians built; or from which they started as a centre, and carried out, each in his own way, some more logical or severer method of theology.‡

But it is time, and more than time, to hurry on to other influences, which cannot be omitted in a treatment of the intellectual movements connected with S. Thomas, without doing an essential injury to the merits of the Saint, and to the requirements of the present subject.

Not only the great thinkers of the West brought their theories and philosophies to bear upon the doctrines of the Church, but the East too, with her fervid imagination, and her dreamy mysticism, with her grotesque pantheism, and strange incarnations, played a conspicuous part in the warfare of European thought, and would, in all probability, have swayed the minds of more than one generation, had it not been for the genius and influence of Thomas of Aquino.

* Peter wrote also a commentary on the Psalter, which, for a long time, had equal popularity with "The Sentences." There are innumerable manuscripts of it, bearing the title of "Catenæ," "Magna Glossa," &c.

† See Werner, *vol. I., p. 307.*

‡ "Bekanntlich hatte dieser Petrus aus Navarra, Professor der Theologie und dann Bischof zu Paris, mit seinem Werke der Sentenzen einem grossen Zeit-bedürfnisse abgeholfen. Er hatte ein Buch geliefert, in dem die ganze Glaubens- und Sittenlehre der Kirche kurz zusammengefasst, mit Stellen der Schrift und der Väter begründet ist und in dem die möglichen Widersprüche herausgestellt und gehoben werden. Das Buch gewann solchen Beifall, dass es bald allgemein als Vorlesebuch benützt wurde. Die Grössten Theologen legten es ihren Vorträgen zu Grunde, gaben und schrieben dazu Erweiterungen und Erklärungen. (Sighart's *Albertus Magnus*, *kap. IX., p. 66.*)

CHAPTER XIII.

EASTERN INFLUENCES. ARABIANS AND JEWS.

THE Mahommedan world seems to have fulfilled the providential order of its existence, when it handed over to Christendom, what it had inherited from the Greeks. An intercommunion of mind must have existed between the Western Christians and the Saracens, for they were mixed together along the whole length of Southern Europe, along the coasts of the Mediterranean, in Spain, and Southern Italy, and, since the Crusades, in the East itself. A sense of scientific education was first awakened in the Moslem by the Abbassides, who, being deprived by the Ommiades of their inheritance, had fled into Persia and Mesopotamia, and had there studied under philosophers banished by Justinian, and celebrated doctors of Nestorian belief. A brief sketch of the position of learning in the East and in Spain, must here be given, since the Western world owes so much to Arabian and Spanish philosophy.

When the Abbassides came into power again, Almansor, by the help of astrology, selected the seat of a new capital, after having been driven out of Hashemiah by an insurrection.* The position he chose, certainly, if it did not prove a supernatural direction, was evidence of an excellent taste. In a short time, that great centre of learning, which was the seat of imperial luxury for nearly five centuries, "the City of Peace," rose like magic from the earth. Through the city flowed a broad and deep river. Gardens, and villages, and date-trees, and a teeming country, caught the eye of those looking out beyond the circumference of the town. The population may be estimated when it is said that eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women, attended the funeral of "Saint" Hanbal. The ostentatious and gorgeous displays of the Caliphs have been proverbial. For example, Moklades (917), when holding his court in encampment, called together one hundred and sixty thousand men. His officers

* "After the extinction of the dynasty of the Ommiadæ, who trod in the footsteps of Mahomet, the accession of the family of the Abbassidæ, or Hashemidæ, to the Caliphate (which happened in the one hundred and twenty-seventh year of the Hegira, or the seven hundred and forty-ninth of the Christian era), proved the dawning of philosophy in Arabia." (Enfield's, *Brucker*, vol. II., B. V., cap. I., p. 228.)

were dressed in splendid apparel, glittering all over with gems and gold. There were seven thousand eunuchs; the palace was hung with thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred being silk embroidered with gold; and the floors were covered with twenty-two thousand carpets. To add to this display, he brought out an hundred lions, each one being accompanied by its separate attendant. As a specimen of "plate," may be mentioned a tree of gold and silver, with eighteen larger branches, whilst the smaller ones were covered with innumerable gold and silver birds, all singing by machinery. Then there were illuminations of the city with waxen torches. Golden balls were shot about the town, and five hundred tons of sugar were consumed at a single banquet. Mahadi spent £2,775,000 on a single pilgrimage.

Bagdad was not only the capital of Eastern excess, but it was also the centre, in Mahommedan Asia, of literature and science. The Saracens, in the course of one century, were lifted from darkness to cultivated enlightenment. If Omar (641) burnt the Alexandrian Library, the house of Abbas became great patrons of books (750). Almansor brought in, with George, the Greek physician, the light of science. Haroun-al-Raschid, something like our Charlemagne, was always accompanied, when he travelled, by one hundred learned men; he insisted on schools being attached to every mosque, and was passionately fond of poetry and music. Almamoun was still more successful in his efforts to civilize his people.* He was ever surrounded by grave doctors from Persia, Greece, and Chaldea. Bagdad became the resort of poets, philosophers and mathematicians. He had agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, who had nothing to do but collect books. Hundreds of camels might be seen, at times, winding their way into the city loaded with Greek, Hebrew, and Persian literature. Almamoun offered Leo, the mathematician, one hundred pounds weight of solid gold, to lecture in his schools. The college, founded (1233) by Caliph Mostansor, became the first in the Moslem world. Nor was Bagdad the only seat of learning: Damascus, Aleppo, Balkh, Ispahan, Samarcand, were famous centres of science. At Cairo, there were one hundred thousand manuscripts, magnificently bound. Even private *litterati* possessed fabulous collections. A private doctor is said to have refused an invitation from the

* "Wenn schon unter seinen Vorgängern Uebersetzungen der griechischen Aerzte und Philosophen gefertigt worden sein sollen; so wurden doch erst von der Zeit Al-Mamun's an und durch seine Bemühungen, sowie später durch die Begünstigungen einiger seiner Nachfolger, wie des Al-Motazem und des Al-Motawakel, die Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen häufiger und zuverlässiger. Die Mittelpersonen bei diesen Arbeiten waren Syrer, welche schon seit dem fünften Jahrhundert Uebersetzungen griechischer Werke besaßen und jetzt theils aus dem Griechischen in das Syrische, theils auch unmittelbar aus dem Griechischen in das Arabische übersetzten." (Wenrich, quoted by Stöckl: *see Geschichte, Zweite. B. Erst. Abt.*, p. 14.)

Sovereign of Bokhara, because it would take four hundred camels to bring his books.*

Spain, naturally, partook of this spirit of Eastern learning. Cordova, Seville, Granada, rivalled each other in the magnificence of their academies, colleges, and libraries. Cordova, the birthplace of Lucan, and both Senecas, at the time of the Romans, was famed for its university. It could count, later, one hundred and seventy eminent writers. Hakem founded a college here, and the Royal Library contained four hundred thousand volumes. Ibn Hassan, the poet, is said to have written four hundred books, consisting in all of eighty thousand leaves. Granada, in the twelfth century, possessed the works of one hundred and twenty authors. Under the Saracens, there were nineteen colleges in Spain. In Andalusia alone, there were seventy libraries used in public instruction; while Toledo, Malaga, Murcia, and Valencia, were celebrated for their collections of valuable books.

Spain was indebted for all this to the Abbassides. On regaining their ascendancy, they brought with them a taste for astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. The Arabs acquired their first tincture of the last from the Nestorian School at Nischapur. Nestorian physicians under Almansor (753—775) translated Euclid, and several other Greek works, into Arabic. It is maintained by some, that the Elements of Euclid, by others, that the Almagest of Ptolemy, was the first work rendered into that language. Haroun-al-Raschid (776—808), of whom mention has been made, founded the celebrated College of Translators. John Mesueh, who made the first complete translation of Aristotle's works into Arabic, was appointed its president, and Honain, Costa-ben-Luca, Isaac, and others, nearly all Nestorians, were numbered amongst its members; and being commentators as well as translators, tinged their work with Neoplatonism. The Caliph Almamoun ordered astronomical tables to be made, and imposed upon the Emperor Michael III., as a condition of peace, to transmit rare and valuable Greek works to Bagdad, where he caused translations to be made, and then burnt the originals. Medical and mathematical works were the first to be translated in the College of the Caliph. That the logic and philosophy of Aristotle were especi-

* "The example of the Sovereign was sometimes followed by Vigiers and Governors. Achmed Ibn Tolun, Viceroy of Egypt, distributed every month, among the most distinguished ecclesiastics in that country, 1,000 dinars of gold (£462 10s.); and sent to Bagdad not less than 2,200,000 dinars (£1,017,500), for the benefit of the poor and the learned in that city. Another Vigier founded a college there at the expense of 200,000 (£92,500), and endowed it with an annual revenue of 15,000 dinars (£6,937 10s.). The benefits of public instruction in that capital were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand students of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic. The celebrity of its schools may be inferred from the vast numbers of poets, historians, physicians, and astronomers which it produced. (Crichton's *Arabia*, Vol. II., Cap. I., p. 76.)

ally attended to, cannot be proved; but this is rendered very probable, by the fact that the Nestorians borrowed from Aristotle the dialectical weapons with which they assailed the orthodox faith. This is certain, that Alkendi wrote, in the time of Almamoun, a notice of his works. A century later, there was Alfarabi, a decided Aristotelian; after him, Algazel, and Fakhr-Eddin Razy, to the great dismay of the orthodox adherents of the Koran, began to use the logic of Aristotle in theological dispute. Finally, Avicenna formed a philosophical encyclopædia after the plan of Aristotle; and, taking up all the views of the Stagyrice, published his doctrines in every direction. The last follower of Aristotle, of any mark in the Eastern portion of the Mahomedan world, was Algazel, who died in the year 1111.

The intellectual movement in the East, was connected with a similar movement in Moorish Spain. This was principally brought about, as has been indirectly stated, by the fall of the Ommaides. Abderrahman, son of Moavijah, by good fortune, escaped the general massacre of his family; and after many extraordinary adventures, took refuge in Andalusia. Having lost a kingdom in the East, he found one in the West. He became a powerful supporter of science in Cordova; and was the first, in that line of splendid rulers, which raised, for a time, the Moorish domination in Spain to a position of unusual splendour. It was at its zenith under Hakem II., in the tenth century, when the culture of the West had sunk below the horizon.*

The West, at this period, turned from its own comparative darkness to the culture of the Moors. Gerbert hurried off amongst the Saracens of Cordova, the Bagdad of the West, to procure those treasures of mathematics and philosophy, which he was unable to acquire at home. Cesar of Heisterbach speaks of young men in his day, who set out for Toledo, to commence the study of astrology. Adelhard of Bath, Robert Retinensis, Hermann of Dalmatia, Gerard of Cremona, and Michael Scott, all procured mathematical, philosophical, and natural science, from the Moors of Spain. Besides Cordova—Seville, Granada, Toledo, Xativa, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, Malaga, and Velez, possessed learned academies and splendid libraries. Having, themselves, been brought up by the most celebrated men of Egypt, Syria, Bagdad, and Persia, the

* "Abderrahman, ein Sohn Moavijah's, war durch eine ganz besondere Fügung des Glückes dem Blutbade entronnen, das seine Familie vertilgte, und nach vielerlei Abenteuern in Andalusien gelandet; zum Glück der Lebensrettung gesellte sich noch das weitere, dass er im Westen ein Reich fand, nachdem sein Geschlecht es im Osten verloren hatte. Unter den Einflüssen der Umgebung, die er in Cordova fand, wurde er ein thätigster Förderer der Bildung und Wissenschaft und eröffnete die Reihe jener kunst- und prachtliebenden Regenten, welche die maurische Herrschaft in Spanien für einige Zeit wenigstens zu einer wahrhaft glänzenden machten, und zwar am meisten unter Hakem II., im zehnten Jahrhunderte, gerade in jener Epoche, in welcher die Bildung des christlichen Abendlandes tief darniederlag." (Werner's *S. Thomas*, Erster Band, Cap. I., p. 67, 68.)

Spanish professors—who had already carried the Aristotelian philosophy into Spain—determined, in the same way, to draw the whole riches of science out of Asia.

The Spanish Jews did their share also to encourage scientific relations between the Christians and Saracens. In the twelfth century, they had many distinguished representatives of learning. There were Aben Esra, Jona-ben-Gamach, Maimonides, Bechai, and David Kimchi; and, in France, Moses Hadarschan, and Solomon Jarchi; Maimonides, associated with Averroës, Ibn Tofeil, and Ibn Saig, was excessively energetic in pushing the doctrines of Aristotle. Some Spanish Jews made known, in the twelfth century, the teachings of Avicenna in Montpellier, and founded a celebrated school of medicine, which was actively employed in spreading the science of the Arabians. On account of their knowledge of language, the Jews devoted themselves much to translating, while their commercial spirit taught them to regard literature as an instrument of gain, and they encouraged its cultivation in every land which they entered. To realize the firm hold the teachings of the Saracens had upon Christians in the twelfth century, the reader has merely to notice the warnings of Hugh of S. Victor's to the Bishop of Seville, the strong expressions of Alvarus of Cordova, or the powerful letter of Innocent III. to king Alfonso X., regarding the fearful danger in which the Christian religion and morality stood, from the terrible spread of the literature of the Saracens.*

However, it is certain, that, on the whole, though it introduced great evils, benefits were derived from inheriting the scientific traditions of philosophy and natural science, from the Greeks, through the Arabs. Two periods are distinctly marked out regarding this class of knowledge in the middle ages. In the first, all knowledge of astronomy was confined to what could be gathered from Hyginus, Venerable Bede, and a few verses of Priscian; in mathematics, the system of Abacus was followed; in medicine, Cœlius Aurelianus, and later, Gariopontanus, the barbarous jargon of whose Latinity manifests the wretched remains of an older culture. Through the Arabians, Hippocrates, and Galen, were resuscitated. Gerbert was the first to introduce into Europe Arabic numerals, and the decimal method of counting. Gerard of Cremona, and John of Seville, made Western Chris-

* "Da suchten nun aber diejenigen, welche ungeachtet ihres Widerspruches mit dem christlichen Glauben die Ansichten der arabischen Commentatoren des Aristoteles doch nicht aufgeben wollten, mit einer ganz eigenthümlichen Annahme sich zu helfen. Sie gaben nämlich zu, dass ein solcher Widerspruch vorhanden sei; aber sie behaupteten, der christliche Glaube und die Philosophie seien von einander ganz getrennte Gebiete, welche einander gar nichts angingen. Es könne daher etwas in der Philosophie wahr, und von Standpunkte des Glaubens und der Theologie aus falsch sein, und umgekehrt. (*Cf.* Alb. Magnus, *Summ. Theol.* p. 2, tr. 13, qu. 77, m. 3. Bas., 1807. Stöckl, *Zweit. B. Erst. Abt.*, p. 7, 8.)

tianity acquainted with the development of algebra: and through Alfergan, Thabetben-Corrah, and Albumasar, it became possessed of the teachings of the Greeks upon astronomy. To Greek letters, the Saracens added the special knowledge they had gained through their intimate connection with the Indians. From the year 1100, to 1200, Arabic literature was especially cultivated by our own countrymen. In the eleventh century, an Arabian chronicle was translated into Latin by an Englishman who had studied on the banks of the Ebro. Adelhard of Bath translated astronomical and mathematical works: amongst others, the Elements of Euclid. Robert Retinensis, at the request of Peter the Venerable, translated the Koran; and Hermann of Dalmatia, the Planisphæricum of Ptolemy. To these may be added Alfred, and Daniel, of Morlay; Aurelius, Eugenius Ammiratus, Mark, and Philip, of Tripoli—all flourishing in the twelfth century. Alfred of Morlay translated several works of Aristotle. Archdeacon Gundisalvi principally translated philosophical works, and was head of a college of translators, established by Archbishop Raymund of Toledo (1130). Here, besides the principal writings of Aristotle, many works of Avicenna, Algazel, Alfarabi, and, possibly, Avicbron's *Fons Vitæ*, were rendered into Latin.* John Avendeath (Ibn Daûd), sometimes called John of Seville, by birth a Jew, was excessively active. Alfred of Morlay translated several of the philosophical writings of Alkendi, and Alfarabi. Gerard of Cremona (1187) published four original works; and translated, they say, as many as seventy-six works on natural science, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy. But the first translator of Arabic writings was Constantine Africanus, who, after an active life, sought peace at Monte Cassino, and occupied his leisure in giving to the world his knowledge, especially on medicine, acquired during thirty years' travelling in the East. The notorious Michael Scott translated the nineteen books of Aristotle's History of Animals, and also the celebrated spheres of Alpetragi, making use of the services of a baptized Jew, named Andrew. Frederick II., himself, undertook the translation, out of the Arabic and Greek, of Aristotle, and other philosophical works, and sent copies to the most celebrated universities. Scott, upon whom Albertus Magnus is so severe, for bad translations, and ignorance of physical science, did much towards making men familiar with the writings of the Greeks; and was the first to introduce the learned to the writings of Averroës. Finally, Her-

* "Durch diesen Verein wurden nebst den Hauptwerken des Aristoteles mehrere Schriften des Avicenna (libri de anima, de celo et mundo, IV. libri Physicorum, X. libri Metaph.) Algazel, Alfarabi (de scientiis) in's Lateinische übersetzt, vielleicht auch der fons vitæ des Avicbron." (Werner, *Cap. I.*, p. 71.)

mann of Germany translated the Gloss of Alfarabi* on Aristotle's Rhetoric, and a writing of Averroës upon his Poetics. He translated the Commentary of Averroës on Aristotle's Ethics from the Arabic, at the same time that Robert of Lincoln rendered them from the Greek. But the West drew from other sources, besides the Arabian: for instance, James of Venice, Thomas of Cantimpré, Boethius, and William of Moerbeka, translated directly from the Greek. King Alfonso of Castille collected more than fifty learned men from Toledo, Cordova, and Paris, and set them to translate into Spanish the works of Ptolemy, and others. These were afterwards turned into Latin, and were not without their effect on the teachings of the schools.

Then, in theology, four names are specially memorable; one of which, in a particular way, is intimately connected with S. Thomas of Aquino, viz. Avicenna, in the East; Avicbron, Avempace, and Averroës, in the West.

But before speaking of these men, a few remarks may be here ventured upon, to give unity to the conception of the mental activity of the East, and which may serve to throw a ray of light upon the development of Western thought.

Just as Christians had the two instruments of intellect and will, and a Bible, on which they could bring these powers to bear; so the Easterns had like instruments, together with the Koran. It is evident that the fact of the Scriptures being the real Word of God, gave an incalculable advantage to the West; for the Koran was simply a compilation made by human ingenuity, full of all manner of wickedness and extravagance, though interspersed with many profound and noble maxims. The same broad lines of human bias manifested themselves under the influence of the Moslem, as afterwards made themselves known in the Christian schools. The likeness becomes all the more remarkable, after the introduction, amongst the Arabs, of Aristotle, and of the extravagances of the Indian mystics. If we had our strong orthodox school of dogmatism in the Sorbonne, they had theirs in the powerful sect of the orthodox Motakhallim. If we had the school of S. Geneviève, with its philosophical and rationalistic tendencies, they had the celebrated school of the philosophic Motazalitæ, who did away with fatalism, asserted the freedom of the human will, and denied predestination altogether.† If we had the mystic school of S.

* An universal genius. He was, amongst other things, a great musician. He composed a piece in three parts, and played it before the Sultan: the first, set the Sultan and his court into roars of laughter; the second, set them weeping floods of tears; the third, lulled even the performers themselves to sleep. (Crichton's *Arabia*, vol. II., p. 116.)

† "Der Name Motakhallim oder Motécallemin bedeutet nämlich 'Lehrer des Kelam,' des Wortes, d. i. 'des geoffenbarten Glaubens.' Die Juden gaben den Ausdruck mit 'Medabberim.' Im Munde der arabischen Aristoteliker waren daher alle islamitischen Dogmatiker, auch die Muatazile ja sogar die jüdischen und christlichen Theologen, Motakhallim (Loquentes); aber

Victor's the Arabs had theirs long before, in the pantheistic dreamings of the Susufi, and Ibn Tofeil. If we had Abelard, they had Averroës; if we had S. Bernard, they had Algazel; if we had the Sentences of the Lombard, they had, long before, the dogmatic work of Abhadeddin El-Idschi; if we had the Commentaries on Scripture, of Albert, they had the Commentaries on the Koran, of Baidhawi. In a word, the Arabs seem to have been, as it were, acting out the literal portion of a prophecy—just as the actions of the Jews were realities, but, at the same time, figures and tokens of what was coming in the Incarnation. The same excitement, and exaltation, the same violent spirit, the same dogged adherence to opinion, the same severe and physical method of insisting upon the truth as was customary in the West, is found—though unmitigated by Christianity—in the history of Arabian philosophy in Bagdad, Damascus, and the cities of the East. The heart, the will, and the intelligence of man, ever manifest themselves—it matters little under what conditions—where thought is active, in belief, in reason, and in affection. In the case of Arabia, these powers circulated round error; in the case of the Christian schools, they circulated round the truth. But to proceed.

Abu-Ali-al-Hosein-Ibn-Abdallah-Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) was born at Afschena, near Bokhara, in the latter half of the tenth century (980—1037), of rich and noble parents.* After having learnt the outlines of arithmetic, geography, and astronomy from a celebrated mathematician, he was handed over to a private tutor (Abu-Abdalla), to be instructed in philosophy. But from Abdalla he learnt nothing but the bare terminology of logic. He then took up the science by himself, and studied logical writings and commentaries; and, at the same time, he applied himself, with ardour, to the Alcoran; and, when only ten years old, had mastered the preliminary studies necessary for fully understanding it. To complete his course, he was sent to Bagdad, and here he dedicated himself, with a species of fanaticism, to the study of philosophy and medicine. He was called "Prince of Physicians," and his fame was rivalled only by that of Hippocrates and Galen.† When he came across a problem which he

zu den orthodoxen Motakhallim oder zu den Motakhallim im engeren Sinne können die Mnatazile (Motazalen) nicht gerechnet werden. Der Grundsatz nun, von welchem die Motakhallim ausgingen, war die Forderung eines unbedingten Glaubens an den Coran, von welchem in irgend einem Punkte abzuweichen für das grösste Verbrechen erklärt wurde." (Vid. Stöckl, *loc. cit.* § 34, p. 139, 140. Cf. Schmoelders, *Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes*, p. 100, 105, 133, 170, 179, &c.)

* His writings obtained despotic ascendancy amongst the Saracens. He recommends the administration of gold, silver, and precious stones, to purify the blood. His works formed textbooks for the professors in the principal colleges of Europe, and continued an oracle of medical knowledge for nearly six hundred years. (Crichton's *Arabia*, Vol. II., p. 97.)

† For full information on the Arabian philosophers, amongst other works, see Munk's *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosoph.*, Vol. I., p. 180, sqq. Flügel: *Dissert de Arab. Script. Græc. Interpret.* Meissen, 1841—1844. Wüstenfeld: *Die Academien der Araber*. Wenrich: *De Auctoribus Græc. Versionib. et com. Syraic, Arab., Armen., Persicisque*, p. 13—25, sqq. Schmoelders: *Documenta, and*

could not understand, or when he was unable to find a middle term, he hurried off to a neighbouring mosque, to implore his Creator to open his understanding, and make known to him the truth. On returning home, he would read and write all night, drive sleep away by drinking, and when at last overcome, would continue until morning dreaming over the problems which had engrossed his thoughts during the day. Thus, he acquired his knowledge of dialectics, and natural science. When eighteen, he practised medicine, and diplomacy. At twenty-one, he wrote upon philosophy, and medicine.* On curing the Caliph's son, he was received at Court, and had access to the rich library of the palace. But, though a man of extraordinary talent, and excessive energy of intellect; an ardent lover of philosophy, and science, he injured his character and constitution, by debauchery and wine. Finally, Avicenna received orders from the Caliph to put his son to death by poison. Avicenna concealed this command from the son of the Caliph, and was, in consequence, flung into prison by him; and here he hastened his miserable end, by a combination of violent excesses, with violent remedies. He died in 1037.

He taught that science cannot contradict faith. Faith came before philosophy. Faith is for all mankind; and it is the object of philosophy to illuminate faith, and to furnish proofs for it. He looked upon the positive theology which sprung from the prophets, as an enlargement of natural religion: what the latter taught, simply as possible, the former taught, as quite certain. There can be but one necessary being; that being is God. Matter, the subject of operation, is eternal; and above it, there is God—the eternal, active first cause. The world is as eternal as He that made it. But it is not independent; were it not kept in being by the cause that influences it, it would cease to be. Perhaps there is no Arabian philosopher who, so completely as Avicenna, expressed the full feeling of the strange people of the East. He was a species of eclectic; at the same time possessed considerable originality, especially on questions concerning natural science. He seems to have borrowed his Neoplatonism from Alkendi, and

Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes; also, Prantl, Logik, Zweiter Band, Abschnitt XVI., p. 297. Stöckl, Geschichte der Philosophie, Zweiter Band, Erste Abth. § IV., p. 12-227.)

* "Les modernes ne connaissent guère Avicenne que comme médecin. Il n'y a pas un siècle, on commentait encore ses *Canons* dans les académies de Montpellier et de Louvain. Mais Avicenne ne fut pas seulement, au moyen-âge, le maître des médecins, il fut encore celui des philosophes. A la fin du douzième siècle Gérard de Crémone avait traduit en latin ses *Canons*, Dominique Gundisalvi ses *Commentaires sur les livres de l'âme, du ciel et du monde*, ainsi que sur la *Physique* et la *Métaphysique*, et le juif Jean Avendeath son analyse de l'*Organon*. On possédait ainsi, dès le commencement du treizième siècle, toutes les œuvres philosophiques d'Avicenne qui furent éditées à Venise vers la fin du quinzisième, par quelques chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin et F. de Macerata: *Avicennæ peripatetici philosophi ac medicorum facili primi, Opera in lucem redacta*; Venetiis, 1495, in-folio. Leur succès, fut immense dans les écoles du moyen-âge, et Bruker a pu dire sans exagération: 'Usque ad renatas litteras non inter Arabes modo, verum etiam inter Christianos, dominatus est Avicennæ tantum non solus.' (Hauréau: *De la Philos. Scholast.*, Tom. I., Chap. XIV., p. 367.)

his extraordinary methods of contemplation from Alfarabi. Neoplatonism, the doctrine of emanation, of the eternity of the world, and astrological fatalism, enter as component parts into his philosophic system. While destroying the freedom of the human will, by placing it under the influence of the stars, he accords to man the gift of prophecy through the influence of rays of light proceeding from the universal world-soul. There is no steadiness in this system, which seems to swing, till one is dizzy, from the utter extreme of spiritualism, to the grossest extreme of materialism. He insinuates, in one place,* without daring to teach it, that there is, after all, no such thing as pure form, and, therefore, that there is no God, and no immortality.

His doctrines exerted considerable influence, not only on the Saracens, but also on Christians. Hebrew and Latin versions of his works are still extant; but it is doubtful whether his translators have done justice to his meaning. The next celebrated character is Abu-Bekr-Mohammed-Ben-Jahya-Ibn-Badscha (Avempace), who was born at Saragossa, in the beginning of the twelfth century. He was celebrated as a physician, a poet, and a philosopher.† He lived at the court of the Morabets, and, being much esteemed by them, was made away with, by poison, through the jealousy of a brother doctor, in 1138. Taken up with active duties, he did not leave any very voluminous writings. Munk speaks of two of his works; one he calls "*Epistola Expeditionis*;" the other, "*Du Régime Solitaire*." The scholastics quoted the first under the title of "*De Continuatione Intellectus cum Homine*." Avempace taught a three-fold possibility of knowledge in the human soul. The highest, the knowledge of pure forms, separated from all matter. According to S. Thomas, he held that the contemplation of separate forms was the highest happiness of man. Besides Avempace, we often find Avicbron's name mentioned amongst the scholastics. The scholastics call him an Arabian philosopher. But the researches of Munk prove, without doubt, that he was a Jew. His real name was Ibn-Gabirol; he lived in the eleventh century, was born at Malaga, and was brought up at Saragossa. Munk found, in the Imperial Library at Paris, the sketch of a work called "*Mekôr Chajim*"‡ (*Fons*

* De Orientali Philosophia.

† His philosophical influence could not have been great. "Sein Einfluss auf das Mittelalter liegt hauptsächlich in seinen Bearbeitungen der physikalischen Schriften des Aristoteles oder mittelbar durch Averroës in der Entwicklung der Erkenntnisslehre, welche beiderseitige Thätigkeit uns hier nicht berührt. Und wenn derselbe sich auch mit dem Umkreise der Logik im engeren Sinne beschäftigte, so scheinen von dergleichen Schriften desselben dem Mittelalter durchaus keine Uebersetzungen vorgelegen zu sein, und auch wir finden ihn nur ein paar Mal gelegentlich erwähnt." (Prantl's *Logik*, Zweiter Band, Abschnitt, XVI, p. 373.)

‡ Dr. A. Schmiedl gives the following *resumé* of Ibn-Gabirol's theory of creation, throwing his teaching into the three following propositions:—

I. "Die erste und höchste Substanz emanirte aus sich eine göttliche Kraft, die 'Wille,' oder auch 'das schöpferische Wort,' genannt wird."

Vitæ), which, from its contents, can be no other than the often quoted *Fons Vitæ* of the scholastics. It was taken almost word for word by a Jewish philosopher of the thirteenth century, named Shem-Tob Ibn-Falaquera, from the writings of Ibn-Gabirol of Malaga, who was famed amongst the Jews as a poet, and philosopher. His teaching bears the impress of Jewish influence. He believes in creation. The highest principle of things, is the Divine will. He lays down that there is a vegetative, sensitive, and reasonable world-soul. By his Neoplatonism, he almost does away with his own teaching on creation. What he must have known from revelation, seems to jar with his philosophic theories. His views on man are essentially Neoplatonic. He seems to have drawn largely from compilations, ascribed by the Arabs to Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle; but which, in reality, were nothing else but Neoplatonic methods of philosophy.*

But the most celebrated of all the Arabian followers of Aristotle, Abul-Walid-Muhammed-Ibn-Achmed-Ibn-Muhammed Ibn-Rodsch (Averroës) was born at Cordova, in the year 1105.† He studied Islamitic law at an early age, and united the study of the Mahommedan faith, with that of the Aristotelian philosophy. Avenzoar taught him medicine; Ibn-Saig, mathematics; and he became a convert to the tenets of the Asharites. On his father's death, he was made Chief Magistrate of Cordova, the capital of the Saracen dominions in Spain. Caliph Jacob Almansor, hearing of his splendid abilities, made him Supreme Governor and Priest of Morocco and Mauritania. Jealous of his preferment, his enemies charged him with heresy. To procure his condemnation, they persuaded some of his household to solicit lessons from him in philosophy, and carefully to take notes of his heterodox opinions. This they did; and he was declared guilty of heresy in a charge signed upon oath by an hundred witnesses. The Caliph confiscated his goods, and threw him amongst the Jews, by whom he was held in such ignominious contempt,

II. "Diese göttliche Kraft, der Wille, hält die Mitte zwischen Gott und Welt."

III. "Aus dem Willen emanirte eine 'Materia universalis' aus welcher die unzähligen Wesen alle ohne Unterschied, die körperlichen wie die geistigen, hervorgingen." (*Studien über jüdische, besonders jüdisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie*, p. 103, 104.) For a fuller account of Ibn-Gabirol, see Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 227, &c. Bachja ben Josef Ibn-Pakuda was Ibn-Gabirol's contemporary, and held the creation out of nothing; and on it rested his proof of the unity of God.

* Dr. Schmiedl's opinion of Avicbron is very high. "Endlich," he says, "in der zweiten Hälfte des xi. Jahrh. tritt uns ein wahrhaft grosser Name entgegen, der an die Gedenktafeln der Literaturgeschichte mit goldenen Lettern angeschrieben zu werden verdient, ein Mann von ausserordentlichem Genie, der dem Manne mit den zwei Köpfen in der griechischen Mythe gleich: der eine Kopf war den blumenreichen Thälern der Dichtung zugewandt, mit dem andern blickte er zu den Sonnenhöhen kühner und erhabener Forschung hinan." He shows how *Ibn-Gabirol* became changed into *Avicbron*:—"Ibn wurde in Avi verwandelt—wie Ibn Sina in Avicenna—und aus dem arabischen G'im wurde ein italienisches e (tsch)." (*Studien, Die Seele*, § II., p. 133.)

† That is, according to Lebrecht; according to Renan, in 1120.

Ibn means "son;" and "Averroës," has grown out of the following modifications: Aben and Aven, then Ibn-Rosdin. Ibn-Rusid, Ben-Raxid, Ibn-Ruschod, Ben-Reschod, Aben-Rassad, Aben-Rois, Aben-Rasid, &c.—Aven rosid, Avveroy, Avenroyth, Averroyta; and, finally, Averrhoes and Averroes. (*Comp. Renan, Averr. et l'Averroïsme*, p. 7, not. 1. Paris, 1852.)

that, on issuing forth to the mosque to pray, the urchins in the streets were in the habit of waylaying him, and pelting him with mud and stones. Maimonides, who was his pupil, fled away from Cordova* He himself at length escaped to Fez, but was speedily seized by the Magistrate. The King, hearing of his capture, called a council to decide upon his fate. Some advocated death; others, recantation. The milder alternative prevailed. Averroës was led from his prison to the gate of the mosque; and being placed upon the upper step, with his head uncovered, the congregation in passing were allowed the privilege of spitting in his face. He then returned to Cordova, to live in destitution and contempt. After a time, at the solicitations of the people, he was restored to his position in Morocco. Here he remained until his death, the date of which, it is impossible precisely to determine. If what is related of him be true, Averroës was a man of noble natural character. He eat but once a day; he passed whole nights in study; his heart was so compassionate, he could not bring himself to pass sentence of death on any one. An enemy at a public meeting once sent his servant to Averroës, to whisper an odious insult in his ear. The philosopher acted as if he had simply received a common message. He was as liberal to his enemies, as he was to his friends—for in the one case, he declared, he was simply following nature, while in the other, he obeyed the commands of virtue.

Now, Averroës is that special philosopher, whose speculations had so dangerous an effect upon Catholic teaching; and who was so triumphantly opposed by the Angel of the Schools. It will here be well, then, to give a rapid, and, it is to be hoped, an intelligible, outline of his mode of thought.

In the first place, his belief in Aristotle was unbounded. He looked upon him with a reverence which certainly amounted to a superstition; and which greatly tended to the spread of his philosophy. He declared the writings of the Stagyrte to be so perfect, that, since they had been composed, not one error had been found in them; nor had a single improvement been made upon them. His teaching is the "perfection of truth," and his intelligence, the limit of human power.† "He was created and given to the world

* It may be well to remark that Dr. J. Herz denies that Averroës was a pupil of Ibn Saïg, or, as he is called by others, Ibn-Badsche Abu-Bekr Ibn Al-Zaïg, as well as that, he was master of Maimonides. See the interesting pamphlet, entitled "*Drei Abhandlungen über die conjunction des separaten Intellects mit dem Menschen von Averroës (Vater und Sohn) aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von Samuel Ibn Tibbon, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. J. Herz. Berlin, 1869. Compare Munk, Notice sur Joseph ben Jehouda, p. 31, 32; Steinschneider, Catal., p. 2546, referred to by Herz.*"

† "Averroës an mehr als einer Stelle, mit beinahe göttlicher Verehrung von Aristoteles gesprochen hat, so in *De Generat. Animal. Lib. I.*: 'Wir spenden unendliches Lob demjenigen, welcher diesen Mann (Aristoteles) durch Vollkommenheit ausgezeichnet und ihn allein auf die höchste Stufe der menschlichen Ueberlegenheit gestellt hat, zu der noch kein Mensch, in irgend welchem Zeitalter gelangen konnte; ihn meinte Gott indem er sagte: Die Ueberlegenheit, Gott

that men might see in him how much it was possible a man could know." However, though he admired Aristotle, he did not do him justice; for he read his writings, not in the original Greek, but from a detestable translation from the Latin into the Syriac.*

One of the fundamental points that underlay all the philosophy of Averroës, was this, that philosophy is nearer to truth, than is religion. Religion, is for the masses: philosophy, is for the learned few. All men begin with religion, but the learned, though they begin with it, do not stop at it; but by philosophy, mount up, through mere belief, to the conclusions, and evidences of science. Here, they can gaze upon truth in its purity. The people have not the power of mind to attempt a study of philosophy. They must find their whole happiness in religion. Though to the philosopher, philosophy is life; to the people, it would be as poison. Yet, religion must be defended. He who talks against religion, and is a scoffer, deserves to be put to death. Even the philosopher cannot philosophize, with any fruit, if he be not founded in virtue, and in the law. It is only when he has thus practised the teachings of religion, that he is raised above it, into the speculation and demonstration of the purest truth. But, though philosophy depends, in its beginning, upon religion, it does not depend on any religion in particular; all religions are true; the only difference consists in a greater or less perfection. It would really seem as if we were considering the teachings of the nineteenth century, instead of the follies of an Arab eight hundred years ago.†

In his teaching on substance, and accidents, on *actus* and *potentia*, on corruption and generation, in his proofs of the existence of God, he follows the Stagyrte, and founds most of his arguments on the assumed impossibility of an infinite series. He attacks the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, on the ground that

gewährt sie dem, wem er will.' (Vgl. Munk, *Mélang.*, pag. 316; 451 et not. 1. Renan, *Averr. e- l'Averr.*, pag. 41 suiv. Averr. *De Anim.*, III., *Comm.*, 14, p. 159.) "Credo quod iste homo (Arist.) fuerit regula in natura et exemplar, quod natura invenit ad demonstrandam ultimam perfectionem humanam in materiis." (Hercz, not. p. 1.)

* The work of Averroës, and of his son, on the Separate Intellect, has been recently translated (1869). See *Drei Abhandlungen über die Conjunction des separaten Intellects mit dem Menschen von Averroës (Vater und Sohn) aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von Samuel Ibn Tibbon, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. J. Hercz.* Berlin.

Prantl says: "Einen gewissen Abschluss aber erhielt die Arabische Philosophie überhaupt, wie bekannt, durch Averroës, dessen commentirende Thätigkeit die sämtlichen Werke des Aristoteles umfasste. Er stand hiebei allerdings nur auf dem Boden seiner arabischen Vorgänger, denn er selbst verstand weder griechisch noch syrisch, aber mit peniblem, ja fast bornirtem Fleisse nahm er in stets wiederholten Uebersetzungen den gleichen Gegenstand vor, und so verfasste er auch zu jenem Zweige der Philosophie, welchen wir hier zu besprechen haben, nemlich zum Organon, dreierlei Commentare, unter welchen die einfachsten blosse Paraphrasen waren, zu welchen ebendeshalb noch sog. 'mittlere' und zuletzt sog. 'grosse' Commentare kamen." (*Logik*, Zweit. Band, Abschn. XVI., p. 374.)

† "Vor Allen haben wir den Standpunkt zu kennzeichnen, welchen Averroës in seiner Philosophie dem Islam gegenüber einnimmt. Er hält dafür, dass die Religion früher sei, als die Philosophie, ja dass sie die Voraussetzung der letztern bilde, weil derjenige, welcher sich nicht vorher einfach dem Gesetze und der Religion ergeben habe, nicht zur Einsicht in das Gute gelangen könne. Die Gewöhnung in den Tugenden des Gesetzes von Jugend auf sei also notwendig, um zur Philosophie zu gelangen. Dabei gilt es aber an sich gleich welche Religion man bekenne, alle Religionen sind gleich wahr; nur ist die eine vollkommenere, als die andere; der vollkommeneren sollen wir uns anschliessen." (Stöckl's *Gesch. der Philosoph. des Mittelalters*. Zweit. Band, Erste Abtheil., § 18, p. 69, Cf. Renan's, *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, p. 113. Paris, 1852.)

it contradicts the absolute simplicity of God's nature to teach that the Three Divine Persons are *denominaciones additæ super substantiam*:* and declares it to be the Christian tenet that the Divine Persons are really distinct from the Divine substance. Hence, he considered it a duty to assail the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, in defence of what he considered to be the simplicity of the Godhead. He affirmed it to be the teaching of Christianity, that God was one and three; one in act, and three *in potentia*. It is, strange—or would be so, did we not meet with like instances every day—that so great a philosopher should so egregiously have failed to grasp the Christian doctrine before he attempted to combat it.†

But, God, the first cause, cannot bring into existence any creature, unless there be a possibility, or *substratum*, out of which the existence is educed. Nothing can come of nothing. Hence all existences imply two—God and matter.‡ God cannot educe existences, without matter; any more than matter can come into act without God. They are correlative. There are two grand eternal principles: the Eternal God, and eternal matter; neither confused together, nor identified, but each independent, though both eternally existing by, and outside each other. As it is absurd to imagine that matter existed from all eternity without form, and, then, in time was reduced to form; it follows that it must have existed in form from all eternity. Now, God is eternal act; but there is no actor or motor without something being moved; therefore, movement is as eternal as the mover. Now, this relation of mover and moved, results in the formation of matter. So, this movement, being eternal, its result too is eternal. Hence, the

* *Vid. Destructio Destructionis, Disput., V., Dub. III., fol. 67.*

† How strangely the view of Averroës regarding the relation of religion to philosophy resembles that of advanced thinkers of our day! He taught to the effect that, "Die Philosophie nimmt der Religion gegenüber die höhere Stellung ein; sie besitzt die reine und volle Wahrheit, welche sie auf dem Wege der Speculation und Demonstration gewinnt; die Religion oder das 'Gesetz' dagegen ist nur erzählend, nur lehrend, sie gibt nicht die reine Wahrheit; sie accommodirt sich der Fassungskraft des Volkes. Desungeachtet aber darf die Philosophie der Religion weder feindlich gegenüber treten, noch ihre eigenen Resultate unter das Volk bringen, denn sonst wird das Volk irre an der Religion, und das wäre verderblich. Die Religion ist nothwendig für das Volk, weil sie diesem die höhere philosophische Erkenntniß einermassen supplirt; sie darf daher von der Philosophie nicht angetastet werden.—Der Standpunkt ist bequiem, und dem Islam gegenüber ist er allerdings berechtigt." (Stöckl, 2 B., p. 70, 71.)

‡ These are the words of the philosopher: "Dicimus nos, quod sententia horum verborum (Algazelis sc.) est, quod quodlibet innovatum est possibile antequam innovetur, et quod possibilitas existit rem in qua sustentetur, scilicet subjectum recipiens. Possibilitas enim recipientis differt a possibilitate agentis. Et ideo non potest possibilitas perfecte attribui agenti, nisi conveniat cum recipiente. Multa enim sunt possibilia in agentibus, quæ respectu quorundam recipientium sunt impossibilia. Unde postquam illa possibilitas, quod innovatur, præcedit impossibile est, quod reperiatür absque subjecto; neque agens potest esse subjectum, neque possibile potest esse subjectum, quia quando possibile est in actu, est remota possibilitas. Remanet ergo, quod subjectum possibilitatis sit res recipiens eam, scilicet materia, et materia, in quantum materia, non generatur. Oporteret namque, quod materia haberet materiam ad infinitum. Et si forte dici posset, quod generatur, est sine dubio, in quantum componitur ex materia et forma, quia quodlibet generabile ex aliqua re generatur. Unde aut proceditur in infinitum recte in materia infinita, quod est falsum, aut forme adveniunt successive vicissim in quoddam subjectum ingenerabile et incorruptibile; et sic circulariter ad infinitum ab eterno Nullum enim de nihilo fit nulla permutatio de summa privatione fit. Patet ergo ex istis, quod hic necessario est res in contraria deferens formas, in quam rem illæ formas successive adveniunt vicissim." (*Destruct. Destr., Disp. I., Dub. XXI., fol. 22, col. 1. Cf. Stöckl, p. 92.*)

world is eternal. This is the cardinal point of the Averroistic system. The world is nothing else than matter brought into existence, or formed. God is the mover; the world is the moved. The moving is eternal; therefore, what is moved is eternal; that is, the earth. The world could have had no beginning; and it can have no end. The world can be affected, neither by generation, nor by corruption. It exists eternally out of God, and by God. God is the first cause, not as creator, but as mover. As the world cannot be conceived without God, so God cannot be conceived without the world. The world and God are complements of each other. Without the world, God would not be God; and without God, the world would not be the world. Generation, and corruption, are the results of the action of cause and effect; these are eternal, so too are generation and corruption eternal movements. The corruption of one thing, is the generation of another, and the generation of one, the corruption of another; and there are many phases of the eternal movement of the world. So there can be no talk of a "first man." The soul is the form of the body; number lies in the matter, not in the form. So, the individual existence of the soul, independent of the body, cannot be imagined. What rises, must fall. This is an eternal law of nature. God himself cannot alter such a law. He could not give immortality to an individual, for He is under the law of His own movement. This is as true of the human soul, as of any other thing. Averroës assails the doctrine that the world was created out of nothing, which is another fundamental tenet of the Christian religion. His arguments are very superficial, and there is no occasion for wasting space with them here.*

As movement is eternal, so must it be one. The oneness of the moved, follows from the oneness of the mover. There is the oneness of the world; first, because it is all subject to the action of the mover, who formed it in its variety and order; and secondly, because this world alone, and no other, could possibly exist.

The heavens, and the heavenly bodies, are neither subject to the change of generation, nor corruption. They are formed of quite a different matter from the earth. The eternal movement of the heavens, and heavenly bodies, is the cause of the changes and variations in the sublunary world. Now, the heavens are more perfect than the earth. Therefore, it follows that, if on the

* Stöckl gives his doctrine thus:—"Die Welt als solche ist nämlich nichts anderes, als die zur Form und Wirklichkeit herangebildete Materie. Kann also die Materie nie ohne Form sein, so kann die Ewigkeit der Materie nur unter der Bedingung aufrecht erhalten werden, dass zugleich auch an der Ewigkeit der Welt als solcher festgehalten wird. Die Welt ist ferner das Object der Bewegung, welche von dem ersten Beweger ansieht: sie ist das Bewegte. Ist also die Bewegung eine ewige, und kann dieselbe, nicht gedacht werden ohne ein Bewegtes, so muss auch die Welt, als das Bewegte, ebenso ewig sein wie die Bewegung selbst. Und wie sie ohne Anfang ist, so ist sie auch ohne Ende; denn dieselben Gründe, welche den Anfang der Welt ausschliessen, schliessen auch das Ende derselben aus." (§ 25, p. 94.)

earth there are intelligent souls, *a fortiori*, so must it be in the heavens. But, the heavens are not subject to generation and corruption; so the soul of the heavens is not tied to things of sense. This soul must desire good—a good which is higher and more perfect than itself. Now, this good cannot be corporeal, for the heavens themselves are the most noble bodies. It can, therefore, only be the highest mover, and the Absolute Good, by whom all other good is conditioned. Hence, the soul of the heavens knows God; and this knowledge creates in that soul a desire to be as like Him in perfection as possible. This it attains by eternal motion, for motion is more perfect than rest, and eternal gyration is the noblest and most perfect of all movements. Other systems, which are discoverable by astronomical observation, have their movers, which are as their forms—inasmuch as, without such forms their existence could not be imagined; and as their end—inasmuch as the movement which is received from them issues in their striving to become more and more like to them. So to every series of systems there corresponds a series of pure intelligences, and at the head of them all, is the Prime-Mover. From Him, these intelligences reach down to the humblest sphere, that of the moon. The active intellect is subject immediately to the moon-mover, and, through him, to the Prime-Mover. All these movers so depend upon each other, that, according to their position, they are more or less immediately connected with the first cause. As the higher system is more perfect than the lower, so is one intelligence more perfect than another. The movement of the higher spheres is swifter than the movement of the lower; and so of all in their relations. The subordinate intelligence is conditioned by the higher one, and the Prime-Mover is the condition of them all.*

God does not know things as they really are, for that would lower His intelligence, but He knows them in a more perfect, and in a nobler manner. His knowledge is higher than either an individual, or a general knowledge. The knowledge which separate

* "Le caractère général de la doctrine d'Ibn-Roschd est le même que celui que nous remarquons chez les autres philosophes Arabes. C'est la doctrine d'Aristote modifiée par l'influence de certaines théories néoplatoniciennes. En introduisant dans la doctrine péripatéticienne l'hypothèse des intelligences des sphères, placées entre le premier moteur et le monde, et en admettant une émanation universelle par laquelle le mouvement se communique de proche en proche à toutes les parties de l'univers, jusqu'au monde sublunaire, les philosophes Arabes croyaient sans doute faire disparaître le dualisme de la doctrine d'Aristote, et combler l'abîme qui sépare l'énergie pure, ou Dieu, de la matière première. Ibn-Roschd admet ces hypothèses dans toute leur étendue : le ciel est considéré par lui comme un être animé et organique, qui ne naît ni ne périt, et dont la matière même est supérieure à celle des choses sublunaires; il communique à celles-ci le mouvement qui lui vient de la cause première et du désir qui l'attire lui-même vers le premier moteur. La matière, qui est éternelle, est caractérisée par Ibn-Roschd avec plus de précision encore qu'elle ne l'a été par Aristote : elle est non-seulement la faculté de tout devenir par la forme qui vient du dehors; mais la forme elle-même est virtuellement dans la matière; car si elle était produite, par la cause première, ce serait là une création de rien, qu'Ibn-Roschd n'admet pas plus qu'Aristote. Le lien qui rattache l'homme au ciel et à Dieu le fait participer, jusqu'à un certain point, à la science supérieure, principe de l'ordre universel; c'est par la science seule, et non par une vaine contemplation, que nous pouvons arriver à saisir l'être, et, sous ce rapport, Ibn-Roschd est encore plus absolu que son maître, et les idées morales ne jouent dans la doctrine d'Ibn-Roschd, qu'un rôle fort-secondaire." (Bauréau, *Tom. I., Cap. XIII., p. 378, 379.*)

intelligences enjoy is their life. The most perfect life is God, the perfect intelligence. There is no Providence in this world over individuals. This is contrary to reason, and to experience. The Providence of God is general, keeping the universe in its normal condition. It must not be forgotten that the world is eternal; God is not creator and master, but He is mover, and subject to the eternal laws of matter.

Man stands between eternal and temporal things; for, in his nature, he includes both. The soul is the form, or the first perfection, of the living body. The soul, in its activity, is independent of the body, so it must possess an independent principle. Its activity extends to the intelligible; while sense is confined to sensation. The *passive intellect* is not one with man, it is a separate principle. It unites itself, indeed, with the individual body, as its form; but it remains distinct and separate from the individual soul. As such, it is not individual, like the soul; it is rather universal, and, hence, numerically, it is one in all human beings. Individuality, exclusively belongs to the soul. It is eternal, and lasting in every respect. If, in speaking of the soul of man, you do not refer to the soul as the principle of corporeal life, but as the principle of reason, then, the souls of men, substantially, are identical. It is like the light which spreads itself over all creation, without suffering in its oneness. It ever remains numerically one, and is only individualized in so far as it is participated in by many individuals. Much more, then, is the active intelligence one in all men, eternal and enduring, forming no part of man's contingent, individual nature. It is an objective principle existing independently of our individuality. And this objective principle is no other than that intelligence which closes the chain which depends, finally, upon God, but which is the mover of the moon.*

The mind of man does not essentially, but only in degree, differ from that of the beast. The will is conditioned by the movements of the world without, and is hence subject to a kind of fatality. But Averroës did not mean to take away from it all freedom. Yet he admits of no personal immortality. What is said of the next life is simply a fable. The universal mind, not the individual soul, is immortal. The race is eternal; the individual dies. The condition of man, after death, is like the condition a man finds himself in, while sleeping. The knowledge of separate substances is man's highest knowledge, and in it his greatest happiness lies. Man here becomes like unto God. Here, all is grasped

* "Intellectus autem agens ordinatur ex ultimo horum in ordine. et ponamus ipsum esse motorem orbis Lunæ." (*Epit. Met.*, Tr. 4, p. 146.)

by man. Being now like to God, he knows all things, inasmuch as, in a manner, he himself is all things; for knowledge, and being, become, now, identical. Man is not capable of attaining greater perfection and happiness than this. And he arrives at this state by the study of speculative wisdom.

Averroës held the mystic way in great contempt: for, according to him, it is only the speculative mind that breaks through the veil of sense, and gets into immediate contact with Divine things.* Hence, philosophy is the highest calling of man.

Such is a brief sketch of the most celebrated and the last representatives of Aristotle in Arabia.

It remains to be seen how S. Thomas acted, when living in the midst of this terrible intellectual struggle; and how reason can oppose reason, and how the meek, but crushing warrior of God's truth, can, through the power of his intellect, and his firm grasp of principle, bring under and subdue the rampant heresies, which others may have feared, but had not the power to overthrow,

The same kind of effects seem to have been produced by the Bible, amongst the Jews, that were produced by the Koran, amongst the Arabs. And, as the intellect of S. Thomas had to be directed against their errors, and as some of his most startling triumphs had to do with Jewish doctrines and Jewish Rabbis, it will here be well to draw, in a very few strokes, the broad outline of their intellectual movement.

The philosophy of the Jews appears to have developed about the same time as that of the Arabians. The obligation they were under of defending their tenets from attack, the reverence in which they held the Holy Scriptures, induced them, nay, obliged them, to defend and establish, scientifically, what they held through faith. And though it was quite contrary to the spirit of their religion, to mix with other nations, there were not wanting men, who, from time to time, endeavoured to amalgamate the teachings of the Pentateuch with Arabian philosophy.

As with the Arabs, as with ourselves, there were the orthodox, and rationalistic school. The orthodox Jew, besides the Scriptures, held in equal reverence with the Scriptures, the ancient tradition of their Rabbis. This consisted in wearisome and enslaving casuistry, and exegesis, which was applied to the very animals of the field, and to the most minute and paltry arrange-

* "L'Âme peut arriver à une union bien plus intime avec l'intellect universel, à une sorte d'identification avec la raison primordiale. L'intellect acquis a servi à conduire l'homme jusqu'au sanctuaire; mais il disparaît dès que le but est atteint. . . . Ainsi l'intellect actif exerce sur l'Âme deux actions distinctes, dont l'une a pour but d'élever l'intellect matériel à la perception de l'intelligible, l'autre de l'entraîner au delà jusqu'à l'union avec les intelligibles eux-mêmes. L'homme, arrivé à cet état comprend toutes choses par la raison, qu'il s'est approprié. Devenu semblable à Dieu, il est en quelque sorte tous les êtres, et les connaît tels qu'ils sont; car les êtres, et leurs causes ne sont rien en dehors de la science, qu'il en a." (Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, p. 110. Paris, 1852.)

ments of domestic life. This tradition was at length written down by Jonas the Holy, in a book called the *Mischna*. This, again, later on, was enlarged upon and continued by the Talmudists.

A reaction was not long in coming against the unbearable tyranny of this Talmudist school. Anan, a Jew of Bagdad, about the middle of the eighth century, headed a chism. This created two distinct parties: the orthodox Jews, with the Scriptures, tradition, and the Talmud; and the Karäites, who rejected all except the Bible; affirming that the light of reason was quite strong enough to read it by. Thus, we have the orthodox Jews, corresponding with the Motakhallim; and the Karäites, corresponding with the Motazalitæ of the Arabs.* Nor was there wanting a school, corresponding to the Susufi, or the Mystics: that is to say, there were the Cabbalists. Their teaching, in reality, was a kind of Gnostic philosophy. It consisted in their continued prying into the hidden and deep meaning of the Word of God. God had made known this mysterious meaning to Moses, on the mount. Moses had delivered it to the seventy ancients. From them, it had come to Esdras, who wrote it in a book. From him, the ancient teaching of the Jews was derived. They looked upon the Bible as a book of symbols; and they laid great stress, like Philo, upon the mystery of numbers. Cabbalism had not so much as a philosophy, or a tradition; while it had about it that mystic element, which is never wanting when rationalism, or its reaction, is rife, or when there is any deep religious feeling, which often is the source from which it springs.†

Now, the action of the rationalistic school, as a matter of course, brought out men on the other side, fit to cope with its pretensions. As the Arabs, and the Church, used Aristotle to defend the orthodox teachings of their revelation; so, too, did the Jews. Saadia was the first to snatch Aristotle's weapons out of the hands of his adversaries, and to turn their arms against themselves. Perceiving the success of this manœuvre, the philosophy of the

* "Dr. Schmiedl, in his interesting *Studien über jüdische, insonders jüdisch-arabische Religions-philosophie*, gives evidence of a remarkable character with regard to the immense influence Aristotle and the scholastics exerted upon some of the most powerful minds in the Jewish body. e. g. See 'Der philosophische Gottesbegriff. Die Lehre von den Attributen Gottes. Die Engellehre. Die Schöpfung aus Nichts.' See also p. 259, *Was hat den Aristotelismus in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie so populär gemacht?*"

† The fundamental doctrine of creation, writes Schmiedl, according to the Cabbala, is viewed in the following light: "Die Kabbala ging von dem Gedanken aus, die mosaische Schöpfungslehre mit dem Fundamentalprinzip der alten Philosophie, 'dass aus Nichts Nichts werde,' in Uebereinstimmung zu bringen. Hierzu fand sie die alexandrinische Lehre von der Ausströmung (Emanation) am geeignetsten. Sie stellte nun folgendes System auf: Keine Substanz ist aus dem absoluten Nichts hervorgegangen: alles Seiende hat vielmehr seinen Ursprung in einer Quelle ewigen Lichts—in Gott. Dieser undefinirbare Gott wird in ganz eigenthümlicher Weise das 'Nichts' genannt, d. h. das in Abstracto bestehende, durch positive Attribute nicht zu erklärende Sein—and auf diese Weise ist die Welt aus 'Nichts' hervorgegangen. Das göttliche Urlicht erfüllte vor der Schöpfung die ganze Unendlichkeit, so dass kein leerer Raum vorhanden war. Es zog sich daher in sich selbst zurück, um eine Leere zu bilden. Nach dieser Concentration manifestirte sich der Endlose (En-Sof) zuerst in einem Prototyp der Schöpfung, dem Makrokosmos oder Adam Kadmon nach Adam Ilai, aus welchem sodann die Schöpfung in vier Abstufungen oder Welten ausströmte." (*Studien*, p. 127.)

Stagyrite became the fashion with the Hebrews. When the Spanish Jews had emancipated themselves from the domination of the Babylonian academy, at Sora, and had founded at Cordova a new school, they did exactly what the schoolmen did—they busily set about translating, and making themselves masters of the philosophy, and fundamental principles of Aristotle, in order that they might successfully defend themselves against attack, and carry on a vigorous war against the Karäites. So much were these Jews smitten with their new weapons, that William of Auvergne positively declares that the Jews, who lived under this influence, had abandoned the faith of Abraham, and had gone over to the Saracens. The same tendencies toward rationalism, and towards placing science above faith, amongst the Arabs, and amongst ourselves, soon made themselves manifest amongst the Arabian Jews. They no longer bowed down with humble reverence to the Sacred Word of faith. Faith, now, was for the poor, ignorant, and deficient. Philosophy, was for the learned. Man may begin with faith; but he rises through the methods of belief, into the higher and purer region of demonstration, and philosophy. The most remarkable, by far, amongst the rationalistic school of Judaism, is Maimonides.

We derive our knowledge of the Cabbalistic doctrines of the Jews from two books, the Jezirah, and the Sohar. The writer of the Jezirah was a contemporary of the writer of the Mischna, about the year 50, of Christ. The Sohar is later, about the year 121. Some put it down as late as the third century, and declare that it was put together by a Spanish Jew. The basis of the Cabbalistic system is the doctrine of emanation. It would be tiring, as well as useless, to go into its analysis, and waste paper in describing the Ainsoph, and the Cimçoum; who was Adam Kadmon, and his connection with the Sephirot, or the relative position of Aziluth, Beriah, Jezirah, and Asiah.* We refer the curious reader for matters of this kind to Frank's "Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews."†

The first man who treated Judaism from a scientific, rational standpoint, was Saadiah Fajjumi, who was born in Egypt, persecuted by the orthodox Jews, till he was forced to fly away from the Academy at Sora; and, having written many works in his

* "Die andern Welten, welche an die Welt Aziluth in absteigender Stufenreihe sich anschliessen, sind die Welt Beriah, die Welt Jezirah und die Welt Asiah. In der Welt Asiah herrschen die drei obersten, in der Welt Jezirah die drei folgenden und in der Welt Beriah die drei untersten Sephiren. Aber wie die Sephiren ungeachtet ihrer Verschiedenheit doch wieder Eins im Sein sind, so verhält es sich auch mit diesen drei Welten. Denn da das grosse Siegel Aziluth drei Stufen begreift, welche da sind drei (Zuren) Urbilder von Nepesch, Ruach und Neschamah (Leib, Seele und Geist), so haben auch empfangen die Besiegelten drei Zuren, nämlich Beriah, Jezirah und Asiah, und diese drei Zuren im Siegel sind nur Eins. Nur ein beziehungsweise Unterschied also findet statt zwischen diesen drei Welten: ihrem innern Sein nach sind sie nicht verschieden von einander. (Stöckl, p. 239.)

† Frank, *La Cabbale, ou La Philosophie Religieuse des Hebreux*, p. 197, sqq. (Paris, 1843.)

solitude, died in the year 942. His principal work was "Faith and Philosophy," composed about the year 933. But, the greatest of the Spanish Arabs, was Rabbi Moses-Ben-Maimon (Maimonides), born at Cordova in the year 1135. He studied Aristotle under Averroës, or under one of his disciples. He was persecuted without much delay as a heretic. He fled to Fez, then to Cairo, where Saladin treated him handsomely, and permitted him to set up a school in Alexandria. But his enemies would not leave him alone. He was forced to abandon his school, and led a wandering life for the rest of his days, and died (1204), some affirm, in Palestine; others say, in Egypt. His principal work was "*More Nevochim*," or "*Doctor Perplexorum*." But of his system it will be time to speak when it comes in contact with the teaching of the Angel of the Schools. That his doctrines, though he suffered so much in his lifetime, exerted a wide influence amongst his brethren, cannot be denied.

"This learned Jew," says Brucker, "was not only master of many Eastern languages, but, which was a rare accomplishment at that time, was well acquainted with the Greek tongue; in which he seems to have read the works of Plato, Aristotle, Themistius, Galen, and others. He confesses that he had been much conversant with the writings of philosophers. As a physician, he possessed high reputation: he was a good logician, and had a competent knowledge of mathematics. In Talmudic learning, he excelled all his contemporaries. Besides many other works, he wrote a treatise 'On Idolatry;' another, 'On the Theology of the Gentiles;' and a third, 'On Allegorical Language;' which discovered great learning, but leaned towards Gentile philosophy more than his countrymen approved. A singular proof of his fondness for the Aristotelian doctrines, and, at the same time, a curious specimen of the absurd method of allegorizing, adopted even by the more intelligent among the Jews, we meet with in his explanation of the sapphire stone, which Moses saw under the feet of the God of Israel, the whiteness of which he understood to denote the $\gamma\lambda\eta$ $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta$ 'first matter' of Aristotle.*

With regard to his tenets, great battles took place after his death in France, and Spain. Provence was the hottest place of struggle. Shem-Tob-Ben-Joseph-Ben-Palaquera, born about the year 1226, defended him in many works. Calonymos, who was born in the year 1287, did the same. In fact, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which lie beyond the date at which I write, very fierce contests were continually being waged amongst the Jews;

* Book IV., Cap. II., p. 206.

belief, on one side; and rationalism, on the other: the Stagyrte, and the Scriptures; the light of reason, and the light of faith.

But enough has now been said to give a general idea of those Arabian and Jewish philosophers, whose names are so constantly recurring in the writings of S. Thomas. Let us now see how he conducted himself under Albertus Magnus at Cologne.

CHAPTER XIV.

S. THOMAS AT COLOGNE.

WHEN S. Thomas arrived at Cologne, the Dominicans had already been some time settled there. S. Dominic, who always had an eye to great centres, must have observed that the fact of its being a great commercial city, with its one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and three thousand soldiers, would make it a fair field for work; and its intimate relations with Italy, its reputation for science and art, would tend to elevate the mind, and make it a natural centre for Dominican activity.

In the year 1221, those dear friends, Jordan of Saxony, and Henry of Cologne,* the former who owed his singular conversion to his love of the poor of Christ, and of the Holy Office, and the latter whom Jordan declared to be "the most gracious creature he ever saw," established the Order at Cologne. They began in a very humble manner. They opened a *Hospitium*, near the Cathedral, in the Stolkstrasse (*vicus Stolcorum*), and served a little chapel dedicated to S. Mary Magdalene. Their gentle, devoted lives, struck the people of the town, who, unfortunately, had been accustomed to receive very little edification from many of the clergy.† Their little chapel quickly filled. The clergy of the town were ill-pleased at this. Invidious comparisons were instituted by the people between the meek, shaven friars, with their extreme simplicity and poverty, and the sleek, well-fed, and sometimes, disedifying clergy. The clergy begged the Archbishop to remove the friars.‡ The venerable Engelbert gently answered

* Brother Henry died in 1234. Albert lived for three or four years under the same roof with him. It was not till a much later date that the University of Cologne, strictly so called, was founded. "Albert va fonder l'école; l'université n'existe point; elle ne sera créée que le 21 mai de l'an de grâce 1358, par bulle expresse d'Urban VI., qui lui accordera les mêmes franchises et privilèges qu'à l'université de Paris." (See D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand*, Liv. III., p. 255. Cf. Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln*, p. 75.)

† Speaking of the evils rife in society, in Albert's day, Sighart says:—"Albert schildert in seinen Predigten selbst alle diese Uebel der Zeit, besonders die Putzucht, die Ueppigkeit, die Theater und Tänze, den schändlichen Aberglauben der Weiber, die Trägheit der Kanoniker, die nicht einmal im Chore den Mund genug öffnen. Vgl. III. *Serm. de Nativ. B. Mariæ de Sacrif. Missæ. Sermo de Assumpt. Mariæ II.* Besonders *Serm. in dom. IV. post Epiphan.* Klagen über Bischöfe und Klerus besonders im Commentar zu Lucas." (*Kap. V., note, p. 26.*) Sighart also quotes a passage from a sermon of Albertus Magnus in which he compares the clergy to the barren woman, who married seven brothers, one after the other, signifying that they were sharp enough to get hold of good livings, but that no fruit came of them for the glory of God. Cursing, swearing, and blaspheming, were the special vices of the people. (See Touron's *Disciples de Saint Dominique*, p. 725.)

‡ Manche Welt-Geistliche beklagten sich darüber beim edlen Erzbischofe Engelbert, dass die Ordensmänner das fremde Aerntefeld beträten . . . Sie würden die Geistlichen in Gefahr, die Stadt aber in Bedrängniß bringen. (Sighart's *Albertus Magnus Kapitel V., p. 27*; more fully treated by Peter of Prussia, p. 249.)

them, that as long as the little convent of Dominicans did nothing but good, he preferred to allow them to remain. But the clergy replied that the warning-note had already been sounded against them by a saint. It was of these men, with their strange costume, and shaven crowns, that Holy Hildegard had prophesied, when she spoke of men who would bring danger on the priests, and destruction on the city. Well, then, replied the Archbishop, "If it be a Divine revelation, it will certainly come to pass." The Dominicans remained, flourished, taught; and under Albert the Great the little convent became a nursery of saints.*

When we consider three things which must have exerted a great influence on S. Thomas, it will not appear surprising that he should have given himself up to silent meditation in the school of Albert. In the first place, a mind so noble and so delicate would be subdued by the force of the master-mind with which it came in contact, and would feel far more inclined to think and listen, than to talk and to dispute. Secondly, the knowledge which the young student must have possessed of those great questions which had agitated the schools for so many years—questions intimately bound up with the first principles of Christianity, nay, even with the dogma of the existence of God Himself—could not but affect, most deeply, his mind and imagination. And, lastly, he may have felt, in his extreme modesty, that his mind had not arrived at that maturity, which makes the ventilation of difficult problems of much advantage; and that now was the time to listen and learn, not to talk and teach: and that truth is arrived at by slow degrees, through patient, unwearied thought, and through the laborious comparison of a thousand experiences. Besides, naturally, the Saint loved contemplation. His life, from the beginning, had been formed in a monastic mould: and the impress of S. Benedict made him strange, at first, to the activity and excitement of the modern methods of the mediæval world.†

* Considering the importance of the town, it is not surprising that the Dominicans settled there, and were unwilling to be driven out. "Cologne prit peut-être, en effet, plus d'importance encore au moyen âge qu'elle n'en garde aujourd'hui. Tant de mouvement ne saurait s'expliquer que par l'activité de son négoce et l'étendue de ses transactions avec le pays d'Utrecht et les côtes de la Baltique, car, en dépit de sa situation heureuse et du fleuve qui la traverse, Cologne, vers 1230, manquait assurément de ce *bel air*, de ces élégances et de ces appas qui attirent ou retiennent les étrangers. Sa cathédrale, chef-d'œuvre inachevé, dont une légende attribue, par parenthèse, le dessin et le plan au docteur universel, n'est point encore sortie de terre à l'heure matinale à laquelle nous passons avec Albert de l'autre côté du Rhin." (Vid. D'Assailly's *Albert le Grand*, p. 254.)

† "Quando poi ei posto in libertà, fu dal suo prelado mandato in Colonia per istudiare la teologia sotto la scorta d'Alberto Magno stimato da'suoi condiscipoli di rozzo e tardo ingegno, era da' medesimi per sopranoime chiamato (come sopra s'accenno) il buo uotolo; egli nondimeno di simili irrisioni e beffe non curante, con gran mansuetudine le tollerava senza mai aprir bocca ad imitazione del nostro Signore nella sua Passione sì fieramente schernito e dileggiato, di cui parlando il Profeta dicea: *Quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet et non aperiet os suum*. Oltre a ciò solo silenzio di Tomaso per lungo tempo da lui osservato, certissimo argomento fu dell' animo suo dolce e mansueto." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 4, p. 109.*) Lacordaire only expresses what St. Thomas felt so many years before, when he says:—"A man is made from within, not from without. Solitude is my element; it is my life, there is nothing great to be accomplished without it." (Dora Greenwell's *Life*, p. 56.) "Disposti agli studi coll'orazione, tutto preordinando alla gloria di Dio, raccolto della mente intendeva alle lezioni del suo maes-

His companions in the school of Albert, belonged to quite another class. Whilst Thomas was living in the varied world of abstract thought, of problem, and question and probability—with its labyrinths of truth; with its fitful, eccentric fires; with sombre avenues, opening into terrific pit-falls; and vast stretches of clear certainty, with its far-distant peaks, reflecting the light of the good, the beautiful, and the true—his companions were living amongst material things.* His world was not only hidden from them, but was beyond their powers of realization. He was amongst them in body, but that was nearly all. Yet, they were occupied with discussing great questions also. But, they were young men who thought themselves capable of handling any question; and would argue a point with very slender knowledge of its bearings. They were young men full of activity, intelligence, and life; buoyant with animal spirits, and filled with the impression that to exert the reasoning faculties in debating scholastic questions, was one of the principal ends of all philosophy.† They had been told of the splendid talents of Abelard, of that brilliant school of intellectual chivalry which he established, and which had made its name famous throughout Italy, Germany, and France.

It is not extraordinary that such young men as these, when they saw young Aquino so silent, should imagine that nothing occupied his thoughts; ‡ especially when they perceived that he was equally

tro, e s' ingegnava di perfettamente apprendere ogni cosa fino a quelle che altrui sembravano piccole, o che solo per indiretto riguardavano alla materia; di tutto si faceva tesoro nella mente; e in effetto, ogni pensiero eragli, in virtù della meditazione, assai ricco e prezioso tesoro. Intorno alle questioni, che molte e sottili erano proposte, egli in suo pensiero faceva di ridurle alla più semplice ed accurata formula; e questo gli apriva la via a levarsi coll' intelletto a quel principio scientifico, onde procedea la soluzione. Comechè a tutti entrasse innanzi nell'acuità dell' ingegno, nella siccità del giudizio, nella siltilità del sillogizzare, pure tenea continuo silenzio, sì per la riverenza verso il maestro, sì perchè avea tutti gli altri scolari per da più di sé. Dal suo silenzio alleni inconsiderati trassero cagione di metterlo in novelle, e lo chiamavano il *bue muto*; della qual cosa egli non si turbava niente, siccome colui, che amava di essere spregiato. (Gibelli, *Vita*, cap. XI., p. 43, 44.)

* "Magister Ordinis in carissimum in Christo filium suscepisset, duxit ipsum Parisios, et deinde Coloniam: ubi sub Fratre Alberto Magistro in Theologia ejusdem Ordinis florebat studium generale: qui reputabatur in omni scientia singularis. Quo enim pervenisset predictus juvenis et andivisset in omni scientia profunda et miranda docentem, gavisus est se cito invenisse quod quæreret: a quo haurire posset avidus, quod sitiret. Qui ut ostenderet, quia ad hoc tendebat, quo venerat; cepit miro modo taciturnus esse silentio, in studio assiduus, in oratione devotus, interius colligens in memoria quod postmodum effunderet in doctrina." (Tocco, *Boll. in Vita*, Cap. III., p. 660.) What a distinct pleasure contemplation of truth was to S. Thomas, is evident from his own words:—"In contemplatione veritatis maxima delectatio consistit. . . . Et ideo homines ex contemplatione divinorum, et futura beatitudinis, in tribulationibus gaudent, secundum illud Jacobi, I, 2: *Omne gaudium existimate, fratres mei, cum in tentationibus varias incideritis*; et, quod est amplius, etiam inter corporis cruciatus hujusmodi gaudium invenitur; sicut Tiburtinus martyr, cum nudatis plantis super ardentem prunas incederet, dixit: Videtur mihi quod super roseos flores incedam in nomine Jesu Christi." (*Sunna, Prima Secundæ, Quest. XXXVIII., Art. IV., p. 141.*)

† How different the influence produced by the school of quiet:—"Nelle tante sue disputationi conflitti scolastici non aspirò mai [Tomaso] alla vittoria, ma che solamente conoscinta si fosse la verità; e avvegache fosse ei solito di manifestare con ogni candore il suo sentimento, ed anche d'impugnar con moderata acrimonia le false opinioni, nel cui caso la contenzione per suo insegnamento è laudevole, guardossi però sempre dagli atti sconci, dalle grida, dall' immoderate contese; e niuno spregiando, ne ad alcuno ostinatamente contradicendo, elesse per la gloria di Dio e per l'edificazione del prossimo, parere alle volte anzi men dotto, che poco modesto, e in quello stesso, che insegnava, confessarsi discepolo." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IV., n. 9, p. 26.*)

‡ "Giunto, che fù Tomaso in Colonia con tutte le forze si diede a i più profondi studij, che da lui sperare si potevano, con attenzione mirabile apprendendo quello, che se li insegnava il Maestro, e discorrendo poscia le diverse opinioni de gli autori, giudicava qual di loro fusse più sòda, e in quella si ligava. Era tanto amico del silenzio, e della taciturnità, che pochissime volte parlava: e perchè era molto corpulento, lo chiamavano il *Bue muto*." (*Vita*, p. 14.)

reserved in the school, as he was in conversation. Whilst his companions boldly disputed, and waxed loud and noisy, this imperturbable youth remained in his place without a word, and without a sign. They soon came to the conclusion that he was a naturally dull, obtuse lad, who possessed no powers of appreciation. They must have known that he came from the South. Probably they knew that the General had brought him to Cologne; but it is evident that the fame he acquired in Naples had never reached them. What is more strange is this, that Albertus Magnus held the same opinion as his pupils, regarding the dullness and deficiency of the young Aquino. Thomas was ridiculed publicly for his intellectual shortcomings, and was called, by master and by pupils, the great, dumb, Sicilian ox.* That they all taunted him publicly, and called him by his nick-names to his face, is evident from the surest testimony. But the Saint had been well broken to suffering, and he bore it all without a word. And being a youth of real breadth of mind, he knew how much all this was worth, and took it at its proper valuation.

Still there is no doubt that he must have keenly felt the roughness, vulgarity, and noisiness of his associates.† Without doubt, one fully formed in the retiring school of quiet, who had lived in the company of the gentle, silent Benedictine monks at Monte Cassino, and had learnt to fix his mind on the one great object of all man's striving, on the Supreme Good—and that in speechless contemplation—would be scared and shocked by the unrestrained and sportive garrulity of quick-tongued and off-hand young logicians—fledglings who were ever piping, and crowing, and flapping their young wings, and bouncing at each other around him, ever trying the strength of their spurs, and the sharpness of their beaks and claws, in those dialectical encounters which were the natural consequence of the principle of motion. He must often silently have

* "Obwohl er unter einer zahlreichen Genossenschaft lebte und obwohl alle Brüder ihn anfanglich wegen des Rufes, der ihm vorausgegangen, mit grossen Gunstbezeugungen überhäufte, blieb er doch am liebsten in seiner einsamen Zelle, bei den gemeinsamen Zusammenkünften hielt er strenges Stillschweigen, bei den Vorträgen der Lehrer schien er in dumpfes Brüten versunken, an den häufigen Disputationen der Mitschüler nahm er keinen Antheil. Man hielt ihn daher anfangs für einen Sonderling, man staunte dann, dass die Obern einen so stumpfsinnigen Menschen für begabt und für fähig des Unterrichts eines Albertus gehalten hätten, ja die Gefährten enthielten sich nicht, den jungen Thomas scherzweise einen stummen Ochsen, oder den grossen sicilischen Ochsen zu nennen." (Sighart, *Kap. VI.* p. 39.)

† The coarseness and vulgarity of ridiculing any one on his personal appearance, and that to his face too, need not be remarked upon. It was the vocation, the providential vocation of the Angelical, to bring calmness, gentleness, and delicacy of tone and feeling into the schools. Frigerio mentions another nick-name which was given by the Dominicans to their Angelical *Confrère* "Ma in tanta eminenza di talenti, egli non fe mai ostentatione alcuna; ne in tal proposito disse ne pur una parola; ma imponendo a se stesso un silentio Pitagorico, non parlava quasi mai, se non interrogato. Onde i suoi condiscipoli vedendolo, come in fatti era corpulento, e grasso (secondo la temperatura hereditaria de' Conti d'Aquino), e scorgendolo ancora sì taciturno, chiamavano alcuni d'essi per soprannome il buo mitolo, ed altri l'otre di Pitagora." (*Lib. I., Cap. IV., n. 5, p. 24.*) Tocco puts it thus:—"Qui enim sub velamine miræ simplicitatis taciturnitas absconderet, quidquid a Magistro addisceret et quod Dens ei miseranter infunderet; ceperunt enim Fratres vocare Bovem mitum, ignorantes de eo futurum in doctrina Magistrum." Tocco continues expressing the Benedictine idea:—"Verum utiliter sibi et aliis quasi mitus ab exteriori erat eloquio, ut cum suis cogitationibus loquacior fieret in secreto, ut inde habitum scientiæ tacens citius colligeret, quem nulla exterior locutio inpediret." (Tocco, in *Vita*, *Cap. III.*, p. 660.)

smiled at their blunders, whilst they were thinking to dazzle him by their talent and acuteness.

The four great pillars of the monastic school of quiet: love, reverence, purity, adoration, that is, the principles of contemplation—as pointed out in the writings of S. Anselm, S. Bernard, Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's—had so firm a foundation in the heart and mind of S. Thomas, that even had he tried, he could not have forced himself into sympathy with the flippant, thoughtless, emptiness of his companions. His life had been fixed in another set of principles. He was like the lighthouse in a noisy, washing sea—calm and steady—and, in the midst of the whirling and seething, the rising and breaking, the lashing and sinking of the objectless waters—ever biding in one place, ever consistently fulfilling one appointed mission, ever throwing the light that was in him upon the instability of all around. It takes some little time for a character like his to make itself felt with all its weight, amongst a school of unreflecting students. But constant, silent pressure, the pursuance of one unbending course, at length produces its effect.*

In fact there is little doubt that, from time to time, the young Aquino amused himself quietly at his companions' expense, or, at all events, took them somewhat by surprise. Once, when studying in his cell, he heard a voice crying to him from outside the window: "Brother Thomas, Brother Thomas, here! quick, quick—look at this flying ox!" With all simplicity, Thomas went to the window, and no sooner made his appearance, than he was saluted with shouts of derision. Those who had played the trick upon him, asked how he could be so simple as to imagine that an ox could fly? He answered in his own gentle, yet incisive way, "I did not believe that an ox could fly, nor did I, till now, believe that a religious could tell a falsehood."† Some of his companions who did not despise him, felt compassion for him. One of these offered to assist him in his lesson. Thomas accepted the offer with gratitude. He allowed his companion to proceed, and

* It is interesting to trace, all through the course of S. Thomas, from his boyhood till his death, the extraordinary influence exerted by his gentleness. This is one of the (seemingly) less masculine virtues, as the world would say; though, in reality, sweetness, gentleness, and repose are tokens of strength. Who so sweet, so gentle; who carried in his presence so much repose to the weary, as Christ? Yet, who so mighty? Mental, not animal vigour; mind, not muscle; forms the basis of the genius of command. What is known of those noisy boys who called S. Thomas a fat ox? Not even one of their names is remembered. The silent subject of the joke will live as long as theology is taught, and books are read.

† "Ein einzelner Zug aus dieser Epoche seines Lebens charakterisirt ihn und seine Umgebung hinlänglich. Als er einst schweigsam zurückgezogen in seiner Zelle beschäftigt war, rief ihn aus dem anstossenden Garten die Stimme eines Gefährten: Bruder Thomas, komm eilends, es ist ein fliegender Ochs zu sehen! Der Gerufene, dessen Phantasie in eine höhere Wunderwelt versetzt war, glaubte wahrscheinlich, dass ein seltener Wundervogel, ein Greif oder Phönix in den Lüften schwebte, und eilte wirklich in den Garten, zur grossen Belustigung der Genossen. Da man ihn nun über seine leichtgläubige Einfalt neckte, entgegnete er in seiner ruhigen gemessenen Weise: Ich habe nie geglaubt, dass ein Ochs fliegen könne; noch weniger aber glaubte ich bis jetzt, dass ein Religiöser lügen könne." (Werner's *S. Thomas*, Vol. I., p. 96.)

attentively listened to his explanation. At length, the young professor came to a difficult passage, which was beyond his depth, and which he was unable to explain. Thomas quietly took the book from him, and, to the amazement of his companion, explained the entire passage with greater lucidity and precision than could have been done by an experienced professor.* All his companion could do was to mix confusion with astonishment, and implore the young Aquino to become his instructor for the future. Thomas quietly declined; but, being pressed, he consented, on the strict understanding that all that had happened was to be kept a profound secret.

At length a circumstance occurred which brought his extraordinary gifts before the notice of the school. Master Albert had selected a very difficult question from the writings of Denis the Areopagite, and had given it to some of his scholars for solution. Whether in joke or in earnest, they passed on the difficulty to Thomas, and begged him to write his opinion upon it. Thomas took the paper to his cell, and taking his pen, first stated, with great lucidity, all the objections that could be brought against the question; and then gave their solutions. As he was going out of his cell, this paper accidentally fell near the door. One of the brothers passing, picked it up, and carried it at once to Master Albert. Albert was excessively astonished at the splendid talent, which now, for the first time, by mere accident, he discovered in that big, silent student.† He determined to bring out, in the most public manner, abilities which had been for so long a time so modestly concealed. He desired Thomas to defend a thesis before the assembled school, on the following day. The hour arrived. The hall was filled. There sat Master Albert. Doubtless the majority of those who were to witness this display, imagined that they were about to assist at an egregious failure. How could that heavy, silent lad—who could not speak a word in private—defend in public school, against the keenest of opponents, the difficult

* Some say that Thomas had, amongst others, as companions, Ambrose of Sienna, Thomas of Cantimpré, S. James of Beavagna, B. Augustine, and B. Thomas Joyce, who joined the Order, with five of his brothers, and was afterwards made Cardinal, under the title of S. Sabina.

“Cumque sic taciturnus proficeret, ejus profectum opinio humana nesciret, cœpit Magister Albertus librum de Divinis nominibus B. Dionysii legere, et predictus juvenis lectionem attentius audire. Cui cum quidam studens, ignorans quanta virtus intelligentiæ in ipso lateret, ex compassione ad repetendam ei lectionem se voluisset conjungere; ipse ut humillimus grates referens, acceptavit; qui studens cum cœpisset repetere, et tamen dedecere; predictus Thomas quasi jam a Deo accepta licentia lectionem distincte repetit, et multa, quæ Magister non dixerat, repetendo supplevit: de quo studens admirans, rogavit, ut deinceps Fr. Thomas lectiones repeteret, et sibi in hoc pro gratia munitæ vicissitudinis responderet. Quo cum humiliter promississet, rogavit ne aliis revelaret, ut ipse adhuc absconditus in sua simplicitate maneret.” (Tocco, *Loc. Cit.* p. 661.)

† “Contigit etiam illis diebus dictum Magistrum disputare difficilem questionem, quam cum Frater Thomas recollectam scripsisset in schedula, et quidam studens casu ipsam ante ejus cellam inventam cum gaudio Magistro ostendisset, legens ipsam Magister, et furtim studiosi admirans discipuli, advertit in ipso tam diuturnum silentium, cum tanta simplicitate et puritate conversationis et vitæ, alicujus magnæ et occultæ gratiæ non carere privilegio.” (Tocco, *Cap. III.*, p. 661.)

nicities of theology? But they were soon undeceived. For Thomas spoke with such clearness, established his thesis with such remarkable dialectical skill, saw so far into the coming difficulties of the case, and handled the whole subject in so masterly a manner, that Albert himself was constrained to cry aloud, "*Tu non videris tenere locum respondentis sed determinantis!*"* "Master," replied Thomas with humility, "I know not how to treat the question otherwise." Albert then thought to puzzle him, and show him that he was still a disciple. So, one after another, he started objections, created a hundred labyrinths, weaving and interweaving all manner of subtle arguments—but in vain. Thomas, with his calm spirit, and keen vision, saw through every complication, had the key to every fallacy, the solution for every enigma, and the art to unravel the most tangled skein—till, finally, Albert, no longer able to withhold the expression of his admiration, cried out to his disciples, who were almost stupified with astonishment: "We call this young man a dumb ox, but so loud will be his bellowing in doctrine that it will resound throughout the whole world."†

He who takes the pains to dip into Denis the Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, will see, at a glance, what sort of a test Albertus must have applied to young Aquino. The easy passages in that work are hard enough—what then must it not have been with the more involved? The explanation of this work was

* "Unde mandavit Magistro studentium, ut questionem satis difficilem ei committeret, de qua in crastino responderet: quam cum ex humilitate uollet recipere, ex necessitate obedientie paruit. Unde ad consuetum locum orationis se conferens, et ad primum actum inchoandum scholasticum Deo humiliter se commendans, ad respondendum de questione, prout divino adjutus auxilio potuit, in scholis in crastino se paravit. Unde cum repetitis argumentis Magistri premississet quendam distinctionem, et ad argumenta sufficientissime responderet, predictus Magister ei dixit: Frater Thomas, tu non videris tenere locum respondentis, sed determinantis." (Tocco, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 661.)

This was said, some writers affirm, because S. Thomas was lying down certain principles which were to act as solvents to the coming objections: Sigwart thus explains it:—"Wir sehen hier, Thomas war auf einer der Bänke und musste mit dem von Albert aufgestellten Opponenten am Unterstuhl disputieren. Er gab nun so bestimmte, zweifellose Entscheidungen, dass Albert sagte: Das Entscheiden gehört dem Magister zu, du sprichst schon wie ein Magister. Der Magister (hier Albert) hatte nämlich bei Disputationen die Entscheidung zu geben. Und nun scheint Albert selbst die Disputation fortgeführt zu haben." (See *Albertus Magnus*, *Kap. VI.*, not, p. 40.)

† "Magister dixit: Modo respondeas ad questionem per tuam distinctionem: et fecit ei quatuor argumenta tam difficilia quod omnino se eum crederet conclusisse. Ad que cum Frater Thomas sufficientissime respondisset, fertur Magistrum Albertum dixisse per spiritum prophetie: Nos vocamus istum bovem mutum; sed ipse adhuc talem dabit in doctrina mugitum, quod in toto mundo sonabit. Quod dictum propheticum est veraciter adimpletum; nam in toto mundo, dum inter fideles ejus doctrina diffunditur, Ecclesia ejus vocibus edocetur." (Tocco, *Cap. III.*, p. 661.)

Speaking of the proficiency and gifts of S. Thomas at this period, Frigerio says: "Tomaso dunque sotto la scorta di sì raro dottore con tal sollecitudine ed ingegno diessi ad imparare la sacra teologia, ch'in breve trapassò i più dotti maestri, ch'in quelle Università fiorissero. Nobilissimo era il suo ingegno, teucissima la memoria, e ardentissima la brama del sapere." (*Lib. I.*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 4, p. 24.)

How far above human applause S. Thomas was, even as a youth, is clear from Tocco: "Juvénis autem, qui cor suum in humilitatis fundaverat pavimento, ex tanti Magistri testimonio, et ex tam honorabili actu scholastico non erexit in superbiæ animum, nec mutavit solite simplicitatis exemplum; eundem modum vivendi servans in posterum, quem tenebat inchoatum, quamvis predictus Magister omnes difficiles actus scholasticos ipsi committeret, quem sufficientiorem aliis inveniret." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. III.*, p. 661.)

"Se tenant toujours sous les yeux de Dieu, and dans la considération de son péant, Thomas s'occupoit si peu de ses qualités, ou de ce que les hommes pensoient de lui, qu'il étoit également insensible aux plus flatteuses loüanges, et aux mépris les plus humilians. Sans crainte de tenter son humilité, ou le préféreroit à tous ses Condisciples, quoiqu'il y en eût plusieurs, qui dans les occasions avoient donné des preuves de leur esprit, and de leur sçavoir." (Touron, *Lib. I.*, *Chap. XX.*, p. 73.)

thought so difficult by the scholastics, that there is a legend extant to the effect that Albert, when expounding it, received assistance immediately from heaven.* Throughout the middle ages it was supposed to have been the composition of a convert of S. Paul's; and such being the case, it was handled with great reverence, deeply studied, and much written upon. Men thought by commenting upon it, to elicit out of its Neoplatonism, the hidden mysteries of the Christian faith. The work may with safety be put down to the latter part of the fifth century?† It is full of fundamental thought, and has a mystic savour which gained it many admirers and commentators in the middle ages; but its explanations are sometimes arbitrary, its thoughts occasionally unworthy, and it contains passages which border very closely upon error.‡

It is remarkable that the first question in which S. Thomas appears in the capacity of disputant should have been so intimately connected with the cry of his young heart—*quid est Deus*?§ It was in the "*Divinis Nominibus*" that a profound and mystic attempt was made to give a solution to that question, and the fact of its having engrossed the thoughts of the Saint from his earliest years, no doubt assisted him in solving the difficulties presented to him by his master. Minds that principally live in external facts and relations, are little conscious of that world of wealth which lives in the contemplative spirit, nor of the vivid light that illuminates so many problems, which could not otherwise be unravelled except by the patient labour of love and thought.

* Sighart's *Albertus Magnus*, Cap. IX., p. 64.

† "But the theory which has on the whole found most favour, is that which refers them (the works of S. Denis) to the latter end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth century. Such is the opinion of Montet, and of Gieseler; and it is accepted by Mr. Westcott, who concludes his enquiries into the subject of date by saying that 'the error cannot be great, if it be conjectured that they were composed A. D. 480-520, either at Edessa, or under the influence of the Edessene school.' Mr. Westcott agrees with Baratier in thinking that there is no ground for considering the writings to be a forgery, though he does not go so far as to acquit them of being pseudonymous. In any case, the real name of the author will probably still remain unknown. Time has in one respect dealt with these remarkable monuments of the Alexandrian mind (if such indeed they be), as it dealt with the Pharos, which was Alexandria's material monument. In the one case, as in the other, it has shewn the name outwardly inscribed on the work to be unenduring; but it has not yet, in the one case as in the other, revealed the name of the true artificer chiselled underneath." (See Lupton's *Introduction to Colet's Dionysius*, p. XXXVII.)

‡ Baumgarten-Crusins' opinion, that Denis lived in the third century, has been completely refuted. See Engelhardt, *Die angeblichen Schriften des Areopagiten Dionysius*, Sultzach, 1823, Bd. II., p. 329, sq.; Baur, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes*, Bd. II., p. 205; Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. VI., p. 533, sq. Compare *Die Gotteslehre des Thomas von Aquino*, von Dr. Johannes Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1870, Einleitung, p. 6.

§ Etigena says of it:—"Opus valde, ut opinamur, anfractuosum, longeque a modernis sensibus remotum, multum inivum, paucis apertum, non solum propter antiquitatem, verum etiam celestium altitudinem mysteriorum." See his preface to his translation of the works of Denis, beginning thus:—"Gloriosissimi Catholicorum regum Carolo Joannes extremus sophie studentium salutem." (Vid. Migne, *Patrol. Tom. CXXII.*, p. 1031, 1032.) Etigena must have known pretty well what it was, for he wrote a translation or paraphrase of it.

‡ "Et bene congruit Providentie Divinae consilio, ut a lectione libri de Divinis nominibus predictus Prater Thomas acciperet a Deo loquendi et se manifestandi licentiam, cui concessus erat sui nominis manifestare doctrinam; et ut Dei nominibus Divinae notitie lectionem acciperet, quam usque in finem vite legendo perficeret, quam scribendo etiam moriens non taceret." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. III., p. 661.)

Like his father, S. Dominic, young Aquino loved to study the Collations of the experienced Cassian.* When studying, he kept this one volume by his side; and he found that such spiritual reading was of assistance in purifying his heart and mind to see more clearly into the depths of theological, and Scriptural science. He combined, in fact, the fulness of the monastic temper with a soaring power of speculation. At this very period, besides explaining the mysticism of the Areopagite, he is said to have commenced a work founded upon Albert's lectures in the schools, namely, an explanation of Aristotle's Ethics.†

But this same year, a change was made by the Twenty-third General Chapter of the Dominicans, held at Cologne. (1245.) Here it was determined that Albert should leave Cologne and go to Paris. His superiors decided that he should occupy the professor's chair in that capital, and take his doctor's cap; and Thomas was to finish his three years under him at S. James's.‡

The reputation of many famous men was still fresh in the memory of scholars, when young Aquino came to Paris. William of Shyreswood, whom John of Salisbury declares to have been greater than Abertus Magnus; William of Paris, who had fully mastered the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, and in his great work, "*De Universo*," had dealt a mortal blow to the Arabian philosophers; Robert of Lincoln, the learned mystic expounder of the Stagyrice, the deadly enemy of the Holy See; Vincent of Beauvais, who had no doubt spent years in the great library of King Louis, with its one thousand two hundred precious volumes, and who wrote an Encyclopædia of Universal Knowledge; § and Alexander of Hales, the great Franciscan light, who manifested

* "Sed quia frequenter contigit quod, dum intellectus superius subtilia speculatur, affectus inferius a devotione remittitur, prædictus Doctor ad excitandum devotionem die quolibet legere unam lectionem sibi de Patrum Collationibus solitus erat. Interrogatus autem cur lectioni huic intentus, interdum speculari dimitteret; respondit; Ego in hac lectione devotionem colligo, ex qua facilius in speculationem consurgo, ut sic affectus habeat, unde se in devotionem diffundat, ut intellectus ex hujus merito ad altiora ascendat. In hoc sui Patris Dominici imitatus exemplum, qui in dicto libro legens frequentius, magnum perfectionis apicem apprehendit." (Tocco, *Cap. IV.* p. 665.)

Cassian was probably born in Gaul about the year 350. He was dedicated to God in a monastery at Bethlehem. In the year 390 he visited, with his friend Germaans, the convents of Egypt, for the sake of instructing himself in monastic life. The result of his experiences he wrote down in his *Collationes Patrum*. This book became a standard monastic work. In the year 414, Cassian founded two monasteries at Marseilles, which became mother-houses of many more in France and Spain. He died in the year 432, with the reputation of a saint.

† "Post hæc autem prædictus magister Albertus cum librum Ethicorum cum questionibus legeret, frater Thomas magistri lecturam studiose collegit et redegit in scriptis opus, stylo disertum, subtilitate profundum, sicut a fonte tanti doctoris haurire potuit, qui in scientia omnem hominem in sui temporis ætate præcessit." (Tocco, p. 661; also, *Philosoph. de S. Thomas*. Jourdain, p. 92.)

‡ "Thomas de Catimpré a conversé avec notre Saint à Cologne; il a étudié comme lui sous Albert le Grand, il les a vus partir tous deux pour Paris; l'un pour y enseigner la Théologie (comme il a été dit) l'autre pour y continuer ses études sous le même Maître. C'est Catimpré lui-même, qui nous l'apprend dans un de ses ouvrages qui n'est point inconnu aux gens de Lettres. *Coloniæ Agrippinæ venit (F. Thomas) studitque in illo loco, quousque præclarus Lector fratrum, Albertus Parisius translatus est.*" (Touron, *Cap. XXII.*, p. 87.)

§ S. Louis had the greater part of the extracts Vincent wanted for his work copied at his own expense. Vincent was Lector of the King, and tutor of his child. The number of authors he mentions, gives some idea of the richness of Louis's Library, though it is possible Vincent may have consulted books elsewhere.

"Frater Vincentius Bellovacensis scripsit quatuor magna specula . . . beato Ludovico Francorum rege et libris ministrante." (Martène, *Vet. Script.*, Tom. VI., p. 363.)

such keenness and breadth of reading in his Commentary on the Lombard, and whose stoutness in debate earned him the title of "Irrefragable Doctor," and who had just died when Thomas came to Paris—all these had been students and teachers in the University. Paris must have been pregnant with the odour of an hundred lofty names; and those halls and colleges, those monasteries and hostels—in which so many had gained a brilliant reputation, and then had become popes, statesmen, bishops, theologians, poets, philosophers—must, in the mind of the student, have been clothed with a species of mystic awe, from the oppressiveness which so many memories must have brought over the imagination.* The homes of genius, and the haunts of learning, where men of great brain have worked out the salvation of their fellows, by the breadth of their attainments, and the vigour of their minds, affect the spirit with a species of fascination; and, whilst overpowering it by their greatness, seem, at the same time, to kindle within it a kindred inspiration.†

When a short sketch has been given of the authors and text-books used by students during the thirteenth century, and the condition of the University of Paris has been touched upon, then the way will be clear for entering fully into the great work of S. Thomas; so that, whilst the reader bears in mind the struggles, and theological and philosophical positions which preceded him, he will be able, not only to appreciate what the Saint actually did, but, what is of great importance, the relation in which he stands to the intellectual world that went before, and the influence he exerted over the teaching of the future.

* "Tout ce qui était appelé à exercer une haute influence dans le monde, hommes, doctrines, institutions, semblait devoir se rendre à Paris pour y recevoir la consécration de son avenir. Un nombre de plus en plus considérable d'hommes éminents venaient dans cette capitale pour se préparer à accomplir dignement leur noble destination: c'étaient des princes appelés à régner, qui ne croyaient pas pouvoir, sans cette préparation, recueillir, ni dans les camps ni à la cour, les fruits de la guerre ou de la paix; des papes qui furent la gloire du siège de Saint Pierre par leur sagesse, leurs lumières et leur courage; des cardinaux qui secondèrent ces pontifes par leur habileté et leur expérience consommée des affaires; des patriarches dans lesquels l'Orient put reconnaître la gravité et l'austérité de l'Eglise plus indépendante de l'Occident; des évêques qui exercèrent leurs fonctions avec le sentiment de ce qu'elles ont de grand et de sacré; de pieux abbés placés à la tête des couvents les plus célèbres: en sorte que Paris était reconnu pour l'école fertile du sein de laquelle sortaient les flambeaux de l'Eglise, qui éclairaient la chrétienté." (Bareille, *Cap. XII.*, p. 115. Cf. Tonroun, *Cap. XXII.*, p. 86.)

† "A partir du milieu du douzième siècle, il y avait eu là [à Paris] une affluence de jeunes gens de tous les pays chrétiens, plus grande qu'en tout autre lieu et à toute autre époque; et cette affluence n'avait fait qu'augmenter, comme nous l'avons dit, sous la sage administration de Louis IX, et par suite de la protection généreuse qu'il accordait à la science et aux savants. Les fondations des rois ses prédécesseurs, celles d'autres princes et seigneurs chrétiens, pourvoyaient à l'entretien des étudiants pauvres. Les franchises et les privilèges contribuaient également au développement de cette grande école; et les sages règlements établis par les supérieurs en prévenaient les abus. L'union intérieure était maintenue par des associations religieuses établies parmi les élèves; là se contractèrent des amitiés qui eurent pour résultat de consolider l'unité de la grande société chrétienne, dont l'esprit vivifiait l'Europe; là devaient se rencontrer Thomas d'Aquin et Bonaventure, dont les génies renouvellèrent le sublime embrassement des deux saints patriarches Dominique et François." (Bareille, *Cap. XII.*, p. 114.)

CHAPTER XV.

INSTRUMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE.

BEFORE proceeding to show the work that S. Thomas did, it will be well to give a short account of the instruments that he had to do it with.

The one absorbing science of the middle ages was theology.* The whole form of learning pointed to the study of religion as the great terminus of the human mind, and the one right road from earth to heaven. The liberal arts were but a careful and laborious preparation for philosophy or logic; logic, in turn, was only valuable inasmuch as it was an instrument for the ordering, defending, and proving the great truths of revelation. The great object of life was to know God. James de Vitry beautifully says, "*Omnis scientia debet referri ad cognitionem Christi*"—all science should be referred to the knowledge of Christ. Again, more clearly still: "*Debet scholaris ire per viam ad puteum (ut Isaac), id est per scientias adminiculantes ad theologiam.*" The scholar should go along the road to the well (like Isaac), that is, through the assisting sciences to theology. "Logic is good," he says, "which teaches us how to separate truth from falsehood; grammar is good, which teaches us to write and speak correctly; rhetoric is good, which teaches us to speak with elegance, and to persuade; geometry is good, which teaches us to measure the earth on which we dwell; so is arithmetic, or the art of reckoning, by means of which we can convince ourselves of the small number of our days; and music, which teaches us harmonies, and makes us think of the sweet song of the 'Blessed;' and, finally, astronomy, which makes us consider the heavenly bodies, and the virtue of the stars, darting forth splendour before God. But much better is theology, which alone can truly be called a *liberal* art, because it frees the human soul from its miseries."† Arnoul d'Humblières, Bishop

* The Church, from the beginning of the revival of letters, set her face against Regulars learning secular law or physics, which in reality kept them pretty close to ecclesiastical pursuits. Open Hefele, and see the decrees of the Tenth Gen. Synod, 1130; Synod of Clermont, 1130; and the Synod of Montpellier, 1162; which threatened those Regulars with anathema who took to studying law or physics. Both the Synod of Tours, 1163, and Montpellier, 1195, forbade regulars to leave the monastery to learn either of these branches.

† Again: "*Filios nostros liberalibus artibus erudimus, non quia virtutem dare possunt, sed quia animum ad virtutem recipiendam preparant.*" (De La Marche, p. 423.)

of Paris, thus speaks in his *Summa*:—"Is it permissible to associate philosophy and pagan letters with the study of Divine sciences? Yes, when this accessory erudition is only employed for the better interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, for the fuller understanding of prophecy, for comprehending, and strengthening faith, and as a help towards creating detestation for false doctrines, and towards more solidly refuting them. But if, on the contrary, one takes pleasure in the fables of the poets—in the worldly ornamentation of their style, such philosophy becomes an impious and corrupting science."*

It may be laid down, roughly, that the Holy Scriptures, the Lombard, and Aristotle, were the three great bases on which the active intellect of the thirteenth century rested, in its development and analysis of truth. The subject-matter of its efforts was revelation—and philosophy also, but only in so far as it had a bearing on religious truth; and the form became more and more perfectly Aristotelian, as the learned gained a more perfect acquaintance with the whole mind of the Stagyrte, and with the immense usefulness of his system for ordering, and systematizing the multitudinous teachings of the Church.† Not, of course, that the Doctors of the Church of the middle ages, became enslaved to the Stagyrte; they had a brighter and stronger light than his, shining over their heads, and, by its guidance, were able to do what neither Jew nor Arab had yet succeeded in, viz., to handle so sharp and dangerous an instrument, without cutting the fair form of religion with it, and to turn it with edge and point in the right direction. It will not, therefore, be altogether out of place to give a short account of the opportunities the student had of learning both the sense of Holy Scripture; the theology of the Church; and the method of dealing with revelation, through the influence of the Stagyrte. To begin with exegesis.

The Church of God is principally founded in Holy Scripture.‡

* *Hist. Litt.*, XX., 14.

† "The schoolmen of the twelfth century had only the Organon of Aristotle in Boethius' Latin translation, and their philosophical treatment of dogmatic theology was purely logical. On the other hand, all the works of Aristotle were translated into Arabic. The study of his philosophy flourished especially after the time of Avicenna (Ibn Sina, 1036), as well in the Moorish schools in Spain, as in general under the Arabian sway. It received a fresh impulse in the beginning of the thirteenth century, from the new translation and commentary, with which Averroës (Ibn Roschd, about 1217) illustrated the works of Aristotle. Ever since the middle of the twelfth century, pilgrimages to those seats of learning, from Western Christendom, grew continually more common. It was natural that, here also, the attention and desires of men should turn to the remaining portion of Aristotelic philosophy. Soon they began to translate into Latin the works of the Arabian Aristotelians; these they considered to be faithful representations of the Aristotelic philosophy, although in parts, for instance, the writings of Algazel (1127), they were strongly infused with Neoplatonic ideas. The high estimation in which Aristotle was already held as a logician, won for this natural philosophy, supposed to be Aristotelian, an easy entrance into Western Christendom." (Hull's Gieseler, *Chap. IV.*, § 74, p. 295, 296.)

‡ "Vor Allem musste gründliche Kenntniss der heiligen Schrift erworben werden. Daher wurden die Bücher derselben der Reihe nach von den Professoren erklärt in der bekannten allegorischen Weise, die zur Erbauung des Volkes so geeignet ist, indem sie fast allen Fakten und Worten der Schrift einen auffallenden tiefern, geistigen Sinn abzugewinnen weiss. So lange

Hence, it follows that, at all times, theologians have given themselves with earnestness to the study of the Word of God. Now, there are several sources to which the student might apply whilst prosecuting such a study. He would first procure the Commentaries of the Fathers—though they were difficult to obtain, except piece-meal—and then he might consult Venerable Bede, Alcuin's Revision, Rabanus Maurus and Remigius of Auxerre. The student, as a matter of course, would carefully peruse the "*Glossa Ordinaria*," of Strabo,* and, if he lived at a somewhat later period, would manage to procure the "*Glossa Interlinearis*," of Anselm of Laon. If he were anxious to study the more literal meaning of the Sacred page, he could borrow Hugo of Amiens' work on the Hexameron, and choose between the Gospel harmonies of Zachary of Besançon, and Odo of Cambrai. For mysticism, he would be at no loss; there would be, at once, S. Bernard the mellifluous, and the beautiful writings of the monastic theologians of S. Victor's.† But, if he were of a more strictly scientific turn, he would be recommended to study carefully, as the best treatment of the original Bible Text, the writings of Remigius of Auxerre, and Rupert of Deutz; or, better still, perhaps—if he could procure a copy, would be the criticism of Abbott Stephen of Cîteaux on the Text, who had not only taken the trouble to compare the generally received version of the Vulgate with more accurate readings; but had also collated it with the original Hebrew and Chaldaic, which he had somehow succeeded in getting from the Jews. And, in point of fact, the student could not do better, if he were anxious to know something of the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament, than consult such men as Ben Esra, David Kimchi, and Moses Maimonides.‡ Justin's Dialogue with Trypho shows, clearly

die Studierenden diese Vorträge hörten, hiessen sie *biblici*, die Bibelstudenten, und waren ausschliesslich auf dieses Feld angewiesen. Denn alle Vielheit und alles Vielerlei zu gleicher Zeit war dem Studiengang des Mittelalters fremd. Man studierte einige Jahre die heilige Schrift und nur die heilige Schrift und zwar mit ungetheiltem Eifer und glänzendem Erfolge." (Sig-hart's *Albertus Magnus*, Kap. IV., p. 24.)

* This is principally, however, an abridgement of Rabanus' *Catena*.

† Hugh of S. Victor's, Hugh of Ostia (1158), and Hugh of S. Caro (1263), wrote papers on S. Luke, which had a very wide circulation; something like the popularity of the commentaries upon Job of S. Thomas, Peter of Blois, and Peter of Chartres. Two of the books most spread in the middle ages were the *Liber de Doctrina Cordis* of Gerard of Liège, a Dominican (1270), and Peter Comestor's work, *Scholastica Historia super Novum Testamentum*, of which, in the library of S. Victor's alone, twenty-two MSS. were preserved. He was Professor of Philosophy, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and died, 1198. Nicholas of Lyre wrote a gloss on the whole Bible. S. Raymund wrote a Sum of Penance and Matrimony, and a Sum of Cases of Conscience, which had little popularity.

‡ "Die jüdischen Ausleger des A. T. gewährten den christlichen Theologen nicht bloss in sprachlicher, sondern auch in sachlicher Hinsicht mancherlei Ansbente als Bewahrer von Traditionen über den tieferen, schon vor Christus in den jüdischen Schulen recipirten Schriftsinn. Eine solche, Juden und Christen gemeinsame Anerkennung eines traditionellen Schriftsinnes leuchtet schon aus Justin's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* hervor; Justin setzt augenscheinlich voraus, dass die Benennungen: *rex, sacerdos, dominus, angelus,dux exercitus, sapientia, filius, deus, verbum, dies, oriens, gladius, lapis, virga* u. s. w. von den jüdischen Rabbinen anerkannte *cognomina* des Messias seien. Auffallend ist die Uebereinstimmung vieler Erklärungen, welche Maimonides in seinem More Nebuchim gibt, mit den Auslegungen eines Alanus von Ryssel, eines Petrus Cantor und Peter von Capua. Vgl. *Pitra, Spicileg. Solesmense*, tom. III., pag. LXXXVI. In der nächstfolgenden Anmerkung wird gesagt werden, woher die genannten Männer ihre Auslegungen schöpften; woraus sich der von Pitra a. a. O., pag. XI., gezogene Schluss nahe legen wird: *aut in Maimonidis manus devenisse quedam nostrorum commentariorum collectanea, aut ad ejus usque acta-*

enough, how much there is in common on this point between the Christians and the Jews. Then, finally, he might dip into the "*Clavis*" of Melito, which inaugurated a special tradition of exegesis, and can clearly be traced from the fifteenth century upwards, through the late and earlier scholastics to the days, inclusively, of the great Fathers of the Church. This, together with the ponderous work written by Hugh of S. Caro, assisted by five hundred friars, the "*Correctorium Biblicæ Sorbonnicum*," with its concordance, would go a good way towards giving the student a fair knowledge of that science which was called by Rabanus Maurus the four daughters of wisdom, and by Hildebert of Mans, the four feet of the Table of the Lord.*

There is extant a very interesting little volume, written at this period, by an unknown hand, and dedicated to a monk called Hugh.† The author, in the first place, gives a complete list of the Canonical and Apocryphal books of Scripture. Scripture, he says, must be read in a three-fold manner—*secundum historiam, allegoriam, et moralem instructionem, seu magis dicendum, tropologiam*. Then the whole Bible must be gone through three or four times in its historical sense, and those portions of it be marked, which are not capable of literal interpretation. What would be false, unbecoming, unmeaning, and opposed to true morality, if interpreted literally, must be mystically understood. At first, the student ought to confine himself to the Books of Moses, and the Historical Books of the Old Testament, and study them with Josephus or Hegesippus open before him. If he cannot make out a word, let him look at Isidore's work on Etymologies, Jerome's Explanation of Hebrew names, the "*Liber Deriva-*

tem in scholis hebraicis ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΑΤΑ allegoricae interpretationis a nostris non absimilia viguisse. Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass Maimonides für seine biblischen Erklärungen sich weder auf Philo, noch auf Plato oder sonst irgend eine philosophische Auctorität beruft, sondern einzig auf die traditionelle jüdische Auslegung, auf den Talmud und die angesehensten Rabbinen, Onkelos, Jouthan, Eliezer, Akiba, Johanan, Chanina, Tarphon, Aben-Adi, Aben-Bachar, Aben-Zaig, Aben-Affach, Abnbachar n. s. w." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, p. 35.)

* Hugh "fuit primus postillator totius Biblicæ, et eam tam excellenter postillavit, quod hucusque parem non habuit." (Martène, *Vet. Scr.*: T. VI., p. 355.) Nicholas of Lyre, who, however, was nearly a century later, as his epitaph says, where he lies at Paris, amongst the Franciscans, "Postillavit Bibliam ad litteram a principio usque ad finem."

† Here are a few of the names of books, in a catalogue made of Notre Dame Library, in 1297:—*Scripture and Commentaries*.—Biblia sine glosa, completa; Biblia postillata, in duobus voluminibus; Genesis et Exodus, glosati, in uno volumine: Exodus, glosatus; Liber Ysale, cum parvis glosis; Epistolæ Pauli, cum minori glosa. *Commentators*.—Ysidorus, super Vetus Testamentum; Liber Augustini super Genesem, ad litteram; Postille Hugonis super Lucam; Augustinus, de Oratione Dominica; Ricardus, super Apocalypsim sex libri. *Liturgy*.—Pastoralis Gregorij; Gregorij Pastoralis. *Theologians*.—Augustinus, de Doctrina christiana, cum viginti tribus libris originalibus ejusdem; Ricardus de Trinitate; Quidam libri Boetij, scilicet de Trinitate, et Unitate et Uno; Hugo de Sacramentis, Summa Raymundi, cum glosis; Liber Jeronimi contra Jovinianum, &c. *Sermons*.—Omelie Gregorij super Prophetas et Evangelia; Sermo Johannis Crisostomi; Sermones Petri Abelardi que incipiunt: "Ascendat puteus;" Sermones. *Philosophy*.—Flores philosophorum, excerpti de libro Macrobij Saturnaliorum; Liber Anselmi de Veritate, cum quindocim alijs libris ejusdem; Ysidorus, de Differentiis, de Spiritu et Anima; Tractatus Hugonis de Fructibus corporis et animæ, cum quibusdam alijs Hugonis et Richardi; Seneca, de Institutione morum; Boetius, de Disciplina scholarium; Originale Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi, in quodam libro cooperto corio vitulino, jam quasi depilato, cum clavis rotunda de cupro; Liber Scintillarum Bede; Liber Avicbron Fontis Vitæ, cum quibusdam alijs; Ricardus, de Potestate judiciaria. *History*.—Flores et Dictis sanctorum; Gregorij dialogus; Historia scolastica. (See Franklin, p. 13-18.)

tionum," or the "*Partionarius vel Glossarius*." The principal facts should be committed to memory; for instance, the details of the Creation, the history of the building of the Ark, the names and number of the Patriarchs, the plagues of Egypt, and such like. Next, S. Augustine's work, "*De Questionibus*," can be read with great profit.* After this, the student may begin to read the prophetic books of the Old Testament; paying attention to the fulfilled, and to the unfulfilled, prophecy. Then, the rest of the Bible may be read. S. Jerome's work on the localities of Palestine, is to accompany the reading of the Gospels. When the Bible has been mastered, the student is to study the Sacraments of the Church. These he will find fully treated by Hugh of S. Victor's. Then, he is to study the principal virtues, and the opposing vices. If he wants a history of the Church, there is the "*Candela Gerlandi*;" or, if he likes, the "*Quare*," of Simon the Theologian. Next to this, the works of S. Augustine, the "*Doctrina Christiana*," and the "*De Civitate Dei*" are to be mastered. After this preparation, the student is in a position to take up any book of Holy Scripture, and study profitably its allegorical, and moral meaning.†

With respect to theological authorities, the great basis of all teaching and learning, at this period, was the "Book of the Sentences."‡ To master this work, the student would have to apply himself to the Scriptures, and the Fathers. It was especially necessary for him to know something of the latter, since the greater part of the Sentences were composed of extracts from their writings—so that some knowledge of them became an integral portion of the education of an ecclesiastic. He could study them in two ways: either by procuring copies of their writings—a dif-

* As to literary teaching in the thirteenth century, it was certainly very fragmentary: "Il n'y eut en cela rien de systématique . . . La jeunesse des universités mal pourvue de livres, d'ailleurs, il faut le dire, assez peu disciplinée, traversait sans profit les classes de grammaire. Elle y séjourrait le moins possible, entraînée qu'elle était par la vogue toujours croissante d'Aristote; et si, dès l'entrée de la carrière classique elle rencontrait, comme autrefois, Virgile, Horace et Cicéron, le retentissement des disputes de l'école venait bientôt la distraire de ces premiers travaux. La lutte et la victoire dans les champs de la dialectique, c'était, pour les étudiants d'alors, ce que fut il y a cinquante ans, pour les élèves de nos lycées, la gloire militaire de l'empire." (*Des Etudes Classiques*, par Ch. Daniel, Chap. VI., p. 138.)

† "Aus den Deutungen des verborgenen Schriftsinnes entwickelte sich die christliche Mystik, die objectiv im Geiste der Bibel, subjectiv im religiösen Sinne und Bedürfnisse des Menschen gründend, sich in eben so vielen Formen darstellte, als man Arten des tieferen Schriftsinnes unterscheidet. Der tropologischen Schriftauslegung entsprach die praktische Mystik, der allegorischen und anagogischen Schriftdeutung die theoretische und beschauliche Mystik, die im Anlehnen an bestimmte religiöse Vernunftanschauungen zur speculativen Mystik sich gestaltete. In ihrer reuesten Unmittelbarkeit trat diese in den Schriften des heiligen Bernhard hervor; einen mehr vermittelten Charakter nahm sie bereits in Hugo von St. Victor an; am Meisten durch psychologische Reflexion ausgebildet erscheint sie in Richard von St. Victor." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, p. 40.)

‡ Sighart says of the Sentences:—"Es war das System der kirchlichen Lehre, wie es von jenem grossen Lehrer zu Paris war in ein Werk zusammengefasst worden, mit den Erklärungen und Erweiterungen der folgenden Meister, welche den Stoff noch mehr zerlegten, für die einzelnen Dogmen neue Beweise suchten und alle auftauchenden Zweifel lösten. Der Professor brachte das Lehrbuch des Lombarden mit auf den Katheder; die Erklärungen und Erörterungen musste er aber ohne Hilfsmittel frei vortragen. Während dieser Beschäftigung, die wieder mehrere Jahre in Anspruch nahm, hiessen die Theologen *sententiarii*, Studenten der Sentenzen." (*Kop. IV.*, p. 74.)

fiicult thing for the generality of students; or by reading the works of Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorus, and Venerable Bede. The translation of the writings of the Greek Fathers into Latin was promoted through the commerce of the East and West, brought about by the Crusades; through the high influence of the Popes, who were always patrons of ecclesiastical learning; and through the enterprising energy of religious Orders. Yet some knowledge of the Greek Fathers seems, at a very early period, to have been possessed by Western scholars. Rufinus did most valuable service. Through his industry, Western Christendom obtained a more accurate and extended knowledge of the works of Origen, S. Gregory Nazianzen, and S. Basil; as also of the History of Eusebius, the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, and Flavius Josephus.* Then, Denis the Less translated some of the works of S. Gregory of Nyssa, of S. Cyril, and of Proclus. Cassiodorus compiled his "*Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*" from Socrates, Sozomén, and Theodoret; and translated several of the works of Josephus, Hippocrates, and Galen. Later on, Scotus Erigena did the works of Denis the Areopagite into Latin. Then, the Orders of S. Dominic, and S. Francis, had amongst them many linguists of extraordinary ability; and they took every advantage of their missionary opportunities in the East, for acquiring a more intimate knowledge of Oriental tongues. Robert of Lincoln translated the "*Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum*;" and, according to his friend Roger Bacon—who laments that more work, and more satisfactory work, had not been done in this way—he also translated many of the other Greek Fathers. The Popes caused the Acts of the Greek Councils to be rendered into Latin. And, lastly, Burgundio of Pisa, at the request of Pope Eugenius III., translated many of the Greek Fathers, and amongst the rest, the celebrated work of S. John Damascene, "*De Fide Orthodoxa*."†

* The Rules laid down to be observed, for instance, at S. Victor's, to secure the safe custody of books, are well worthy of attention:—"Armarius omnes libros ecclesie (id est domus vel abbatis, si maxis aut familie) in custodia sua habet, quos omnes nominibus propriis sigillatim annotatos habere debet, et per singulos annos, ad minus bis aut ter, eos exponere et recensere, et ne in eis aliquid vel tinea vel alia quolibet corruptela infectum vel exosum sit diligenter considerare. Ipsa autem armaria intrinsecus ligno vestita esse debent, ne humor parietum membranas rubiginemque aliqua sive humectatione aliqua inficiat; in quo etiam diversi ordines scorum ac seorsum distincti et convenienter coaptati esse debent, in quibus libri separatim ita collocari possunt ut distincti ab invicem, ne vel nimia compressio ipsis libris noceat, vel confusio aliquod specialiter in eis querenti moram afferat, vel impedimentum. Debet etiam Armarius inter hos libros qui ad quotidianum officium ecclesie necessari sunt, etiam de aliis aliquot, quos ad instructionem, vel ad edificationem fratrum magis commodos et necessarios esse perspexerit, in commune proponere; quales sunt Biblie sacre et majores Expositores et Passionarii, et Vitae Patrum et Homiliarii." (Vid. *Antiq. reg. abb. S. Victoris*, by John of Toulonse. *Tom. II.*, p. 180.)

† Montalembert, speaking of the great men of the thirteenth century, mentions: "Saint Raymond de Penafort, que Grégoire IX. choisit pour coordonner la législation de l'Eglise, auteur des *Decretales* et successeur de Saint Dominique; enfin ce Théobald Viscouti, qui devait présider aux destinées de l'Eglise, sous le nom de Grégoire X., sur la terre, avant d'avoir droit éternellement à ses prières, comme bienheureux dans le ciel. A côté de ces hommes dont l'Eglise a consacré la sainteté, une foule d'autres lui apportaient le tribut de leurs talents et de leurs études: Albert le Grand, ce colosse de savoir, propagateur d'Aristote et maître de Saint Thomas; Vincent de Beauvais, auteur de la grande Encyclopédie du moyen âge; le cardinal Hugues de Saint-Cher, qui fit la première concordance des Ecritures; le cardinal Henri de Suze, auteur de la *Somme dorée*." (*Histoire de S. Elisabeth, Introduction*, p. 72.)

Besides the writings of theologians, and the labours of compilers, there was a rich vein of tradition—of theological teaching, running through the Paris schools. What Bologna was, for law; what Salerno was, for medicine; that Paris was, for the study of divinity.*

With regard to the form of teaching in the schools, or the study of dialectics, scholars, up to the first half of the twelfth century, had only such traditions of the later Roman civilization, as could be gathered from the writings of S. Augustine, from the Pseudo-Augustine treatise on the "Categories," and the sketches of Aristotle's Logic by Cassiodorus, Capella, and Boethius. The student might have picked up some fragmentary knowledge from the writings of Cicero, Lucretius, and Apulejus. Some affirm that extracts from the physical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle were in use as early as the days of Venerable Bede; nay, even as far back as the time of Cassiodorus and Boethius. But it has been shewn by Prantl, that such could hardly have been the case. This is certain, that the student, at the time of Henry of Auxerre, who had been educated by Haymo at Fulda, would have had access to the "Categories" of the Stagyrte.† He would be able to use those strange compendia, thrown together from every source imaginable; and those crabbed commentaries, which were more difficult to understand than the original matter they pretended to elucidate. By degrees, works of Aristotle, which had been translated, but had never been used, were brought into the schools; a more perfect and clear knowledge of the method of the Stagyrte was acquired by the student, when, in the thirteenth century, a pretty full analysis of his principal works had been made by the scholastics. Something of this kind is to be found in John of Salisbury's "Metalogue;" which, though it omits none of the logical writings of Aristotle, leaves out all the rest. Still, there are many more names besides his which might be men-

* Take as an example the Convent of S. James's. Bareille says of it:—"Cette maison n'avait cessé depuis d'être une école de science et de sainteté; elle faisait toujours des conquêtes parmi ces innombrables étudiants qui, de tous les points de l'Europe, apportaient à Paris l'ardeur commune de leur jeunesse et le génie divers de leurs nations. On en avait vu sortir, dès la première époque, de savants écrivains, de zélés prédicateurs, des professeurs distingués, des princes de l'Eglise. Les chaires érigées au sein de cette maison attiraient un concours soutenu, grâce au mérite constant de ceux qui les avaient occupées: il suffit de nommer parmi ces professeurs deux des plus profonds encyclopédistes de ce grand siècle, Alain de Lille et Vincent de Bauvais. Rolland de Crémone et Hugues de Saint-Cher, dont le nom se mêlera si souvent à celui de Thomas d'Aquin, descendaient à peine de ces chaires; Jean de Paris, Etienne d'Auxerre, et plusieurs autres habiles théologiens, les occupaient encore, lorsque frère Albert de Bollstat vint ajouter le prestige de sa réputation à celle dont jouissait déjà le collège de Saint-Jacques." (*Chap. XII., p. 117.*)

† Hugh of S. Victor's puts logic as one of the four sciences:—"Quatuor tantum diximus esse scientias, quæ reliquas omnes continent, id est theoreticam, quæ in speculatione veritatis laborat; practicam, quæ morum disciplinam considerat; mechanicam, quæ hujus vitæ actiones dispensat; logicam quoque, quæ recte loquendi et acute disputandi scientiam prestat. Hic itaque non absurde ille quaternarius animæ intelligi potest, quem ob reverentiam sui antiqui in jurandum asceverant. Unde et illud dictum est:—

Per, qui nostræ animæ numerum dedit illi quaternum." (*Erad. Didasc., Lib. I., Cap. XIII., p. 750, 751.*)

tioned, for instance: the labours of Antoli, of John of Basingstoke, and of Henry of Brabant; the Byzantine Logic of Psellus; the Latin labours of Shyreswood, and of Lambert of Auxerre; and the "*Summulæ*" and "Translation" of Peter of Spain. Then another constellation of writers, compilers, and translators, such as Alexander of Hales, the Gloucestershire man; William of Auvergne, and Vincent of Beauvais, with his Universals, might be named; whilst the developments of the "Categories" by Gilbert de la Porrée, and the efforts of Robert Capito of Lincoln, carry the science on to the time of Albert, Thomas, and Bonaventure.*

Of course, it stands to reason that, so long as the scholars of the West were confined within the narrow compass of the "Dialectics" of Aristotle, they were able to do little else than regulate the practices of dispute. It was a barren and contentious gift at best. Still, such as it was, men hailed it with delight. Rabanus Maurus was about the first to comment on the "Introduction" of Porphyry, and on portions of the "Organon." In the year 935, whilst Reinard of S. Burchard, in Wurtemberg, commented on Aristotle's "Categories," Poppo was elucidating, at Fulda, the "Commentary" of Boethius. Notker Labeo, who died in 1022, translated into German the "Commentary" of Boethius, and the "Categories" and "Interpretation" of the Stagyrte. Abbo of Fleury (1004) wrote a clever and original work on the "Conclusions," and Adalberon, Bishop of Laon (1030), disciple of Gerbert, wrote a dissertation "*De Modo recte Argumentandi et Prædicandi Dialecticam*."†

But the time at length came, when men got tired of chopping logic. From time to time, circumstances occurred which called for the application of the forms of logic, to the methods of metaphysics. The celebrated question put by Otto III. to Gerbert, occasioned that subtle work, so far in advance of its period, "*De Rationali et Ratione Uti*," which goes into the relations of possi-

* It was commonly said, in the thirteenth century, that if a man possessed the three following books, he was in possession of the whole science of scholastic theology, viz.: the *Scholastica Historia Super Novum Testamentum* (a paraphrase of the Bible from Genesis, exclusively, to the Acts of the Apostles); the *Sentences of the Lombard*; and the *Decretum of Gratian*, composed about 1151.

† Walter Burley, a Professor at Paris, wrote an exposition on the ten books of Ethics, of the Stagyrte. It will not be uninteresting to give a specimen of the Rules generally enforced, before printing came into use, for facilitating the work of transcribing and translating. These were the rules at S. Victor's—"Omnes scripturæ, quæ in ecclesia, sive intus, sive foris, fiunt, ad ejus [Armarii] officium pertinent, ut ipse scriptoribus pergamena et cetera quæ ad scribendum necessaria sunt, provideat, et eos, qui pro pretio scribunt, ipse conducat. Quicumque de fratribus intra claustrum scriptores sunt, et quibus officium scribendi, ab Abbate injunctum est, omnibus his Armarius providere debet, quid scribant et quæ ad scribendum, necessaria sunt præbere; nec quisquam eorum aliud scribere quam ille præceperit, vel in ipsa scriptura præter ejus voluntatem et dispositionem quisquam agere præsumat. Loca etiam determinata ad ejusmodi opus seorsum a conventu, tam intra claustrum, præparanda sunt, ubi sine perturbatione et strepitu scriptores operi suo quietius intendere possint. Et hæc quidam omnia, quandiu typographia latuit, exacte satis sunt observata: unde etiam nonnulli codices manu variorum fratrum nostrorum excerpti leguntur." "Ce règlement" says Franklin (p. 151), "se trouve dans un grand nombre de manuscrits, dont trois sont conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale et classés dans le fonds de Saint-Victor."

bility to reality, and of substance to accidents, upon the right meaning of which, the solution of the royal difficulty depended.* Then comes another step, and not a small one, from the work of Gerbert, to that of S. Anselm. His dialogue "*De Grammatico*," in which he treats of the categories of substance, quality, &c., is written with great ability, and with so firm a grasp of those difficult and abstract subjects, as manifests what an advance had been made upon the speculations of his predecessors. The scientific results of the contest of Berengarius with Lanfranc, have already been hinted at, and thus, as the knowledge of philosophy, through the streams flowing into Europe, from Constantinople, and from Arabia, became more extended, and less fragmentary; and as men, by degrees, were able to gaze on the full orb of truth, as expressed in the splendid mind of the Greek philosopher, and to see that the whole *scibile* of human cognition could be reduced, from a comparative chaos, into system; they doggedly and laboriously set about piling together, under headings and divisions, the whole mass of information that was extant at their day. This, Hugh of S. Victor's attempted—this was the work that immortalized the name of Vincent of Beauvais. Men had studied reasoning, and the laws of order and arrangement, and they naturally brought their knowledge to account. But, systematizing is not science. An encyclopædia, however much matter may be thrown into it, and however cleverly it may be put together, is not the highest result of the efforts of the human mind. In a corpse, the anatomy remains as marvellous in the economy and wisdom of its order and arrangement, as in a living body; but a corpse represents the silent power of death. Anatomy must be animated by a living spirit, and then the relations of its parts will manifest their power, and be able to act upon the world. This, men gradually began to see.† The masses of knowledge must receive the animation of

* "Betrachtete man das Studium der Dialektik vorerst als reine Denkübung, so tauchte allgemach auch die Frage nach dem inneren Zusammenhange der Dialektik mit der Metaphysik, und nach ihrer Bedeutung für die Behandlung theologischer Fragen auf. Gerbert, der Freund des Kaisers Otto III., löste ein von diesem gelegentlich aufgeworfenes logisches Bedenken dadurch dass er die Frage auf das metaphysische Gebiet hinüberlenkte. Der Kaiser wollte wissen, wie es sich dialektisch rechtfertigen lasse, dass Porphyrius sage, das unterscheidende Merkmal eines Subjectes, z. B. das Merkmal *rationalis*, könne auch wieder ein anderes, und zwar verwandtes, näher und enger bestimmendes Merkmal, z. B. *ratione uti*, erhalten, da doch der Prädicatsbegriff der weitere und umfassendere sein soll. Diess veranlasste Gerbert zur Abfassung der Schrift: *De rationali et ratione uti*, in welcher er zur Lösung der beregten Schwierigkeit auf das Verhältniss von Möglichkeit, und Wirklichkeit, Substanz und Accidenz eingeht, um zu zeigen, dass *ratione uti* als *actus* mehr umfasse als der Begriff *rationalis* und als Accidenz ein Prädicat des Subjectes *rationalis* sein könne; ferner weist er darauf hin, dass es neben den allgemeinen Urtheilen auch besondere gebe in welchen das Prädicat nur in Beziehung auf das particulär genommene Subject der anfänglichere Begriff zu sein braucht; endlich ist überhaupt das Prädicat nicht allzeit grösser, als das Subject, indem in den Definitionen der Umfang von Subject und Prädicat sich gerade zu deckt." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, p. 48, 49.)

† It is a curious coincidence, to say the least, that the master-pieces of mediæval science should be produced at the very time that the great architectural master-pieces were conceived, and, at least, partially realized. The delight that mediæval theologians take in comparing their works to churches and cathedrals points to something more than an accidental relationship. Montalembert says:—"Cologne, forme, avec Strasbourg et Fribourg, la magnifique trilogie gothique des bords du Rhin. En France, Chartres, dédiée en 1260, après un siècle et demi de persévérance; Reims (1232), la cathédrale de la monarchie, Amiens (1223), Beauvais (1250), la Sainte-Chapelle et Saint-Denis; la façade de Notre-Dame (1223); en Belgique, Sainte-Gudule

an intellectual life. The *spiraculum vitæ* must be breathed into the ready clay—S. Thomas must turn the Encyclopædia of Albert into the power of an intellectual life. The one, long ago, has been dead, strangled in the mightiness of its own birth—a monster accumulation of all human knowledge of that day, thrown into order and division, but dead. The other, a clear, scientific exposition of the truth of God, animated throughout every portion of its organism with the vitality of a scientific life; of a life that has lived, and fought, and conquered, from that day to this; a life which is so living, that it has possessed the minds of the most consummate masters of human thought, and, through the strength of its vitality, has given intellectual vigour to men, who, unexercised in its power, would have remained comparatively feeble all their lives.*

The quiet monks in the peaceful Benedictine monasteries, who introduced the study of dialectics into the schools, little knew what they were about—that those imperfect translations of Boethius were to be the beginning of a movement, which would shake the Catholic intellectual world. † It was all well enough for men busied in the love of God, and balanced in the contemplation of the Day of Judgment, to exercise their minds upon literary remains, saved from the wreck of Greek and Roman letters. But, all the students at the monasteries were not monks; or, if they were, there were not wanting those whose ardent natures would find greater pleasure in intellectual contest, than in the quiet monotony of religious routine. Such youths, when they had learnt to use the weapons which had been put into their hands, awkward and clumsy as they might have been, were bent upon leaving the retirement of the cloister, to brandish them in the world.‡ Dialectics soon began to be applied to faith. The Church

de Bruxelles (1226); et l'église des Dunes, bâtie par quatre cents moines en cinquante ans (1214-62); en Angletarre, Salisbury, le plus belle de toutes (1220) une moitié de York (1227-60); le chœur d'Ely (1235); la nef de Durham (1212), et l'abbaye nationale de Westminster (1247); en Espagne, Burgos et Tolède, fondées par Saint Ferdinand (1228); et presque toutes ces œuvres colossales, entreprises et menées à fin par une seule ville ou un seul chapitre, tandis que les plus puissants royaumes d'aujourd'hui seraient hors d'état avec toute leur fiscalité d'en achever une seule." (*Hist. de S. Elis., Introd., p. 95, 96.*)

* "Michand says truly of Albert and S. Thomas:—"Avant d'avoir pour élève Thomas d'Aquin, Albert le Grand était un prodige de science, un homme incomparable; quand Thomas eut grandi sous son enseignement, Albert fut oublié." (*Guillaume de Champeaux, Introd., p. 10.*)

† Possibly, had it not been for the veneration in which S. Augustine was held by the monks, logic would not so easily have crept into the monastic schools. "The high reputation which St. Augustine obtained in the Christian Church," says Brucker, "gave his treatise on dialectics universal authority, and led those who were inclined to philosophize, implicitly to follow his method of applying the subtleties of Stoic reasoning, and the mysteries of the Platonic doctrine, to the explanation of the sacred doctrines of revelation. The dialectic art, thus introduced, was further encouraged by Latin versions of some of the writings of Aristotle, and of Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories. The study of logical subtleties was pursued under these guides in the schools of the monasteries, particularly in Ireland, whence many scholars from England and Scotland carried this kind of philosophy into their own countries; and from Britain, it afterwards passed into France, and other parts of Europe." (*History of Philos., drawn up by Enfield, Book VII., Cap. III., s. 2, p. 361.*)

‡ "As we glance through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we perceive the philosophical character of scholasticism coming more into view. In its progress through that period, it exhibits not so much the literary form as the professorial. We find individuals eminent for their

had grown into vast and stately proportions. Her creed had to be defended, illustrated, proved; her rights had to be maintained. Philosophy, theology, and law were to be mastered by those who were to be her champions; and dialectics were the most powerful weapons, in the hands of the dispensers of her gifts. The stream of learning from the East, tinged with its Oriental fanaticism; and the principles of Greek thought, which sharpened still more the keen edge of the mind, entered into the soul of European society. This, added to the mysterious influence of supernatural faith, the marvels performed by saints, and the extraordinary interference of the unseen in human affairs, worked the mind into enthusiasm. The spirit was ready to be acted on throughout its circumference, by the unimpeded influence of truth.

The Church was far too wise to allow instruments, so finely strung, to waste all their power in personal displays. She was the *Ecclesia Docens*, and she undertook their direction. She knew the task of governing minds, and felt her responsibility in guiding them in their fiery impetuosity—in their headlong speed, to the gate of truth. Ever looking into the future, with an eye that sees farther than human vision, she perceived her opportunity, and seized upon it.*

The Sees of the Bishops were centres of her influence. Endless branches radiated from them, as they themselves seemed to radiate from the Apostolic See. Or again, they form the knots in the vast net-work of the Hierarchy spread throughout the world, and maintain its whole complexity in power, unity, and order. The Council of Rome, in 1078, took a broad and masterly view of the necessities of the times, and met the wants of the age. By the side of every Episcopal Cathedral, it placed a school of liberal arts.† It stands to reason, that the most important capitals

talents as lecturers, like the Sophist of old, leading after them, by the charm of their voice, troops of sequacious hearers, as they went from place to place. This was a state of effervescence. What was wanting evidently for the literary perfection of the system, was a more extensive acquaintance with the stores of ancient philosophy. Individuals were vaguely seeking rather to originate systems of their own, than working on any established method. (Haupden's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. II., p. 73.)

* What evidence is more luminous of the Church's divine guidance, than that given in every page of her history regarding her unswerving course in the midst of so many storms? Straight and direct, she has ever gone. Men may fear her, and hate her; they may, and do, think her obstinate and wrong-headed—that is, they do not follow her—but one thing they are constrained to admit, that the long-enduring battle of eighteen hundred years has been a consistent fight, in which she has always shown the same front, has always fought under the same colours; and has known—what no religious organism has ever been able to learn—how to keep men of vigorous, independent, and enthusiastic temperament upon her side, and to turn all their energy and fire to her own account. This, in so long a course of years, cannot be simply human prudence—it is Divine wisdom.

† Michand speaking of this period says:—"Les écoles palatines ont disparu, ou du moins celle de Paris, puisque nous voyons Philippe I^{er} envoyer son fils, Louis VI., à l'école de Saint-Denis. Mais les écoles épiscopales, les écoles claustrales, aussi bien que les écoles libres qui commencent à se fonder, sont en pleine vigueur. La philosophie emmaillottée jusque-là dans la dialectique, cherche à profiter de la force que lui ont communiquée Scot Erigène et Gerbert et à devenir une science. La théologie est en pleine germination; trop vivace pour se contenter de quelques discussions sur des points isolés, elle aspire à produire des systèmes. Une sève abondante circule dans toute ses parties; la métaphysique, la morale, la jurisprudence, la

would be the first to grow into a larger life. Rome, being the seat of the Papacy, was ever the first seat of authority; but Paris may be said to have been the capital of intellectual Europe. Its position, its resources, its healthiness, the balminess of its air, its traditions—which ran back to Charlemagne and Alcuin, and had not been altogether extinguished—point to it as the natural centre of university activity.

mystique, la science de l'Ecriture sainte cherchent à développer leurs principes intrinsèques, à étendre leurs racines, à solidifier leur tronc à devenir ce chêne vigoureux que le treizième siècle a appelé la *Somme de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*." (*Guillaume de Champeaux, Chap. I., p. 71, 72.*)

CHAPTER XVI.

PARIS. THE UNIVERSITY.

PART I.

LIKE the solar system, according to the theory of La Place, the Universities were not organized in a day. Both were developments out of chaos and confusion, into order. Power and method had to expand into a vast system of intellectual activity; and the greatest minds of the new world were to be exercised in the highest and most splendid forms of human thought. This, of course, took time. A few teachers came as adventurers, or to assist in the Episcopal schools. Then, some took lodgings, and hired rooms. Others, having received a good education, and being active, enterprising fellows, pushed their way, in spite of poverty and obscurity; drew young men under their influence, and made a name.* Godfrey of Boulogne, the Bishop of Paris, saw which way the current was running. He at once founded, towards the end of the eleventh century, a high school in the capital.† Now, the great development began in earnest.‡ Here, Lanfranc taught; and astonished his hearers, by the grasp of his intellect, and by the splendour of his eloquence.

There were not only deeply-learned men acting as doctors in the schools of Paris; but young men with no learning, and little experience, would undertake to collect students around them, and to teach a class. Cardinal de Vitry speaks of these conceited young professors, and warns the inexperienced against them. He says that all their learning was in their copy-books and text-books,

* "Nous avons dit que le goût de l'instruction s'était réveillé vers la fin du Xe siècle. Des professeurs suivis d'une foule d'auditeurs de tout âge et de toute condition parcouraient les provinces, donnant des leçons sur les places publiques et même en pleine campagne. Au XIIe siècle, l'enseignement se concentra surtout dans Paris, qui, sous la parole éloquente d'Anselme, de Guillaume de Champeaux, et surtout d'Abélard, devint rapidement le foyer intellectuel de l'Europe. A Notre-Dame, à Saint-Victor, à Sainte-Geneviève affluaient des milliers d'étudiants, venaient nonseulement des provinces de France, mais encore d'Italie, d'Angleterre et des autres Etats du Nord." (Franklin, *Eglise Cathédrale de Notre-Dame*, p. 3.)

† "Die Pariser Universität hatte also einen vorherrschend theologischen Charakter; und dieser datirte sich von der Zeit her, als der Bischof von Paris, Gottfried von Boulogne, gegen Ende des elften Jahrhunderts eine höhere Schule errichtete, welche zuerst durch Lanfranc, dann durch Wilhelm von Champeaux und Abälard einen grossen Ruf erlangte, und eine grosse Menge von Hörern aus Nah und Fern nach Paris zog." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, p. 102.)

‡ Cf. Newman *On Universities*, *L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, p. 365.)

and that by force of prayers, caresses, and even money, they strove to gather about them a crowd of curious young men, and encouraged them to waste their time in futile questions.* Some young men are mentioned, as being so dull and negligent, as to learn nothing, even under the ablest masters—continually on the move, never resting with this master or that, ever changing their books, and their course of studies; sometimes attending lectures in winter, and giving them up in summer. Some did only barely enough to secure to them their titles of scholar, or to preserve the stipend which was given to poor students. They would be seen sitting on the benches of the lecture-hall two or three times a week, perhaps; and were said to prefer to attend the lectures of the decretists, because they took place at three o'clock, and thus they were enabled to sleep all the morning. However, they made up for their idleness by their ostentation, employing men to carry enormous volumes before them, through the streets, so that people might take them for excessively learned and studious young men. Others, on returning home, in order to make their friends imagine that they had been working hard, would carry with them a large parchment book, full of blank leaves, and very elegantly bound in red.†

The turmoil and excitement of a city of students from every part of the world can be imagined. The narrow streets swarmed with clerks and students, brandishing their weapons, and ever on the alert for the pleasures of some fresh intellectual excitement.‡ Then came Abelard, and William of Champeaux, with their noisy, boisterous following. Paris had by this time obtained a name for depth, and activity of theological display. What Bologna was, and Modena and Orleans became, for law; Padua, for liberal arts; Salerno for medicine; and Toledo, for mathematics—Paris now became, for theology, the *Summum Scientiæ*. She decided cases of conscience, and was consulted by Popes and Kings. The third

* John of Salisbury had full experience of the weaknesses of would-be learned men:—"Errant nūque, et impudenter errant, qui philosophiam in solis verbis consistere opinantur. Errant qui virtutem verba putant, ut lucum ligni. Nam virtutis commendatio consistit ob opere, et sapientiam virtus inseparabiliter comitatur. Unde constat, quia illi qui verbis inhaerent, malunt videri quam esse sapientes. Plateas circumant, terunt limina doctiorum, questionculas movent, intricant verba, ut suum et alienum obducant sensum, paratiores ventilare quam examinare si quid difficultatis emerit. Verentur tamen prodere imperitiam suam jectatores sapientie, non amatores, et id quod nesciunt, pravo pudore nescire, quam querere et discere malunt, presertim si adsunt alii, quibus notum [arbitrentur quod ipsi nesciunt; fastum tamen] eorum ferre non poteris: de omni materia loquuntur subito, dijudicant omnes, culpant alios, se ipsos prædicant, jastant se invenisse de novo, quod tritum est ab antiquis, et testimonio librorum per ætates multas ad tempora nostra perductum. (Polyerat., Lib. VII., Cap. XII., p. 662.)"

† Odofred speaks of a certain gentleman who sent his son to Paris, giving him an annual allowance of one hundred livres:—"What does he do? Why, he has his books ornamented with gold initials and strange monsters, and has a new pair of boots every Saturday." This appears to have been a common weakness with the students of the Paris schools.

‡ "Qu' est-ce que ces luttes de savants, demande un chancelier, sinon de vrais combats de coqs, qui nous couvrent de ridicule aux yeux des laïques? Un coq se redresse contre un autre, et se hérise . . . Il en est de même aujourd'hui de nos professeurs. Les coqs se battent à coups de bec et de griffes: l'amour propre, quelqu'un l'a dit, est armé d'un ergot redoutable." (De La Marche, p. 417.)

Council of Lateran helped the movement on. Paris became the centre of an attraction, which possessed the power of drawing everything like intellectual life, however distant, into itself. Crowds of students, from every portion of Europe, filled the city, already half inhabited by Jews. It was impossible for such a multitude to exist, or to be taught on any rule, without some permanent arrangement for the schools.* This pressure gave rise to the University. The Episcopal Seminary, S. Victor's, S. Geneviève, and S. Germain's, which, alone, at this period, had permanent professors, formed the basis of this splendid institution.

The natural laws of demand and supply, waited on the intellectual market of the University. Men would arrive, perhaps from Salerno, and give lectures on medicine; then others would set up and descant on civil and canon law, until Paris became crammed with a diverse population of boys and men from every quarter of Europe, and even from the East—eager, excited, full of animal spirits and animal passion, half civilized, and glowing with an indescribable desire after knowledge and after fame. At length, some of these teachers put themselves in connection with the Chancellor of Notre Dame; and the University thus took a wider development. All kinds flocked to the schools.† There were starving, friendless lads, with their unkempt heads, and their tattered suits, who walked the streets, hungering for bread, and famishing for knowledge, and hankering after a sight of some of those great doctors, of whom they had heard so much, when far away in the woods of Germany, or the fields of France. Some

* About 1127, Bishop Stephen de Senlis did his best to put things in order:—"Discreta etenim providentia tam venerabilis Stephani, Parisiensis episcopi, quam conventus Parisiensis ecclesie, evitando molestiam et inquietationem clastro inferri, statuendo concessit, ut neque scolares extranei in domibus claustris ulterius hospitarentur, neque in illa parte claustris quæ vulgo Tresantæ nominantur deinceps legerent neque scola haberentur; sed amore et gratia domni Stephani presulis, infra ambitum claustris, quidam locus adherens Episcopali curie, per quam introitum et exitum scolares habebant, ex communi assensu episcopi et Capituli electus et coopertus est, in quo scola ecclesie deinceps tenerentur et regerentur." (*Parvum Pastorale Eccl., Paris.*: vid. Franklin, p. 3.)

† The following lines, from the *Metamorph. Gollæ*, p. 23, give an idea of the temper of the professors in those days:—

"Ibi Doctor cernitur ille Carnotensis,
Cujus lingua vehemens truncat velut ensis,
Et hic presul presulum stat Pictaviensis,
Prius et nimbentium miles et Castrensis

Celebrum Theologum vidimus Lombardum
Cum Yvone Helyam Petrum et Bernardum,
Quorum opobalsamum, spiratos et nardum,
Et professi plurimi sunt Abaelardum,
Reginaldus monachus clamose contendit,
Et obliquis singulos verbis comprehendit,
Hos et hos redarguit, nec in se descendit,
Qui nostrum Porphyrium laqueo suspendit
Robertus Theologus corde vivens mundo
Adest et Manerius, quem nullis secundo,
Alto loquens spiritu et ore profundo,
Quo quidem subtilior nullus est in mundo.
Hinc et Bartholomæus faciem acutus
Rhetor, dialecticus, sermone astutus,
Et Robertus Aniclas simile secutus,
Cum his, quos prætereo, populus minutus."
(See Prantl, *Vol. II.*, p. 230.)

were so poor, that they could not afford to follow a course of theology. We read of one poor fellow on his death-bed, having nothing else, giving his shoes and stockings to a companion, to procure a mass for his soul. Some were only too glad to carry holy water to private houses, "*selon la coutume Gallicane*," with the hope of receiving some small remuneration. Some were destitute of necessary clothing. One tunic sometimes served for three, who took it in turns—two went to bed, whilst the third dressed himself and hurried off to school. Some spent all their scanty means in buying parchments, and wasted their strength, through half the night, poring over crabbed manuscript, or in puzzling out that jargon which contained the wisdom of the wisest of the Greeks. Whole nights, some would remain awake on their hard pallets, in those unhealthy cells, trying to work out some problem proposed by the professor in the schools.* But there were rich as well as poor at Paris.† There was Langton, like others, famous for his opulence, who taught, and then became Canon of Notre Dame; and Thomas à Becket, who, as a youth, came here to seek the charm of gay society.

Indeed, all eyes, even those which had been accustomed to spend the greater portion of their time in following the Psalms of David, and the remainder in resting on quiet woodland, and placid stream, and solemn mountain, and those, too, which had been practised in more active work, all turned to Paris, all gazed on that busy, eager swarm, which was ever working at, and purifying, and taking possession of, the learning of the past.‡ These silent thinkers, at first, were mystified, and then were sad. The dry seed which they so gently had sown in the mind of a former generation, had taken a terrific growth. Those chance words of Porphyry had set on foot a revolution in the intellectual world. Who would care to study, at Fulda, at S. Gall, at York, or at

* "De toutes les contrées de l'Europe, les disciples affluent autour des maîtres qui ont acquis une réputation de savoir, en quelque branche que ce soit. La plupart des orateurs étrangers dont nous avons eu à parler, Etienne de Langton, Prévostin, Robert Grosse-Tête, avaient étudié dans l'Université de Paris avant d'y professer ou d'y exercer des charges. Cette expatriation, à laquelle l'amour de la science condamnait les jeunes gens, leur est fort utile, si l'on en croit Jacques de Vitry: car dans leur pays, sous le toit paternel, ils vivent au milieu des délices et de mille occupations frivoles qui les empêchent de travailler, c'est pourquoi ils préfèrent, quand ils sont sages, s'en aller ailleurs. Au sein de l'Université, ils trouvent accueil et protection, ils jouissent d'une certaine indépendance et de privilèges enviés, qui cependant ne tournent pas toujours, au profit des études, car ils sont une cause de trouble et de conflits perpétuels. A chaque instant, les cours sont interrompus. De là des plaintes et des doléances comme nous en avons recueillies de la bouche de plusieurs sermons." (*La Chaire Française au moyen âge*, par A. Lecoy De La Marche, *Troisième partie*, p. 416.)

† The servants "garçons" were notorious as a thieving, gambling class of extortioners, who robbed their masters at every opportunity, and they had many a one.

‡ The fact of Bishops, and even Popes being chosen from clever professors, rather than from monastic contemplatives, shows the turn the world was taking even in the twelfth century. "Les pontifes étaient plus rarement alors choisis parmi les religieux que parmi les professeurs distingués. La plupart des grands évêques de cette époque durant leur élévation à l'éclat de leur enseignement. Yves évêque de chartres, Hildebert évêque du Mans et plus tard archevêque de Tours, Baudry évêque de Rennes, Albéric archevêque de Bourges, Goscelin ou Joscelin évêque de Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée évêque de Poitiers, Ulger évêque d'Angers, Gauthier de Mortagne évêque de Laon avaient été écolâtres de quelque cathédrale." (Michaud, *Introd.*, p. 21.)

Citeaux; or to dwell amongst the hills of Germany and France, when Anselm, William, Abelard, or Hugh, were dazzling the world in intellectual Paris? Who would care to go to the tricklings on the mountain side, when large draughts could be imbibed from the great reservoir itself? Hence, in the desert, on the hill-top, and in the fruitful valley, a gradual movement might have been discerned. Solitude and peace join in the uproar of a vast city! The Trinitarians had launched into the troubled sea, and were lecturing at S. Mathurin's as early as 1209.* Then Stephen Lexington, stung by the satires of the Mendicants, brings in the ascetic children of S. Bernard, † and the Cistercian drops his pick and spade, and is on his way to Paris; the Carmelites, too, are seen clustering with their sandaled feet at the foot of S. Geneviève; and the Augustinians, at Montmartre; then, there are the Black Monks of S. Benedict, who are heavy at heart, and quietly hide themselves away near the great Abbey of S. Germain, to watch and take advantage of the movement; ‡ Cluny is there, and even the silent and solitary Carthusian, struck by the pulse that throbs in the heart of the outer world, throws himself into the whirl of intellectual activity.§ Provincial schools cease to satisfy. Bishops forward their contingents to the growing city of science; and we read of the seminaries of Laon, Narbonne, and Bayeux, taking their place amongst the rest.||

It will be well rapidly to touch upon the foundation of Notre Dame, S. Geneviève, and S. Catharine's; on the colleges of the Premonstratensians, the Carthusians, and the Cluniacs; on S. Martin's; and on that influential college which opposed the Regulars so violently, the famous Sorbonne.

The oldest, and most celebrated school of Paris, that of Notre Dame, owes its origin to the enlightened influence of Charlemagne. It was when he met that able Yorkshireman, Alcuin, in Italy, that he first entertained the idea of systematically bringing

* The Mendicants called the monks of Clairvaux "*Homines nullius litteraturæ*," and "*Culina magis deditos quam scholarum exercitiis*." The monks lived a very hard life in Paris. On meat-days, they had half a pound of boiled beef; on meagre-days, two eggs, or a couple of roast herrings.

† They were famed for the learning of their professors—for instance: Michael Lacte (1228), John Boileau, John de Boreho, and Thomas Wright, a scholar of Hales, and fellow-student with S. Bonaventure.

‡ What Dr. Newman says of the English universities may receive a wider application:—"Nor is it too much to say, that the colleges in the English universities may be considered, in matter of fact, to be the lineal descendants, or heirs, of the Benedictine school of Charlemagne" (*Atlantis III.*, p. 62)—for it was the Benedictine, Remigius of Auxerre, who opened the first really public school in Paris.

§ "*Derrière Luxembourg, les Chartreux solitaires,
Après avoir long temps prié Dieu de concert,
Assemblez à l'Eglise où leur Cœur est ouvert,
Ont leur provision de livres nécessaires.*"

(*Michel de Marolles*, p. 47.)

|| So the monks of Croyland sent scholars to Cambridge, Canterbury, Durham, Gloucester, &c., and had separate colleges under their names at Oxford.

the light of learning into France.* He founded the Palace school, which was Peripatetic, following him wherever he went; and he loved to join his sons and his daughters in taking lessons from its learned men. Then the Emperor ordered the Bishops under his influence to erect free schools in connection with their cathedrals. This may be said to have been the origin of the school of Notre Dame. The cloister of the metropolitan church, for some centuries, continued to be the centre of public instruction. Even when S. Geneviève became most influential in the teaching of science, the reunions of the Faculties took place at Notre Dame. As late as the eighteenth century, the Chancellor of Notre Dame had the privilege of being one of the Chancellors of the University.† What Charlemagne and Alcuin began, was continued by the successors of both. Clement of Hibernia, Claud, Aldric, Amalarius, Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, John Scotus Erigena, and Mannon, carried on the work. But it was the Benedictine Monk, Remigius of Auxerre, in the ninth century, who started the first really public school in Paris. Its reputation grew steadily under Adam the Englishman, a professor at a school at Petit-Pont; and under that extraordinary book-worm Peter Comestor, and under Peter the Cantor, and Michael de Corbeil—till the contests of Abelard, and William of Champeaux, drew upon it the concentrated notice of the Paris public.‡ The Cathedral, in Abelard's time (*Sacro Sancta Ecclesia Civitatis Parisiorum*), was composed of two distinct churches, one, dedicated to S. Stephen; the other, to the Blessed Virgin. The present magnificent structure was begun in the year 1163, and was finished about the close of the thirteenth century. In all the old plans of Paris, that grand, sombre temple seems to overtower, and, by its majestic proportions, to overshadow, the churches that surround it. Its cloister, with its dependencies, extended to the north and

* "Charlemagne, revenant d'Italie en 781, rencontra à Parme l'esprit le plus vaste et le plus actif du VIII. siècle, le célèbre Alcuin, disciple de Hechbert; c'était un Anglo-Saxon, né dans la ville d'York, résidence habituelle des rois de Northumbre, et famense déjà par son école et sa riche bibliothèque. Charlemagne, qui depuis longtemps songeait à restaurer les lettres en Gaule, se laissa guider dans cette voie par Alcuin, qu'il s'attacha intimement. Leur influence se fit aussitôt sentir; en même temps que s'organisaient les écoles palatines, classes ambulantes qui accompagnaient partout le monarque, et où lui-même ne dédaignait pas de s'asseoir avec ses fils et ses filles, des circulaires adressées aux évêques et aux abbés leur prescrivait d'établir dans les églises et dans les monastères des écoles où chacun pût être admis." (Franklin, p. 1. Cf. Bonquet, *Rerum Gallicarum Scriptores*, Tom. V., p. 621. Ampère, *Hist. Litt. de la France avant le XII. siècle*, Tom. III., p. 230.)

† The Chancellor of Notre Dame, and the *Scholasticus* of S. Geneviève, superintended the examination of men previous to their being admitted to teach. For a brilliant picture of Paris, as it was some centuries later, see Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame*, Tom. I., p. 167-202.

‡ "Vers le milieu du IX. siècle, Remi d'Auxerre ouvrit à Paris la première école vraiment publique qui y ait existé. Au siècle suivant, les ténèbres envahissent de nouveau la France. Les monuments littéraires de l'antiquité ressuscités sous Charlemagne sont retombés dans l'oubli, la philosophie s'est éteinte avec Jean Scot, l'école palatine a disparu; les écoles établies dans quelques monastères et dans quelques églises subsistent seules encore. Celles du cloître Notre-Dame sont du nombre, car c'est vers l'an 1100 qu'on y vit arriver, comme écolier, un jeune homme de vingt ans à peine, beau, éloquent, profond, annonçant déjà une de ces intelligences faites pour charmer et dominer une époque il se nommait Pierre Abélard. (Franklin, p. 2.)

east of the church on to the banks of the Seine. The present street of Cloître-Notre-Dame occupies a portion of the old foundation. In the fourteenth century, it enclosed thirty-seven houses, which were occupied by as many Canons. The school was fixed in the enclosure, in the portion called *Tresantæ*, and the scholars, till the year 1127 (when the privilege was taken from them), had a right to live in the houses there. There was one favour accorded to its students by Notre Dame, which was not given by other colleges till a considerably later period. Notre Dame not only possessed a valuable library, composed of books, the gifts, amongst others, of Bishop Gilbert (991), Bishop Theobald (1157), the Lombard (1160), Aubert the Cantor (1180), Dean Barbedor (1182), Eudes Sully (1208)—who had so much to say to the building of the Cathedral—and of Bishop Peter (1218), and Bartholomew (1229), and many others; but the poor students had these works put at their disposal—an immense advantage in those days before printing was invented.* The Chancellor had the general superintendence of the library. The library had *in communem usum* forty-two annotated volumes, besides the “Sentences” of the Lombard—which Peter seems to have presented himself—and the “*Quæstiones*” of Peter of Poitiers, which consisted of commented extracts from the Sacred Text, forming a pretty complete treatise on the Bible. The necrology of these large establishments, where the names of benefactors were written down to be remembered and prayed for, shows how thoughtful Bishops, and friends of learning were, in those days, of the wants of needy students.†

The Chapter of the Cathedral was composed of a dean, a cantor, three archdeacons, the sub-cantor, the chancellor, the penitentiary, and fifty-two prebendaries.‡

Let us now glance at S. Geneviève. S. Gregory of Tours relates, that Clovis and Clotilde founded, at the solicitation of S. Geneviève, on Mount Leucotitius, the Basilica of S. Peter's. All three

* Even with the volumes students get at this day, they were placed in a much more difficult position than we are in acquiring knowledge from books. One thing is print: such a method as the following, given as a specimen by Franklin, is quite another. For instance, in Virgil, the line:—

“Tityre, tu patula recubans sub tegmine fagi.”

is thus given:—

“Tityre t p r s t f,” and so on.

Here is a passage from Occam's Logic:—

“Sic hic e fal sm qd ad simplr a e pducibile a deo g a e et silr hic a n e g a n e pducibile a do,” which means:—

Sicut hic est fallacia secundum quid ad simpliciter. A est producibile a deo. Ergo A est. Et similiter hic. A non est. Ergo A non est producibile a Deo. (*Vol. I., p. 129.*)

† There are continual mentions made in the “Necrology,” of the gift of books for the use of poor students; for example, that of Peter de Joigny:—“Isti sunt libri quos legavit magister Petrus de Joignyaco pauperibus scolaribus studentibus in theologia, tradendi eisdem per manum cancellarii qui eos custodiet: quos recepit predictus magister Petrus Cancellarius a Capitulo, anno Domini millesimo cco nonagesimo septimo mense Septembri.”

‡ That they kept up the Choir in form, is pretty evident from the list of various Choir-books at Notre Dame, during the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. There was the Missal, Antiphonarius, Collectarium, Graduale, Passionarius (used on the Feast of Martyrs), the Lectionarius (with the Lessons), the Pastorale, (i. e., Pontifical), and the Troperius, with the Sequences, Proses, &c.

—the King, the Queen, and the Saint—were buried in the church. The establishment connected with it was soon turned into an Abbey.* Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, it was several times ruined by the Normans, and the tombs of the saints were rifled, and their ashes scattered to the wind. The increase of students carried the University in this direction, and the Canons, being connected with France, and Denmark—into which they sent a colony—soon gained a high reputation by the eminent abilities of their scholars. As has been seen, it was in the time of William, of Champeaux that its reputation was greatly raised, by the influence of Peter Abelard. In 1790, its library consisted of fifty-eight thousand volumes, and two thousand manuscripts.†

The college called *S. Catharina Vallis Scholarium* was established by four celebrated professors: Richard, Everard, William, and Manasses. These men, wishing to renounce the world, in 1201, retired into a valley surrounded by woods and fountains, in the diocese of Langres. But they soon got tired of this, and longed after Paris again. So Manasses procured some land from a man named Gibouin Baudet; and a sergeant of the guard of King Louis, in fulfilment of a vow (1214), built them a church, of which the King laid the first stone (1229), and made them an offering of forty livres.

In the year 1247, Abbôt John de Roquignies, of the Premonstratensians, an Order founded at Premontré by S. Norbert in 1120, established a house for his young men in Paris. In 1252, he purchased a great building in the Rue Hautefeuille, close to where the Franciscans built their immense church and quadrangle. Sister Guillerma, three years later, let him have three other houses, and thus the great College of S. Norbert began its useful work. Any one entering the present *Café de la Rotonde*, at the corner of the Rue Hautefeuille and the Rue d'Ecole-de-Medecine, would find Frenchmen sipping their coffee, and reading their papers, in the very sanctuary of the church of the Premonstratensians.

The Chartreux was one of the largest establishments in Paris.‡

* "La montagne Saint-Geneviève y faisait au sud-est une ampoule énorme; et c'était une chose à voir du haut de Notre-Dame que cette foule de rues étroites et tortues (aujourd'hui le pays latin), ces grappes de maisons qui répandues en tout sens du sommet de cette éminence se précipitaient en désordre et presque à pic sur ses flancs jusqu'au bord de l'eau, ayant l'air, les unes de tomber, les autres de regimber, toutes de se retenir les unes aux autres. Un flux continu de mille points noirs qui s'entrecroisaient sur le pavé faisait tout remuer aux yeux: c'était le peuple vu ainsi de haut et de loin." (*Notre-Dame de Paris*, par Victor Hugo, *Tome I.*, p. 181.)

† Regulars had somewhat of an advantage over Seculars in getting up a good library. For instance, Seculars could not well have done what Abbot Marcherard of Cluny did in the thirteenth century, he made a rule "ut quivis novitius, in die professionis suæ etiam librum donaret bibliothecæ utilem et alicujus pretii."

‡ The rules of the Library, revised in 1630, are both interesting and suggestive. "De Bibliothecario. I. Bibliothecarius libros sibi commissos diligenter custodiat, eos nitidos servet, et dilapsum in eos pulverem, singulis ad minus quindenis, semel extinguit; et ne aliqua humiditate, vel quavis alia re corrumpantur, studiose provideat. II. Si librum, aliquem deprehendat ablatum, nec reperire queat, indicet priori, qui adlaborabit, ut, si fieri potest, recuperetur. III. Omnium librorum custodiæ suæ traditorum catalogum habeat. IV. Absque abbatibus, vel, eo

In 1257, King Louis placed five monks in the Chateau de Vauvert, which was supposed to be haunted by evil spirits, but which were effectually dispersed by the piety of the monks. Louis held these men in highest reverence, and treated them with kingly generosity. Their building and dependences, covered nearly all that space in the gardens of the Luxemburg, lying now between the Boulevard S. Michel, formed by the Rue d'Enfer and the Rue de l'Est, and the first of the three great new streets that have been cut across the great *allée*.^{*} The Cruciferi—like so many others—were called to Paris, in 1258, by King Louis, and they settled on the right bank of the Seine.

Cluny founded its college here in 1269. Ivo of Vergi bought land on the left of the present Place de la Sorbonne, surrounded it by a wall, built a kitchen, refectory, dormitory, and a portion of the cloister.† S. Martin des Champs was situated in a most beautiful position, with oak-trees and windmills on an eminence to the north—on the one side, a stream, winding its way through a valley, to the Convent of the Filles-Dieu; and, on the other, fertile fields, and bright courses of water.‡ It was first the property of the Canons Regular, till the Monks of Cluny took possession of it.

There were innumerable foundations, which it would be tiresome to mention—the College du Trésorier, founded by William de Saône, in 1268; the College D'Harcourt, by Ralph D'Harcourt, in 1280; the College des Cholets, by Cardinal John Cholet, in 1292; the College of Cardinal Lemoine, founded in 1302; that of Navarre, by Johanna, Countess of Champagne, in 1304; the College of Laon, by Guy of Laon, in 1313; of Narbonne, by Bernard de Farges, and the Archbishop, in 1316; the College du Plessis, by Geoffrey du Plessis Balisson, in 1323; the College de Cornouailles, in 1317, by Galeran de Grève; the Scotch College,

absente, prioris licentia, et sine memoriali competenti, nemini librum aliquem commodet. V. Cujusque facultatis libros simul componat, et singulis libris titulos extrinsecus inseribat. VI. Librorum prohibitorum indicein habeat, et si quem prohibitum deprehenderit, significet abbati, et quod abbas jusserit faciat. VII. Bibliothecam mundam servet, et dene compositas, et ob id frequentius eam expurget et verrat." (*Statuta candidi et canonici ordinis Præmonstratensis, renovato anno 1630, p. 192, De Bibliothecario.*)

^{*} Franklin gives a very interesting rule of the Carthusians, drawn up about 1110, which, since the monks were not permitted to quit their cells, is the best possible index to the requirements of a "Scriptorium" in the middle ages:—"Ad scribendum vero, scriptorium, creatam, pumices duo, cornua duo scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamena novacula sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam, unam, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, graphium. Quod si frater alterius artis fuerit (quod apud nos raro valde contingit, omnes enim pene quos suscipimus, si fieri potest, scribere docemus), habebit artis suæ instrumenta convenientia." See how beautifully and reverently books are spoken of:—"Adhuc etiam libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos, quibus omnem diligentiam curamque præbere jubetur. ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe, tamquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum, cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri: ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus prædicemus." (p. 324.)

† This establishment was shut up, and sold in 1795. The Boulevard S. Michel has done away with every vestige of it.

‡ At the Revolution, it had forty thousand volumes in the library. The refectory is the only portion that remains of the Convent. S. Germain des Près, in 1794, possessed forty-nine thousand three hundred and eighty-seven volumes, and seven thousand six hundred and seventy-two MSS.

by David, Bishop of Murray, in 1323; and the College de Presles, by Guy de Laon, and Ralph de Presles; and so on.*

But there is one institution which, though established at a later date than Notre Dame and S. Geneviève, still, perhaps, in the long run, has exerted a greater influence upon the intellectual world, than any other seat of learning in Paris. And since it seems to have been established as a check upon the predominance of the religious Orders, and since one of the great opponents of S. Thomas was educated there, it will be well to give a somewhat fuller sketch of its origin and development.

The Sorbonne, then, owes its origin to the great overflow of students, during the time of King Louis. Both in S. Victor's, and S. Geneviève, the students had increased three-fold, whilst the cloister of Notre Dame, like a hive of bees, could not possibly contain the multitudes that desired to take up their abode within its precincts. The Dominicans and Franciscans, of themselves, attracted hundreds of eager youth.† Geoffrey of Poitiers, William of Autun, William Lenoir, Gerard of Abbeville, Gerard of Courtray, and others, opened new establishments. Paris was still full to overflowing. The terrible dangers of city life, the continual broils, between the students, and the lodging-keepers, about their unhealthy rooms—broils which necessitated the intervention of the Pope himself, and of which more will be said afterwards—made a deep impression on that thoughtful and kind-hearted Robert of Sorbon, chaplain of King Louis. He was not a man, perhaps, of first-class talents, but he certainly was unrivalled in his knowledge of the world, and as a man of business.‡ The idea struck him of bringing together professors and students into one establishment, and thus saving both from many difficulties and temptations. Some affirm that his object was to create a power to balance against the Regulars; others, that he wished to give

* Paris and Bologna seem to have been the first universities. Montpellier was founded in 1180; in the twelfth century, Ravenna, Salerno, Pisa; in the thirteenth, Orleans, Toulouse, Arezzo, Padua, Piacenza, Ferrara, Perugia, Sienna, Treviso, Vercelli, Vicenza, Naples, Salamanca, Valencia, Coimbra; in the fourteenth, Lyons, Avignon, Cracow, Pavia, Palermo, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurth; in the fifteenth, Toledo, Alcalá, Leipsig, Freiburg, Tübingen, Mainz, Louvain. At first, the Universities were mostly annexed to cathedral churches. According to Alzog (*Hist. Univ. de l'Eglise*), the following are the dates of the foundation of the principal French Universities. Paris, 1206; Toulouse, 1228; Montpellier, 1289; Lyons, 1300; Cahors, 1332; Avignon, 1340; Angers, 1364; Aix, 1409; Caen, 1433; Bordeaux, 1441; Valence, 1452; Nantes, 1463; Bourges, 1465.

† "Outre les frères Prêcheurs et les frères Mineurs dont les premières maisons à Paris sont les collèges de tout l'ordre, on y fonda pour les moines ceux des Bernardins, de Clugny et de Marmontier. Celui de Sorbonne fut un des premiers destiné à des clercs séculiers; et ensuite la plupart des évêques, en fondèrent pour les pauvres étudiants de leur diocèse. Par-là ils s'acquittaient en quelque manière de l'obligation d'instruire et de former leur clergé, qui est un de leurs principaux devoirs, vu qu'ils ne pouvoient espérer de leur donner chez eux d'aussi bons maîtres que dans les écoles publiques." (Fleury, *Disc. sur l'Hist., Eccl., cinquième, Disc.*, p. 195.)

‡ In point of fact, the Sorbonne was the first strictly theological college established at Paris:—"Jusqu'à la création de la Sorbonne (1256), aucun collège spécial n'existait à Paris pour les étudiants en Théologie. Le nombre immense d'écoliers qui suivait les cours de la capitale ne pouvait donc se loger que chez des bourgeois, et il en résulta souvent des graves désordres." (Franklin, p. 3.)

poor scholars facilities for taking degrees, which they greatly required under the regulations of that period. Whatever were his reasons—and why could not all these motives, and others besides, have influenced him?—his idea, when realized, became the type upon which all future colleges were established.

Robert was born October 9th, 1201. It is generally believed that he first saw the light at Sorbon, near Rethel, in the diocese of Rheims.* He became Canon of Cambrai. He was presented at court by the King's brother. The King seems to have liked him, and though of lowly family, he was often invited to the royal table, and became confessor to his Majesty.† He made use of his influence with Louis for advancing his favourite design. In 1250, he persuaded the King to help him with his college. Louis let him have, *ad opus scholarium qui inibi moraturi sunt*, a house and stables in the Vie de Coupeguenle, *ante Palatium Thermarum*. It was called Coupegorge, on account of the frequent murders and massacres that were known often to have taken place there. The authorities of the college, later on, obtained permission to close at night the two ends of this dangerous street, and thus it came to be called Rue des Deux-Portes (*Vicus ad Portas*, or *ad duas Portas*). But when the establishment had made its reputation, the street's name was absorbed into that of the college, and it was called Vicius de Sorbonia, or de Sorbonio. Others, however, do not agree with this explanation, and say that the Rue Coupeguenle went down from the Rue des Poirées to the Rue des Mathurins, between the Rue de Sorbonne, and Rue des Maçons.‡

Here Robert tried to collect the ablest men he could induce to help him at the college. He found many of his friends at the court well disposed. There was William of Chartres, Canon of S. Quentin, and Chaplain to the King; Robert of Douai, Canon of Senlis, and physician to Margaret of Provence, wife of King Louis. Then there were Cardinals Geoffrey de Bar, Dean of the church of Paris; and William de Brai, Archdeacon of Rheims—these men offered him money and advice. Others gave their brains; above all, William of Saint-Amour—the great enemy of S. Thomas and the Regulars—then there was Odo of Douai, the

* He is called by different names: Robertus Sorboniensis, de Sorbona, de Seurbona, de Sorbonio, and de Sorbona. De La Marche says, speaking of the place Robert was born at:—"Ce lieu peut être aussi bien Sorbon (Ardennes) que Serbonne (Seine-et-Marne); car les manuscrits portent indifféremment de Sorbone, de Sorbona, de Carbonia, et Joinville appelle notre personnage Robert de Cerbon ou de Cerbone." (p. 89.)

† That Robert of Sorbon was a straightforward man, appears from a curious extract from one of his sermons, in which no great compliment is paid to the Queen of France:—"Uxor," he says, "debet facere quod placeat viro suo, et e converso. Ad hoc docuit quidam princeps solvere dominum regem Francie: ipse enim multum benignus est, et humiliter incidit et gerit se; uxor autem ejus alio modo. Iste princeps et humilitas habitus ejus uxori sue, quæ magnis ornamentis volebat indui, displicebat." (De La Marche, p. 355.)

‡ Franklin thinks the latter explanation the better. (See Vol. I., p. 223.)

Englishman Lawrence, Gerard of Rheims, Gerald of Abbeville, Ralph of Courtray, Reginald of Soissons, Godfrey Desfontaines—a man of great learning—Henry of Gand, Peter of Limoges, Odo de Castres, Siger de Brabant, Poncard, and Arnulf de Hasnède. The college was opened in 1253.*

As may easily be conceived, such a beginning as this, would naturally grow. In less than five years, the buildings had to be enlarged. S. Louis, wanting to establish a convent of Brothers of the Holy Cross, in a house contiguous to the college, exchanged with Robert some houses in the Rue Coupegueule, for some property in the parish of S. John de Grève. Five years later, the King made another exchange. He gave Robert another house in the Rue Coupegueule, and all he had in the Rue des Maçons, for some property in the Rue de l'Hirondelle and the Rue Saint-Jacques (1263). Robert was already a Doctor of Divinity, but, in the deed of transmission, he is called a Canon of Notre Dame of Paris—*ad opus Congregationis Pauperum Magistrorum Parisiis in Theologia Studentium*.† Robert of Douai died, and left the new college 1,500 livres—a considerable sum in those days. Alexander IV. (1259) recommended it to the generosity of prelates, abbots, and the faithful, generally. Clement IV. (1268) approved of it, and regulated its relations with the Holy See, showing how keen an eye Rome kept, even in those days, upon the great fountains of science and education. Robert naturally, was officially, recognized as head. But the Pope insisted upon his successors being nominated with the approval of the Archdeacon and Chancellor of the church of Paris, of the Doctors of Theology, the Deans of the Faculties of Law and Medicine, the Rector of the University, and the Procurators of the four nations.

Robert died in the year 1274, after having been head of the college for twenty years.‡ About the year 1270, the Faculties were established in different places: law, was at Clos Bruneau;

* The Necrology says, "Fundata Domus nostra anno 1253 a Roberto de Sorbona, confessore regis."

† It is evident what a practical man Robert was, and how pious. He does not appear, however, to have shown much as a writer. Nevertheless, he left a few works on moral subjects:—"Nous avons dans les Bibliothèques des Peres trois Opuscules de Pieté de Robert; le premier de la Conscience; le second de la Confession et le troisième intitulé le Chemin du Paradis. Dans le premier il traite du Livre de la Conscience; quel est ce Livre, où on le trouve, et qui l'enseigne; quelle est sa division, comment on y entre et quelles sont ses parties. Il y fait une comparaison perpétuelle de l'homme qui veut se sauver, et de ce qu'on doit faire pour cela, avec les Etudiants qui veulent prendre des degrez, et être licenciés par le Chancelier de l'université, et de ce qu'il faut pour y parvenir. On peut juger par ce que nous venons de dire de ces Ouvrages, qu'ils sont fort simples, et écrits d'une manière trop familière, cependant la doctrine en est bonne, solide, et prouvée par des passages de l'Ecriture et des Peres, dont il auroit pu faire un meilleur Ouvrage, si suivant la mauvaise coutume de son temps, il ne se fût pas arrêté à faire des divisions, et à reporter des comparaisons indignes du sujet grave et sérieux qu'il avoit à traiter." (Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bib. Chap. I., p. 80, 81.*)

‡ The following words, from a sermon of his, are suggestive of the state of things in those days, and of the liberty of the pulpit. On Easter Sunday, he took as his text: "'Surrexit, non est hic.' Hoc est verbum breve, et faciemus de ipso brevem sermonem, si poterimus; quia bene scio quod hodie vultis brevem sermonem et longam mensam: sed utinam non brevem missam!" (De La Marche, p. 203.)

arts were at Rue du Fouare; and the Sorbonne itself remained the chief place for the faculty of theology. To be admitted to the college, a man had to be a bachelor; to defend a thesis, called the Robertine; and to obtain the majority of votes in three *scrutinia*. The members of the community comprised two classes, viz.: *Hospites*, and *Socii*. The former had all facilities for study provided for them, and had nothing to do with the administration; they were allowed to work in the library, but were not trusted with the key.* When they became doctors, they had to leave the establishment. The administration was carried on by the *Socii*, who maintained a strict equality amongst themselves, according to the saying of the old Sorbonists, "*Omnes sumus sicut Socii et æquales*." The *Socii* who were well off, paid exactly the same sum to the college as the poor *Socii* (*Socii Bursales*) received from it. Originally, the number of *Socii* was thirty-six. Some of the doctors were obliged to apply themselves to the study of Cases of Conscience. People, after a while, sent cases for solution from all parts of Europe, and thus the Sorbonne gained a wide-spread reputation.

The Provisor was the highest dignitary. The active duties fell upon the Prior, who was generally taken from amongst the younger members of the *Socii*, and his term expired at the end of twelve months. Four seniors were appointed to regulate difficult questions, and to maintain the ancient traditions of the place, thus forming seemingly an equal—though it hardly seems practical—check and countercheck of old and young. The meeting of the *Socii*, which was held the first of every month, was called the *Prima Mensis*. The establishment, most probably, was under the protection of S. Ursula.

The Paris students may roughly be divided into three classes: those who lived in seminaries, those who lived in monasteries, and those who lived as best they could.† The principal inhabitants of

* Dr. Newman gives this *horarium*, preserved in one of the colleges of Cambridge, which, very probably, was based upon the Paris practice. Anyhow, it is interesting as an index to student life, if not in France, in England. The student "got up between four and five; from five to six, he assisted at Mass, and heard an exhortation. He then studied or attended the schools till ten, which was the dinner hour. The meal, which seems also to have been a breakfast, was not sumptuous; it consisted of beef, in small messes for four persons, and a pottage made of its gravy and oatmeal. From dinner, to five p. m., he either studied, or gave instruction to others, when he went to supper, which was the principal meal of the day, though scarcely more plentiful than dinner. Afterwards, problems were discussed, and other studies pursued till nine or ten; and then half-an-hour was devoted to walking or running about, that they might not go to bed with cold feet—the expedient of heat or stove for the purpose was out of the question. (*On Universities*, p. 330, 331.)

† "Chacun habite, seul ou avec un camarade, quelque modeste chambre d'hôtellerie, où sa petite collection de volumes, et de rouleaux de parchemin, ordinairement son seul avoir, n'est pas toujours bien défendue contre les voleurs qui rôdent dans la grande cité. Les élèves des classes, de grammaire, plus jeunes et en majeure partie Parisiens, demeurent au domicile paternel, et le trajet qu'ils ont à faire leur sert de prétexte pour courir au hasard par la ville. Les autres, venus de pays lointains, sont livrés à eux-mêmes, sous la surveillance et la protection des chefs de leur nation. Il y en a de nobles, il y en a de roturiers: mais il n'y en a pas de riches; car les sergents on *garçons* de l'université se chargent, au besoin, d'alléger leur bourse." (*De La Marche*, p. 426.)

the city appear to have been at first tradesmen, publicans, furriers, jewellers, barbers, cutlers, mercers, tavern-keepers, and sellers of tapestry and parchment, who made their money by the students; with thousands of Jews, and women of ill-fame.* Paris, in early days, must have presented a spectacle of great public disorder, debauchery, and crime.† The professors, in great part, were reckless adventurers—a sort of wild knight-errants, who scoured the country in search of excitement for the mind, and money for the pocket. The students were, in the main, disorderly youths, living in the very centre of corruption, without control, loving a noisy, dissipated life in town. Some were destitute, quarrelling with prostitutes and varlets, and filling the tribunals with their scandals and litigations, living on charity or in *hospitia*; others were rich and lordly, great spendthrifts, and swaggerers, and devoid of every virtue except, perhaps, the gift of faith, studying, if at all, to know—from mere curiosity; or to be known—out of pure conceit. They would rollick, and row, and stream in and out of the schools, like swarms of hornets, buzzing, and litigating, and quarrelling with one another, upsetting every semblance of discipline and order. They simply went to Paris for excitement and adventure, to fill their bodies and minds with whatever could minister to their cravings.‡ These young Martinets, as they were called, would acknowledge no master, but the impulse of the moment; and their conduct, at length, became so unbearable, that, by charter, they were excluded from all the privileges of Paris students. In the evenings, and towards nightfall, the taverns in those narrow, crooked streets, would be filled with the fumes of their liquors, and the streets would echo again with their boisterous mirth, and to the sound of the voices of troubadours, minnesingers, and minstrels, who loved good cheer, and were never so happy as when gaily singing love-songs, or dealing out satire upon people

* Speaking simply of women-servants, Humbert de Romanis says, "O combien d'adolescents, sont séduits et entraînés au libertinage par elles! Ne doivent-elles pas porter la responsabilité de toutes les fautes qu'ils commettront dans la suite contre les bonnes mœurs?" "Elles deviennent" says De La Marche, "quelquefois leurs entretenueuses, et vivent elles-mêmes en concubinage avec les valets, consommant en leur compagnie, dans des saturnales nocturnes, toutes les provisions qui leur sont confiées: c'est pourquoi il est instamment recommandé de tenir les domestiques éloignés les uns des autres pendant la nuit." (p. 390.)

Giles of Orleans says, in a sermon, that the woman, "A plus de queues que n'en a Satan lui-même: car Satan n'en a qu'une, et elle en a tout autour d'elle. C'est à Paris surtout que règnent ces abus. C'est là qu'on voit des femmes courir par la ville toutes décolletées, toutes espoiitrinées. Quelle guerre celles-là font à Dieu!" (p. 405.)

† "Les écoliers, entassés dans les rues sombres et étroites de la Cité, s'y trouvaient sans cesse en contact avec le rebut de la société; les lieux de débauche touchaient les salles de cours." (Franklin, Vol. 1., p. 222.)

‡ "C'est aussi, peut-être faudrait-il dire c'est surtout le tapageur effronté, qui court la nuit, tout armé, dans les rues de la capitale, brise les portes des maisons pour exercer des violences, remplit ces tribunaux du bruit de ces esclandres. Tout le jour, des *meretriculæ* viennent déposer contre lui, se plaignant, d'avoir été frappées, d'avoir eu leurs vêtements mis en pièces on leur cheveux coupés. Ses querelles avec la puissante corporation des bourgeois de Paris sont incessantes." (De La Marche, p. 425.)

"Manger brin je Paris vert
D'weuk lernet und viel verzehrt
Io hat er doch Paris gesehen."
(Hugo von Trunberg.)

in high places, to the ring of the joyous, thoughtless laugh of the Paris student.* As the drink passed round, the mirth would become more pronounced.† Words would be dealt out, interspersed with knocks and blows; the tavern would become a scene of indescribable uproar and confusion, with students, and women, and noisy rakings of the town, till the mass of them would swarm out irregularly, and choke the narrow street—shouting and yelling, and brandishing their daggers, as they parted company, some, to their lodgings; others, to crown their night's debauch by waking up and insulting the sleeping citizens. Bloodshed was frequent in these brawls; death was not uncommon. The confusion would, at times, spread to the people. There would be a general town-and-gown fight. Pegge, in his life of Bishop Grossetete, speaks of a tumult at Oxford in the thirteenth century, in which the brother of the Papal Legate was struck down by a bow-shot, and which was of so violent a character even for those reckless days, that the numbers of the University dwindled away from thirty thousand to six thousand.

The elections of professors gave a great opening to bitterness, jealousy, and contention. The custom at Paris was, at one time, for the different "nations" to elect a reader of ethics. But this practice led to so many brutal outrages, that it had, at length, to be done away with altogether.‡ There were plenty of occasions for faction-fights without such direct encouragement as the public election of professors. After one of these contests, the students appealed against the Parisians to the King. Philip Augustus took their part. He transferred them from the jurisdiction of the civil arm, to that of the ecclesiastical courts. He placed a member of the University upon the bench; and great advantages resulted to both sides from the relations thus introduced. Having been recognized by the King, the University was now recognized by the Pope. Innocent III., who had been a student there, formed it into an ecclesiastical body. He deputed Robert Courçon, his Legate, to draw out a set of statutes. In these, the qualifications of professors, the books to be used, and the relations of the students

* Robert of Auvergne "Quidam enim frequentant potationes publicas et lascivas congregationes, ut cantent ibi lascivas cantilenas;" and Elinand, who has seen gay life in its wildest day, and had then become a monk, thus speaks in his third sermon on Pentecost:—"Quis sua scientiâ utitur ad salutem? Imò, quis eâ non utitur in suam perniciem? Heu! quam rarè coeunt virtus et scientiâ! Nescio quo vinculo pactionis novæ libidines et litteræ sibi cohæserunt." (Tissier, VII., 260.) Elinand defended the Immaculate Conception against the Lombard.

† The tavern-keepers would try and make the students pay too much; then the students would swear at them: "En non Din, par les membres ne par la vie je n'en donnerai mie por mains!—Ne par la cervelle ne par la boche, je n'en donnerai plus!" (MSS. de Grenier, Vol. CLVIII., quoted by De La Marche, p. 379, 380.)

‡ "Sed propter insolentias, perpetrataque in hujusmodi electione homicidia, cessavit talis electio: et novo condito statuto, quilibet Artium Regens specialem suis scholasticis facit ethicorum lectionem, a quibus in fine cursus moderata pro labore suo recipit stipendia." (Goulet, *Parisiens. Theolog.* in *Launoii de Varia Aristotelis Fortuna, Cap. X., Par. 1662.*)

to each other, were stated.* To teach arts, a man must have had a six years' course, and had to be, at least, twenty-one years' old. To teach theology, an eight years' course, and thirty-five years of age, were requisite. Just as Bologna became the model of Italian and Spanish universities, so Paris became the model for those of Germany, and England. In Italy, law, almost exclusively, was taught; in Paris and Oxford, there was no neglect of theology.

Paris seems to have taken the lead in influence and numbers. The distracted state of England induced scholars to leave Oxford and Cambridge, and fix themselves in Paris. So multitudinous was the number of students, that they were divided, not according to schools, but according to nations. Whoever came, were ranked as one of four—either as Frenchmen, which included Spaniards, Italians, and Orientals; as Englishmen or Germans, including the Hungarians, Scandinavians, and Poles; or as Picards or Normans. So great was their number at one time, that, in a procession, the first rank had entered the church of Notre Dame, whilst the last rank was still leaving S. Mathurin's.† Kings would assist at their splendid pageants, and would honour, by their presence, five thousand graduates. On one occasion, the University promised to send twenty-five thousand scholars to increase the pomp of a funeral. In 1262, Olfred himself gave his lectures to ten thousand scholars in Padua. In the sixteenth century, there were forty thousand students. Bologna, Padua, Salamanca, Naples, Upsal, Lisbon, and Rome, followed suit. In 1260, there were ten thousand students at Bologna; in 1262, some say, there were twenty thousand. In 1200, there were four thousand scholars at Oxford; in 1231, thirty thousand; and in 1263, fifteen thousand. We read of five thousand being at Cambridge. Toulouse was equally flourishing with the college of Guienne at Bordeaux, which was able to muster two thousand five hundred students. The University of Louvain, later on, had as many as forty colleges attached to it, whilst, before the Reformation, Europe could boast of as many as sixty-six universities—sixteen of which belonged to Germany.‡

* Considering the state of Paris, it is not surprising that a Synod in 1212 decreed that he who is in a monastery must not seek to be taught outside. (See Hefele, *Vol. V., Part II., p. 775.*)

† Belonging to the Order founded by S. John of Matha, and S. Felix of Valois, and approved in 1198 by Innocent III.:—"Qui monachos ordinis Sanctissimæ Trinitatis de redemptione captivorum voluit appellari." The Rue des Mathurins still exists, and was called, "Vicus Thermarum Cesaris." It was in the suburbs of Paris. The religious were established about 1209 on the site which had been occupied by a little hospital and chapel, dedicated to S. Mathurin:—"In suburbio Parisiensi juxta locum qui dicitur Thermæ." From the thirteenth century, the University held its solemn assemblies in the convent of the Trinitarians. It was suppressed in 1790.

‡ These numbers, after all, are not so extravagant, compared with the monks of old. In one city of Egypt, Oxyrinchus, there were ten thousand monks; S. Antony left fifty thousand. Posthumus had five thousand; two thousand followed Martin to the grave. (See *Atlantis, No. III., p. 12.*) Then, in Rome alone, in the census of Easter, 1869, there were over two thousand clerks, and two thousand nuns, and about three thousand religious—nearly eight thousand persons dedicated to God.

Such was the marvellous influence of knowledge in the middle ages. Nor was the enthusiasm of individuals of short duration. In these days, a lad has finished his education at twenty-one; in those days he had not done much more than begun it. The mind, through the drill of the schools, was fit and ripe for manly thought, for abstract speculation, and for grasping, with firm hold, the form of truth. No pains were spared to obtain good professors, and to economize them. Even in meditative Cluny, there was a ten years' course; three years of *logicalia*, three of *literæ naturales et philosophia*, and five of theology. It was not at all unusual for a man to spend ten years over philosophy. Men studied philosophy and theology at Paris fifteen or sixteen years, and continued scholars till between thirty or forty years of age.* Grown men, and men with wives and families, were not ashamed—were proud, to sit by the side of striplings, and learn the wisdom of the schools. Then, they finished their education by attending different centres, and travelling to different countries—for instance: Innocent III. was at Rome, Bologna, and Paris; Alexander V., shone both at Paris and at Oxford; † John of Salisbury, studied under many masters; so of Vacarius, Lanfranc, and many others.

It was only in process of time that the true division of science began to be understood. At first, all things were taught together. By degrees, men saw from Aristotle, that method and order, conduce to clearness and grasp. It was only in the middle of the thirteenth century, that theology was made a separate faculty; that medicine was divorced from art, and law from theology. The Rector could be chosen only from amongst the Artists. Their privileges were numerous. For, if their vacation only lasted one month in summer-time, they seem to have possessed all, and more than all, the privileges of citizens, without being subject to their responsibilities. They seem to have held somewhat the same relation to the students, that townsmen do to soldiers quartered

* Luther speaks of the honour in which learning was held, when he says:—"Formerly, masters of art were honoured—one carried lighted flambeaus before them. It was a great festival, when Doctors were made. One went round the city on horseback, and put on one's best clothes. All that is no more, but I wish the good customs were revived. (Michelet, *Mém. de Luth.*, T. III., 107.)

† Even the monks of the ninth and tenth centuries saw the advantage of this, and went to different centres of monastic learning. S. Abbo, Rabanus, Walafrid, S. William, Gerbert, S. Wolfgang, Lupus, Fulbert; and many others, might be mentioned. John of Salisbury's account of himself is very characteristic:—"Cum primum adolescens admodum, studiorum causa migrassem in Gallias, anno altero postquam illustris rex Anglorum Henricus, leo justitiæ, rebus excessit humanis, contuli me ad peripateticum palatinum, qui tunc in Monte Sanctæ Genovefæ clarus doctor, et admirabilis omnibus præsidebat. Ibi, ad pedes ejus, prima artis hujus rudimenta accepi, et pro modulo ingenio mei, quicquid excedebat ab ore ejus, tota mentis aviditate excipiebam. Diende, post discessum ejus, qui mihi præproperus visus est, adhasi magistro Alberico, qui inter ceteros opacissimus dialecticus entebat, et erat revera nominalis sectæ acerrimus impugnator. Sic ferme toto triennio conversatus in Monte, artis hujus præceptoribus usum sum Alberico, et magistro Roberto Meludensi; ut cognomine designaret, quod meruit in scholarum regimine (natione siquidem Anglica est): quorum alter ad omnia scrupulosus, locum questionis inveniebat ubique. (*Metalog.*, Lib. II., Cap. 867.)

on them during war; with this difference, that the soldier is under strict discipline; whilst the student was hardly under any discipline at all.* It can well be conceived how independent—nay, overbearing, so vast and powerful a body of young men and professors could easily become. De Vitry says that their bitterness and contentions were the result of three causes, viz.: because they belonged to different sects, and so reviled and irritated each other; because of the school-disputes, which were fruitful parents of hatred, envy, and, sometimes bloodshed—and even death; and because of their different temperaments and nationalities, which were ever a standing excuse for indulging the instincts of the animal. Certainly, there could not have been better ingredients for mixing up into a quarrel, if the view they held of each others characteristics was founded upon fact. The Englishman, was a sot; the Frenchman, effeminate and proud; the German, furious and obscene; the Norman, vain; the Picard, a spendthrift; the Burgundian, stupid and brutal; the Lombard, a miser and a coward; the Roman, violent, seditious, and a thief; the Sicilian, cruel and tyrannical; the Brabantine, a man of blood, and an incendiary; the Fleming, prodigal, a glutton, and soft as butter.† It is not astonishing that, with such elements as these in a state of constant friction, there should have been little peace, and periodical explosions. Then, when it is considered how the application of the faculties in search of truth, and the exercise of the reason in logical display, heats the brain, and renders the whole being full of a nervous excitability: when it is remembered with what brutal loyalty some of the half-barbarians of these days maintained the teaching of their master, and held to creation of the fantasy with much more keenness than they would have held to life: when it is remembered that the living voices of the most eloquent men were continually ringing in their ears, and often carrying them away in the flow of their impetuous rhetoric against

* Michelet, speaking of the University, says:—"Ce corps formait une rude et forte démagogie, où quinze ou vingt mille jeunes gens de toute nation se formaient aux exercices dialectiques, cité sauvage dans la cité qu'ils troublaient de leurs violences et scandalisaient de leurs mœurs. C'était là toutefois depuis quelque temps la grande gymnastique intellectuelle du monde. Dans le treizième siècle seulement, il en sortit sept papes et une foule de cardinaux et d'évêques. Les plus illustres étrangers, l'Espagnol Raymond Lulle, et l'Italien Dante, venaient à trente et quarante ans s'asseoir au pied de la chaire de Denis Scot. Ils tenaient à honneur d'avoir disputé à Paris. Pétrarque fut aussi fier de la couronne que lui décerna notre université que de celle du Capitole." (*Hist. de France, Tom. IV., p. 5, 6.*)

† "Non solum autem ratione diversarum sectarum, vel occasione disputationum sibi invicem adversantes contradiebant; sed pro diversitate regionum mutuo dissidentes, invidentes et detrahentes, multis inter se contumelias et opprobria impudentur proferebant. Anglicos patatores et candidatos affirmantes; Francigenas superbos, molles et muliebriter compositos afferentes; Teutonicos furibundos et in conviviis suis obscenos dicebant; Normannos autem inanes et gloriosos, Pictavos proditores et fortuna amicos; hos autem qui de Burgundia erant, brutos et stultos reputabant; Britones autem leves et vagos judicantes, Arturi mortem frequentem eis objiciebant; Lombardos avaros, malitiosos et imbelles; Romanos seditiosos, violentos et manu rodentes; Siculos tyrannos et crudeles; Brabantios viros sanguinam, incendiarios, rutarios et raptores; Flandrenses superfluos, prodigos et commensationibus deditos et more butyri molles et remissos appellabant." (*Vid. Launoy, de Schol. Caleb. Opp., T. IV., p. 71.*)

some other professor, who was, very probably, acting exactly a similar part in another school: when it is remembered that there was little self-control in those days, that they were days of singular enthusiasm, of emotion, of passion, of ecstasie display, and maddening life, some notion may be formed of the moral position of those thousands who poured into Paris from every country of Europe.* Many almost killed themselves by over-work; and the tiny light—when the morning broke upon the city—could be seen flickering from their windows, as they still pored over the books which they had opened with the setting sun. Others despised study altogether. They expressed the reaction, against the overstrain, of intellectual life.† They went about talking loud, and boasting that it was absurd to take lessons in logic and in learning; that teaching was waste of time, and of no account at all; that man was quite sufficient for himself; that if he had talent enough to go to school, he had ability enough to make his own logic; and that if he was too dull to frame his logic for himself, he was far too stupid to do any good at school. It may be imagined how eager scholars, whose hearts and intelligences were engrossed by the fascinating problems of the schools, would be irritated and maddened by these coxcombs; for the Cornificii were only too glad to put a bilious student in a passion, and then turn round and laugh at him. The Cornificii, we imaginé, were the most rollicking, independent, useless set that ever drank or sang—that ever disputed for the sake of pastime, and frittered away their time in the amusements of the gay city. They would be troubled by no dyspeptic melancholy; they would not be peevish, as is the sickly student who passes his days and nights in poring over parchment as yellow nearly as himself. The violence of the students sometimes led to strange results. In the time of Gregory IX., a fatal brawl took place in a tavern, and much blood flowed. The authorities interposed. The University resented the interference. It was maintained that the civil authority had no

* Peter the Cantor, in his advice to those who discuss in the schools, gives some little notion of the excitement discussion must have produced. "Item II., ad Tim. II.: Non oportet servem Dei litigare, ut obstrepat studio altercandi, erroremque suum tragico defraudat hiati: 'sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, cum modestia corripientem, et disputantem' . . . Ad summam totius summa, tardiloquum, rariloquum, submissa voce loquentem te esse iubeo. Caput enim movere, brachia intorquere, digitos extendere, pedes supplantare, totumque corpus concutere, quid aliud est nisi quedam similitudo insanie, et te similem pugili ostendere?" (Pet. Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, Cap. V., n. 11, 12, p. 34, 35.) Here is an example of too great quickness, and too much delay:—"Exemplo quoque Aristotelis, ad nullam, etiam facilem, questionem sibi propositam, respondens, nisi datis induciis. Unde, et cum ei propoeretur questio difficilis, Theophrastus, juvenili calore adunc imbutus, questionem illam se solutarum promisit. In cuius solutione cum deficeret et humum erubesceret, ait ei Aristoteles: 'Opus est tibi freno.' Alii vero discipulo, scilicet Eudemo (qui cum nimis morose, et non nisi cum induciis diutius sibi proposita solvebat), ait Aristoteles: 'Tibi opus est calcaribus.' Venam tamen ingenui habebat divitem." (*Ibid.*, p. 36.)

† "Alii autem Cornificio similes ad vulgi professiones easque profanas relapsi sunt parum curantes, quid philosophia doceat, quid appetendum fugiendumque demerit; dummodo: rem faciant, 'si possunt, recte, si non quocunque modo.' Exercent fenebrem pecuniam, alternis vicibus rotundaverant, adequantes. Nilil enim sordidum putant, nilil Stultum, nisi paupertatis angustias, et solas opes ducunt esse fructum sapientie." (*Metalog.*, Lib. I., Cap. IV., p. 831.)

right to meddle. It was for the University to settle its own quarrels, and punish its own misdeeds. Redress was demanded. None was forthcoming. So students and professors at once, *en masse*, left Paris, and went off to Rheims, Angers, Toulouse, Orleans, Italy, and Spain, and left the "Mistress of the World" almost a ruined and a silent city.* The Pope looked on this as a calamity. He impressed upon King Louis the importance of conciliation. Louis took Pope Gregory's view. The professors and students were recalled, and the work went on as busily as before. But Gregory would no longer suffer the students to carry arms. The Bishop of Paris was empowered to punish and arrest; but the like liberty was not conceded to the Chancellor. Other decrees, relating to the better order and greater safety of the University, were issued at various intervals, and many privileges were accorded to the students.†

But fortunately for science and religion, there were in Paris other students, besides those who represented the element of disorder, and human passion. In the midst of this heaving ocean, which was seldom calm, and at times lashed into tempestuous fury, there were islands, centres of stability, where the thunder of the ocean could scarcely be heard; at least, against which the sea might beat, but certainly to break. These centres were the monastic convents, where men advanced in knowledge, in proportion as they sunk in humility, and rose in love.‡ There were exceptions, but to speak broadly, they were the instruments of power, against the mass of humanity, that was heaving and sinking, and swaying to and fro, in the outside world. The founders of these colleges were keenly alive to the immense danger, for young men,

* "In der That zogen damals Lehrer und Schüler von dannen, nach Rheims, Angers, Toulouse, nach England, Italien und Spanien. Man hatte sich einstimmig zugeschworen, nicht eher wiederkehren zu wollen, bis die von der Regentin-Mutter Blanca verweigerte Gengthuung erfolgt sei. Gregor's IX. Intervention vermittelte endlich die Sache, an deren Beilegung ihm aus höheren Gründen gelegen war, weil er die Theilung der Universität als eine Caimität für die Wissenschaft erachtete. Er bat und ermahnte den inzwischen zur Regierung gelangten Sohn der Regentin-Mutter, Ludwig IX., er möchte sich den Studirenden geneigt erweisen, und ihnen die Privilegien seines Grossvaters Philipp August erneuern, was von Seite des Königs, der mit dem Papste gleicher Gesinnung über die Sache war, bereitwillig geschah." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, p. 105.)

† The frequent "Reforms" which were necessitated in the University speak for the pressure of evil influence for which it must, almost of a necessity, have been subject. It was reformed in 1215, 1278, 1366, 1452. Petrarch speaks with great severity of the state of things at the University in his day.—"Erant olim hujus scientie [theologie] professores; hodie, quod indignans dico, sacrum nomen profani et loquaces dialectici dehonstant, quod nisi sic esset, non hæc tanta tam subito pulvisasset seges inutilium magistrorum . . . Philosophi, ut de theologis nunc dicebam, ad verbosam nudamque dialecticam sunt redacti." (*Opp. fol. Basil. Epist., var. XXXI.*, p. 1021.) Again: "Hæc est vera philosophia, non quæ fallacibus aliis attollitur et steriliūm disputationum ventosa jactantia periuane circumvolvitur, sed quæ certis et modestis gradibus compendio ad salutem pergit." (*Ibid.*) Once more: "Juvenis . . . cathedram ascendit . . . nescio quid confusum murmurans. Tunc maiores certatim ut divina locutum laudibus ad cælum tollunt; tinniunt interim campanæ, strepunt tubæ, volant annuli, finguntur oscula, vertici rotundus ac magistralis biretus apponitur; his peractus descendit sapiens, qui stultus ascenderat." (*De Vera Sapientia, Lib. I.*, p. 324.)

‡ Gerson even, in his letters to the scholars of the College of Navarre, speaks with deep feeling of the influence of the religious bodies:—"O utinam," he says, "omnes et benigna reformatione secum tractarent quanta qualisve jactura spiritalis est et fuit, tot hactenus sermones tot locutiones, tot salubres instructiones in universitate et alibi inde cessasse." (*Ech.*, *I.*, p. 270.)

in the proximity of so much corruption.* The plaintive cry of those simple monks, is the voice of the old method, expiring away. Peter of Cells complains bitterly; † Matthew of Paris, that keen observer, sees how the tide is turning; and Philip, Abbot of Goodhope, expresses the full feeling of that school, when he exclaims, "Blessed is the man, not who hath heard Master Anselm, or who hath studied at Paris, but to whom Thou, O Lord, dost teach 'Thy law!'" Those who bent to the pressure of the times felt quite as keenly. The regulations for students coming to study at Paris were very stringent. It was strictly forbidden, for instance, in the Cluny convent, for a student to go into the city without an express permission, and, even then, always in the company of a master.

Robert of Sorbon gave a very interesting instruction (*De Conscientiâ*) concerning what the student should do to profit by his study. This is a *resumé*:—

"The scholar, who would profit by his position, ought to observe six essential rules:—

1.—"He ought to dedicate one certain hour, to one specified piece of reading, as S. Bernard advises, in his letter to the brethren of Mont Dieu." ‡

2.—"To fix his attention upon what he is going to read, and not to pass on lightly to something else. There is the same difference, says S. Bernard, again, between reading and studying, as between a host and a friend—between a salute exchanged in the street, and an unalterable affection."

3.—"To extract, each day, one thought—one truth of some sort, and to engrave it in the memory with especial care. Seneca has said, '*Cum multa percurreris in die, unum tibi elige quod illâ die excoquas.*'"

4.—"To write a *resumé*—for unwritten words are blown away like dust before the wind."

5.—"To join with his companions in the 'disputations,' or in familiar conversations—this practice is even of greater service than reading, because it results in clearing up all doubts, and all the obscurities which have been left by reading on the mind, '*Nihil perfectè scitur nisi dente disputationis feriatur.*'"

6.—"To pray—for this is, in point of fact, one of the best means of learning. S. Bernard teaches that reading should excite the affections of the soul, and that such influences should be

* "Les tournois et les foires étaient cependant infestés par les prostituées. A Paris, plus qu'ailleurs, on en voyait circuler dans les rues, le col tout estendu, les cornes levées, semblant par leur démarche dire à tout venant. 'Vés me ci, vés me ci; qui a mestier de en tel cors?'" (*MS. lat. 16,498, Sermon sur Sainte Madeleine, quoted by De La Marche, p. 414.*)

† T. IV., Epist. 10.)

‡ Convent of the Chartreux in Champagne.

turned to advantage in elevating the heart to God, without, on that account, interrupting study. In the acquisition of knowledge, the pleasures of the flesh must be abstained from, and creature-comforts must not be embraced. There were at Paris two masters, bound together, of whom one had seen much, read much, and remained bent day and night over his books—hardly did he take time to say a single *Pater*. This man had only four disciples. His companion had a worse-furnished library, was less carried away by study, hearing mass every day before giving his lesson: and, nevertheless, his school was full. ‘Now, how do you manage?’—the first asked him. ‘It is simple enough,’ the second replied, smiling—‘God studies for me; I go to mass, and when I return, I know by heart all that I ought to teach.’” *

“Meditation is not only becoming in the master: the good student ought to take a walk in the evening on the banks of the Seine, not to play, but to repeat his lesson, or to meditate.” †

Robert ends by blaming those who content themselves with incomplete instruction, and know not how to utilize their knowledge.

“Grammar,” he says, “forges the sword of the word of God; rhetoric polishes it; and, finally, theology makes use of it. But there are some scholars who are always learning to fashion it, and to point it, and keep on sharpening it till they have sharpened it all away: others, keep it shut up in the scabbard, and when they want to draw it out, they themselves are old, and the iron is rusty, and they can make nothing of it.—With regard to those who study, in order to become dignitaries, and prelates, they are very much deceived, for they hardly ever obtain the end of their ambition.”

But to revert to the Dominicans. S. Dominic had his eye fixed on Paris, from the first. He sent seven brothers there, divided into two parties: the first, being three Spaniards; the second, three Frenchmen, and an Englishman. They rented a house in the middle of the city, close to the gate of the Episcopal Palace. They were all, except Matthew, utter strangers to the town, and

* The discipline in the Colleges which were established about the middle of the thirteenth century, was a very great help in forming the clerical mind:—“Or, la discipline des collèges tendoit non seulement à l’instruction des écoliers qu’on y entretenoit que nous appelons boursiers, mais à régler leurs moeurs et les former à la vie cléricale. Ils vivoient en commun, célébroient l’office divin, avoient leurs heures réglées d’étude et de divertissement, et plusieurs pédagogues ou régens veilloient sur eux pour les conduire et les contenir dans leur devoir: c’étoit comme de petits séminaires. Enfin cette institution, et tout le reste de la police des universités fut si généralement approuvée, que tous les pays du rit latin suivirent l’exemple de la France et de l’Italie; et depuis le treizième siècle on vit paroître de jour en jour de nouvelles universités.” (Fleury, *Cinquième disc. sur l’Hist. Eccl.*, p. 195, 196.)

† He alludes to walks resembling that of Pré-aux-Clercs, which, on account of their misbehaviour, was shut to the students in 1215.

had it not been for the Englishman, whose name was Lawrence, they would have abandoned their foundation in despair.

Now, John of Saint Alban, who was physician to the King, and connected with the University—and a man of considerable influence, had founded in the "*Magnus Vicus Sancti Benedicti*" an *hospitium* for pilgrims.* The chapel was dedicated to S. James, the favourite Apostle of Spain. Somehow, John got to hear that members of a new institute had made their way to Paris, and that they professed to preach the Gospel of Christ, in imitation of the Apostles of the primitive Church. He saw them, was excessively impressed, and at once handed over to them the half-ruined pilgrim-house dedicated to S. James † (1218.) In 1221, he legally transferred it to them: the University, at the request of Pope Honorius, transmitting to the friars the right to the land and house, with the condition that yearly, the day after S. Nicholas, a solemn mass should be sung for the living members of the University; and a solemn requiem, on the day after the Purification, for its departed members. For a master, the same offices were performed as if he had been a member of the community. If a theologian died, during his professorship at the University, he could claim to be buried in the Chapter-room: a professor of any other faculty might be buried in the cloister. Thus, from the beginning, the Dominicans came into contact with the University. Indeed, from the first, they attended the theological schools of the church of Paris. Though excessively poor, they soon made themselves known. S. Louis looked upon them with great regard, for he saw that their poverty was the poverty of Christ. He built them a convent after a time, chose three confessors from amongst their body; and, at his death, left them a portion of the library he had collected at the Sainte-Chapelle. But, before this, students came to hear them, and several joined the convent. In the year 1219, they could muster as many as thirty in community, one of which was the famous preacher, and friend of Saint Louis—Henry Marburg. Here, they worked steadily, with pen and ink-horn, and copy-book. Here, they weighed, and studied, the Lombard, the Bible, and the Gloss.‡ Novices were taught Latin grammar, and logic; and disputations—unlike Monte Cassino—could be heard echoing in the cloister. Meditation was made a counter-balance to the excitement of study; and the friars, who mostly had been professors in the schools, were particularly cautioned

* The name of "Benedict" was soon changed into that of "Dominic," by the activity of the friars.

† The convent was suppressed in 1790. The building, having been used in turns for a prison, a school, and barracks, has been lately done away with altogether.

‡ Every student has a right to three books—a Bible; the *Ecclesiastical History*, of Peter Comestor; and the *Sentences*.

not to become too eager after learning, or to be carried away by the applause and temptations of the schools. Saint Dominic himself visited them, and "set in order a regular house, with cloisters, dormitory, refectory," and, especially, cells for study. Honorius called them "The Brethren of the Order of Preachers studying the Sacred Page in Paris." They were watched over with extreme care, and were guarded with great strictness. The *Magister Studentium* had a certain discretionary power, and could allot cells to them for private study; could give them lights—for reading in the night; and other privileges. Prayer, holy office, humiliation, contemplation, silence, love—these influences maintained the even balance of the mind. The course of studies, at one time, was very strictly confined to theological works; it was decreed that students should not make a study of the books of heathens and philosophers, even though they might look into them from time to time;* nor study the arts which were called "liberal," unless the Master of the Order, or a General Chapter, or the Provincial Prior, should see fit, in certain cases, to grant a dispensation—"Let none," says the decree, "be they young or otherwise, read any but theological books."† After three years at Paris, the young men could return to the convent where they had made their vows.

It was in this convent of S. James, that Albert and Thomas wrote their Commentaries on the "Sentences."‡ Here, S. Thomas came, at the end of his life, to write his *Summa* against the Gentiles. Cardinal Hugh of S. Caro—a contemporary of Law-

* "Quoniam circa studentis diligens est adhibenda cautela, aliquem specialem fratrem habere sine ejus licentia non scribant quaternos: nec audeant lectiones, et qui circa eos in studio corrigenda viderit corrigat; et si vires ejus excedat, prelato proponat. In libris gentium philosophorum non studeat, et si ad horam suscipiat, seculares scientias non addisceat, nec artes quas liberales vocant; nisi aliquando circa aliquos magister ordinis, vel capitulum generale, vel prior provincialis, vel capitulum provinciale voluerit taliter dispensare; sed tantum libros theologicos tam juvenes quam alii legant. Ipsi vero in studio taliter sint intenti, ut de die, de nocte, in domo, in itinere aliquid vel aliquid meditentur et quicquid poterunt retinere corde tenus nuntiant. Curet prior provincialis, ut si habuerit aliquos utiles ad studendum qui possint et in brevi esse apti ad regendum, mittere ad studium ad loca ubi viget studium extra suas provincias, de diffinitorum capituli provincialis vel majoris partis eorum concilio et essensu . . . Tres autem fratres mittantur Parisios de qualibet Provincia ad studendum . . . Statuimus ut qualibet provincia fratribus suis missis ad studium ad minus in tribus libris teneatur providere, videlicet in Biblia, Historiis Scholasticis et Sententiis, et ipsi in his tam in textu quam in glossis studeant et intendant . . . Circa eos autem qui student taliter, dispensetur a prelato, ne propter officium vel aliquid aliud de facili a studio retrahantur, vel impediuntur. Locus vero proprius secundum quod a magistro studentium videbitur statuatur: in quo post prandium vel vespas vel alio etiam tempore prout vacabit ad dubitationes vel questiones proponendas vel collationes faciendas ipso presente conveniant, et uno querente seu proponente alij taceant ne loquentem impudiant . . . In cellis vero scribere, legere, orare, dormire, et etiam de nocte vigilare ad lumen possunt qui voluerit propter Studium . . . Nullus fratrum nostrorum legat in Psalmis vel Prophetis alium sensum litteralem nisi quem sancti approbant et confirmant. Libri ordinis seu fratrum non venduntur, nisi pretium eorum in alios libros seu scripta convertatur. Nulla enim scripta facta vel composita a fratribus aliquatenus publicentur, nisi per fratres peritos, quibus magister ordinis vel prior provincialis commiserit, diligenter fuerint examinata." (*Constitutiones Fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum S. Dominici, dist. 2, Cap. XIII. De Studentibus, p. 49 ad 51.*)

† The old inscriptions on the books in their library show how they prized them: for instance:—

"Iste liber est Sancti Jacobi Parisiensis de ordine Predicatorum. Quicumque eum ab eadem ecclesia alienaverit aut subriperit, sive titulum istum deleverit, anathema sit. Amen."

‡ The fact that John Romain Colonna (before 1285 composed a book, *De Viris Illustribus Ethnicis et Christianis*, shows that some of the Dominicans were allowed to pick "les fleurs adultérines du paganisme." (*Hist. Litt. XIX., 392.*)

rence the Englishman—selected the Dominicans of S. James to assist him in making his concordance of different Bible texts, so that the work became known as the "*Concordantia Sancti Jacobi*." * A little later, Richard de Bury speaks of the immense activity and labours of these men—" *Qui diversorum voluminum correctionibus, expositionibus, tabulationibus, ac compilationibus indefessis studiis incumbabant*." †

No doubt, the great results which flowed from the Dominican labours are due, in great part, to the system they adopted. A greater portion of knowledge, in those days, entered through the eye and the ear, than has been the case in our education. In the first place, the lectures were given in large halls. In the middle, generally, stood the chair of the master, with another seat below, and in front of him, for the bachelor, who was going through his training. ‡ The walls of the lecture-room were often covered with inscriptions from the Fathers, or from Scripture—for instance: "*Ama scientiam Scripturarum, et vitia carnis non amabis. Qui addit scientiam, addit dolorem. Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum*—" § and so on. Around the hall, and across it, benches were placed for the students. If there was not room, they got into the hall as well as they could, and sat on the ground. In Paris, the students often sat on the straw which was under their feet. There were no writing-desks, or conveniences for putting down the lectures. The teaching was principally done by question and answer, by exposition, repetition, and disputation. Sometimes, the professor's chair had an inscription on it, to keep the mind sober, like that on the chair of Albert the Great—" *Time Deum et date illi honorem, quia venit hora judicij ejus*."—though possibly this chair may be of later date. || Neither the master nor his assistant used a book; no reading was allowed; professors might have the text, perhaps, before them, but nothing more; occasionally, a student might, with permission, take a few notes;

* A l'époque de la Révolution, le monastère des Jacobins couvrait tout l'espace compris entre les rues des Cordiers, Saint-Jacques et Sainte-Hyacinthe; mais, bien que la bibliothèque comptât réellement alors plus de cinq cents ans d'existence, elle ne possédait encore que 14,000 volumes imprimés, et environ 250 manuscrits." (Franklin. *Vol. I*, p. 195.)

† Philobiblon, *Cap. VIII*. See Franklin, p. 192.

‡ "A Ratisbonne, dans l'aile d'un bâtiment qui faisait autrefois partie du couvent des frères prêcheurs, on montre une salle qu'on appelle la *salle Albertine*, et où, paraît-il, Albert le Grand aurait solennellement enseigné la théologie. Dans cette salle se voit une sorte de trône en bois sculpté, avec les figures de saint Vincent Ferrier, d'Albert le Grand et de saint Thomas grossièrement tracées sur les planches de chêne." (Vid. D'Assailly, p. 187.)

§ See Sighart's *Albertus Magnus, Sein Leben und sein Wissenschaft*, *Kap. V.*, p. 32, note.

|| The following shows how careful the Dominicans were to keep the principles of religion before the minds of the students:—"Les collations, d'après la chronique de Frères Prêcheurs écrite par Humbert de Romans, furent introduites dans les écoles de Paris par le second général de l'ordre, Jourdain de Saxe; 'Le bienheureux Jourdain, ajoute Echard, voyant que les étudiants n'entendaient la parole sainte que le matin, et que, les jours fériés, ils passaient le reste de leur temps à flâner (*pro libito vagari*), obtint qu'on leur fit en outre ces instructions de soir dites dès lors collations. Du là vient que dans la plupart des recueils des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, chaque sermon est suivi d'une collation.'" (De La Marche, p. 212.)

many, especially if they had memory and parts, would commit the lectures to writing on their return from the school. Some were able to take down almost *verbatim* the lectures of the masters. Like the ancient Greeks,* medieval students—at all events, students of the thirteenth century—made use of a kind of shorthand, which, after they had taken down the master's lecture, they turned into the *littera legibilis*, at their leisure. Doctors and masters themselves, were sometimes in the habit of writing their works or lectures in shorthand; and their admirers or disciples, who knew how to read their characters, threw their compositions into the common form for the benefit of the public. Thus, it appears, S. Thomas wrote his "*Contra Gentiles*," as well as his "Exposition on Isaias."† Some young men, in the time of Albertus Magnus, are spoken of as excessively ready with their smartness in taking down a lecture.‡

Then the bachelor who was working under the eye of a master, had to teach the Introduction to the Books of Aristotle, or the "Sentences of the Lombard;" and to take the students through their repetitions and disquisitions. But even he was not permitted to have a book.§ This, no doubt, had something to do with the influence of the schools. The power of an individual mind, the moral weight, the tone and inflection of voice, the glance of the eye—the whole bearing of the professor, if he be a superior man, must, of a necessity, act with great force upon the mind of youth. It makes the difference—so well understood, and so philosophically spoken of, by some mediæval writers—between dead and living words. A profound knowledge of Scripture is what was most sought after. On it, rested the fabric of theological knowledge. It was carefully explained in its various senses, and the love of the marvellous, tended to make the allegorical method of interpretation—by which men seemed to sink into the mysteries

* For instance, see Herodotus, *Lib. II.*, c. 26. Again: "Quod ad te de decem legatis scripsi, parum intellexisti quid ὅλα σεγέτων (signis) scripseram. (*Ad Atticum Epist.*, XXXII.)

† At the end of an autograph MS. of the *Contra Gentiles* we find these words:—*Ligetur omnes (i. e., the pages) sicut stant in ista charta, et procuretur aliquis, si inveniri possit, qui sciret legere istam litteram, quia est de littera fratris Thomæ.*" Again in a MS. of the Laurentian Library at Florence:—"Et sic terminatur sententia et expositio ad litteram super Isaiam, secundum fratrem Thomam de Aquino; quam transtulit ad *Litteram legibilem*, cum complemento auctoritatum, frater Jacobinus Astensis de Provincia Lombardie, tunc temporis in studio generali Neapolitano."

‡ In the time of Albert there were those who "lectiones suas, summo studio prius compositas, memoriter proferbant, ac ea ratione qua sermones dicuntur, quasi nullis scripto exciperet; quas tamen quidam auditorum celeri ad scribendum manu polleutes excipiebant, quæ dicebantur reportatæ, vel reportationes, quas plures a me vise sunt inter Codices MS. Sorbonæ." (P. P. Quetif et Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis, FF. PP. II.*, p. 163.)

§ It is not one of the misfortunes of the present day, that there is much less opportunity, in the schools, for practising accuracy of expression, and for learning it from able men, than was the case in the middle ages? What is more conducive to retaining knowledge, and learning how to make use of it, than the practice of frequent expositions, trusting the memory and not the book, and exercising the readiness of the mind in improvising language, that will accurately convey the results of careful thought. To train the mind, is useful to a man; to train the tongue, is useful to his neighbour. A man, or at least a student, does not know for certain that he has mastered a subject till he has either written upon it, or spoken on it.

of God—the most common and most esteemed. Some young men were kept exclusively to this, and were denominated “*Biblici*.” The middle age was one of great simplicity. Men oftentimes studied the Scriptures for years, and nothing else, with great energy and earnestness. The “Sentences of the Lombard” were also expounded *viva voce* from the chair, and this went on for several years, the students going by the name of the “*Sententiarii*.”*

The abandonment of Paris, by the students and professors, in 1229, left all the professorial chairs completely empty. William of Auvergne began to be apprehensive that the study of theology would come to an end altogether. It would be better, he thought, to give a chair of divinity to the Dominicans, than to have none at all. So he invited the brother of S. James to fill that honourable post. Having some exceedingly able men amongst them, the Order closed with the offer. When the students and professors returned to Paris, they found the children of S. Dominic in the theological chair. The friars continued lecturing, and even possessed themselves of another chair (1230), to the great disgust and envy of the members of the University. The secular elements came to an agreement amongst themselves, that no religious community should have more than one chair in the University. The Dominicans would by no means consent to carry this resolution into effect. For several years, they had been in quiet possession of these chairs, and no opposition had been made to them; and, since they had right on their side, and taught with eminent success, they did not intend to move, simply to satisfy the spitefulness of party feeling. They were left, for the time, alone. It was afterwards, in a contention which will be touched upon, that they lost their hold upon the University.

* “En passant, du livre des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, sorte de recueil jadis fameux, des opinions des Pères de l'Eglise sur mille questions *quodlibétiques*; sur les *vérités* de dogma ou de tradition, ou plutôt sorte de tremplin indéfiniment élastique sur lequel ne recula devant aucun étalage d'équilibre périlleux et de souplesse la brillante école des *théoriques*.” (D'Assailly, p. 169, 190.)

CHAPTER XVII.

PARIS. THE UNIVERSITY.

PART II.

HAD the philosophies and theologies of the Arabians remained in Arabia, or been confined to Spain, there would have been no call to treat of them in this volume. But that terrible intellectual pestilence which came out of India and Egypt—which was partly imported from Greece, which was rampant in Bagdad, Mecca, and Damascus—was carried from Spain, to France and Italy.* Those learned men, who, with such ardour, hurried off to Moorish academies, Jewish colleges, and Spanish universities, instead of taking home a new illumination of the human mind, carried back with them, in reality, an infection which was to taint with its deadly poison the highest seats of learning in Italy and France. The Arabs seem to have invaded, and almost taken possession of the schools of Paris. The practices of dialectical fence, and the overweening yearning after natural science, made men abandon the more serious studies of theology, and they became so blasted with intellectual conceit, that, if what we read be true, not only the judgments of the Holy See, but the anger of God himself, visited some of the professors with terrible severity. The startling history given by Bulæus, of Simon of Tournay, and his disciple Silo, are too well known to require repetition.† Then, when the Glosses of such men as Theophrastus, Aphrodisius, and Philoponus, came into the hands of the teachers in the schools—full of all manner

* "Man sieht mit Staunen, wie hoch diese Strömung, innerhalb der christlichen Schule selber schon angewachsen war; neben dem Gewimmel von religiösen Secten, welche ein mit Lehre und Verfassung der herrschenden Kirche schlechthin unverträgliches Ideal der Christlichkeit verfolgten und die äusserste Machtanstrengung der Kirche nöthig machten, erhob inmitten der von der Kirche gegründeten und überwachten Schule der unverholenste Unglaube sein Haupt, und sand in den zu ihrer Vertretung berufenen Lehrern seine Schutzredner und Verteidiger. Und wie innerhalb der Schule, so sah es auch ausserhalb derselben in Leben aus; der Zusammenstoss der christlichen und arabischen Cultur, die durch die vielseitige Begegnung und Berührung der drei Religionen, Christi, Mosis und Muhamed's, wachgerufenen Regungen eines Indifferentismus, der sich in vergleichender Betrachtung über alle drei Religionen zugleich zu stellen versucht fühlte, das Gefühl des Drucks und unwillkürlichen Widerstrebens, welches minder fromme Gemüther angesichts der noch immer mit imposanter Majestät allgebietenden Kirche empfanden, die bei den fortwährenden Kämpfen der Kirche mit dem Kaiserthum stets wach erhaltenen politischen Leidenschaften der Ghibellinenspartei machen solche Erscheinungen und Manifestationen des Unglaubens und Weltsinnes, wie sie im dreizehnten Jahrhundert zu finden, vollkommen erklärlich." (Werner, *B. I., Fünftes Capitel*, p. 570, 571.)

† These are the words made use of by Simon, according to Mathew of Paris, *Ann.* 1201, p. 206:—"O Jesule, Jesule, quantum in hac questione confirmavi legem tuam et exaltavi; profecto si malignando et adversando vellem, fortioribus rationibus et argumentis scirem illam infirmare, vel diprimendo improbare."

of detestable philosophy, and yet, somehow, by a certain charm, recommending themselves to their eager intellects, a new peril made itself evident. Aristotle was dangerous enough, when rightly understood; but Aristotle, tinged with the fatal doctrines of Eastern superstition—with the pantheism, mysticism, Gnosticism, and materialism of Arabia, was more than a danger—it was, absolutely, in many cases, a destruction. The blasphemous teachings of the Eastern mind, appear to have had a certain unaccountable attraction for the professors, and the students. Theology was neglected; intellectual excitement became the order of the day; men in high place gave a cry of warning. The Pope Gregory IX., himself, declared that his soul was filled with bitterness in contemplating such a state of things.* Curiosity, vanity, love of mere physical science, absorbed men's hearts and minds.† It was but a natural consequence that, when the queen of sciences was put on one side to gratify the greed of novelty, men would rise up, and boldly tread under foot, what others secretly contemned. Blasphemous tenets were taught scientifically from the chairs. Amalric of Bena, a professor of logic and theology (1205), fearlessly taught, in his public place, that human nature could be identified with the Divinity; that the Eternal Father became incarnate in Abraham; the Eternal Son in Mary; and the Holy Ghost in us; and that all things, in reality, are one; because all things, in reality, are God.‡ Nor was he alone. David of Dinanto taught, as his first principle, "*Quod omnia sunt Deus*"—that God is the primary substance of everything. If such teachings as these were to continue, the Christianity of thousands of young minds would be thrown into fearful jeopardy. The high authority of the Church had to interfere. David was condemned at the Synod of Paris (1209). The same Synod commanded the bones of Amalric to be dug up, and to be buried in unconsecrated ground—ten of his disciples were burnt alive, and others con-

* "Tacti dolore cordis intrinsecus amaritudine repleti sumus absynthii, quod sicut auribus est nostris intimum. quidam apud vos spiritu vanitatis ut uter discuti positos a patribus ter, minus profana transferre satagunt novitate, coelestis paginae intellectum S. S. Patrum studiis certis feruilius limitate, quos transgredi non solum est temerarium sed profanum ad doctrinam philosophorum naturalium inclinando. ad ostentationem scientie, non profectum auditorum, ut sic videantur non Theodidacti seu Theologi, sed potius Theophanti." (Bull., Greg. IX., An. 1228. Bulaus, III., p. 657.)

† See *Metalog*, of John of Salisbury, *Lib. I., Cap. III., p. 328; Lib. II., Cap. VI., p. 362; Cap. VIII., p. 365.* Also, see *Polycraticus*, *Lib. VII., Cap. VII., p. 649; Cap. XIV., p. 670.* Stephan. Epis. Tornacensis (1200) in *Epist. 251, ad Celestinum, III.*, says:—"Lapsa sunt apud nos in confusionis officinam sacrarum studia literarum, dum et discipuli solis novitatibus applaudunt, et magistri glorie potius invigilant quam doctrinae; novas recentesque summulas et commentaria firmantia super theologia passim conscribunt, quibus auditores suos demulceant, detineant, decipiant, quasi nondum suffecerint sanctorum opuscula Patrum, quos eodem Spiritu sacram Scripturam legimus exposuisse, quo eam composuisse credimus Apostolos et Prophetas. Disputatur publice contra sacras constitutiones de incomprehensibili Deitate, de laceratione Verbi Dei Verbosa caro et sanguis irreverenter litigat; individua Trinitas in trivis secatur et discernitur; ut tot jam sint errores quot doctores, tot scandala quot auditoria, tot blasphemias quot platee." (See Gieseler, *Vol. III., p. 295.*)

‡ See Krönlein *Amalrich von Bena und David von Dinanto: Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1847, I., p. 288.

demned to prison for life*—whilst Aristotle's books on natural philosophy, and the comments on them, were forbidden. But even this did not check the virulence of the poison. The East had entered, not only into Aristotle's natural speculations, but into his metaphysics. Robert Courçon, the Papal Legate, in 1215, had sufficient grounds for forbidding the Aristotelian metaphysics to be read, as well as the writings of Mauritius Hispanus—whom some say was no less a man than Averroës.† But the tradition of a false principle clings to a school, and blinds scholars and professors. The faculty of arts seems to have been most damaged. Albertus Magnus, though at this period a feeble old man, had to write his "*Liber Determinativus Adversus Parisienses*. The schools were in great peril. Not only blasphemous and false doctrines were maintained publicly, but the articles of Christian faith were discussed, proved faulty, and rejected with scorn, and, in their place, the rankest and crudest forms of pantheism were professed. In many private schools, heresy was freely circulated. S. Thomas says that, in his time, some taught that the *intellectus agens* was nothing less than God Himself; and that followers of Averroës lectured in the public schools—which is equivalent to saying, that Christianity was shovelled on one side, and that the hideous blasphemies of Eastern dreamers were set up in place of the revelation of Jesus Christ.‡ It is almost inconceivable that the state of Paris could have been so bad. For a man to teach *ex professo* in an university city, in a Catholic country, and in the ages of faith, the most revolting tenets of the East, is something that is difficult, all at once, to realize. Amongst other theses, these were maintained: that the will is not free; that there is but one intellect for all men; that all lower things are under the

* "Dampnavit (Innocentius III.) amarlicum carnorem cum sua doctrina, sicut habetur in decretali. Dampnavimus, qui amarlicus asseruit ydeas quæ sunt in mente Divina et creari et creare, cum secundum beatum augustinum nihil nisi eternum atque incommutabile sit in mente divina. Dixit etiam quod ideo finis omnium dicitur Deus, quia omnia reversa sunt in eum, ut in Deo immutabiliter quiescant, et unum individuum atque incommutabile, in eo manebunt. Dixit enim Deum esse omnium creaturam et esse omnium. Dixit etiam quod in caritate constitutis nullum peccatum imputabatur. Unde sub tali spe pietatis sequaces ejus omnem turpitudinem libere committebant. Asseruit etiam quod si homo non peccasset in duplitem sexum perditus non fuisset, nec generasset, sed eo in quo angeli multiplicati sunt, multiplicati fuissent et homines, et quod post resurrectionem, utique sexus adunabitur sicut ut asserit ut fuit prius in creatione, et talem dixit christum fuisse post resurrectionem, qui omnes errores inveniantur in libro, qui intyulatur, peryphysion, qui ponitur inter alios libros perysios dampnatos, et dicitur liber amarlici qui amarlicus combustus fuit perysios cum sequacibus suis." (Martinus Polonus, *Cod. Sec. XIII. Peplus evulg. a P. Klinés, Prag., p. 145.*)

† "D'ailleurs" says De La Marche, "s'il y a des fanatiques d'Aristote, les censures ecclésiastiques ne sont pas le seul remède employé pour refroidir leur belle passion: afin de montrer l'impuissance de la science humaine réduite à elle-même, on peint son représentant le plus illustre monté comme une bête de somme par la femme d'Alexandre. Le ciseau comme la parole reproduit cette scène légendaire, et la popularité de l'anecdote au moyen-âge semble une raillerie de l'enthousiasme des scolastiques." (p. 434.)

‡ Lecky, speaking of the influence of Averroës, says:—"Among the Mahomedans, the panic was so great, that the theologians pronounced logic and philosophy to be the two great enemies of their profession, and ordered all books on those dangerous subjects to be burnt. Among the Christians, St. Thomas Aquinas devoted his genius to the controversy, and for two or three centuries, most of his great works in Christendom bore some marks of Averroës."

The three principal figures in Giotto's picture of Hell, in the Campo Santo, at Pisa, are Mahomet, Antichrist, and Averroës." (*Rise of Rationalism, Vol. I., Cap. I., p. 53, ed. 2.*)

necessary influence of the heavenly bodies; that the world is eternal; that there never was a first man; that God cannot bestow immortality; that the soul corrupts; that God does not know individual things; that the acts of man are not governed by a Divine providence—and many others, equally startling.* William of Auvergne was bound to censure a string of propositions, which were taken from the worst Arabic commentators on Aristotle, or from that deadly book, "*De Causis*," which had so baneful an influence in the middle ages. Shortly after this, a strict decree was issued, to prevent discussion of points of doctrine and philosophy amongst the Artists, but without much effect, to judge from propositions taught but shortly afterwards—for instance; that the teachings of theologians are founded on fables; that the philosopher is the only wise man of this world; that there is no more excellent state than to be called a philosopher; that continency is not necessarily a virtue; that the world is eternal; that a future resurrection is not to be believed in by a philosopher, because it cannot be investigated by reason; and many more propositions, equally false and destructive.† Nor were these deadly heresies confined to Paris. Being the centre of learning, it is but natural that its teachings should have exerted their influence throughout civilized Europe. The doctrines of the Arabs, and the heresies springing from them, had to be combated in Ireland, as early as the ninth century. In England, the pantheistic bias of the East is clearly evident particularly in the teaching of the Franciscans at Oxford, regarding the human soul.

* "Quod intellectus hominum est unus et idem numero.—Quod voluntas hominis ex necessitate et elegit.—Quod omnia, que in inferioribus aguntur, subsunt necessitati corporum celestium.—Quod mundus est eternus. Quod nunquam fuit primus homo.—Quod anima, que est forma corporis, secundum quod homo, corrumpitur corrupto corpore.—Quod anima separata post mortem non patitur ab igne corporeo.—Quod liberum arbitrium est potentia passiva, non activa; et quod necessitate movetur ad appetibili.—Quod Deus non cognoscit singularia.—Quod Deus non cognoscit aliud a se.—Quod humani actus non reguntur providentia divina.—Quod Deus non potest dare immortalitatem vel incorruptionem rei corruptibili vel mortali."

† "Quod Deus non potest facere plures animas in numero.—Quod Deus nunquam plures creavit intelligentias quam modo creat.—Si non esset sensus, forte intellectus non distinguere inter Socratem et Platonem licet distingueret inter hominem et asinum.—Quod intelligentia, animus vel anima separata nusquam est.—Quia intelligentia non habent materiam, Deus non posset plures ejusdem speciei facere.—Quod intellectus est unus universo omnium, licet omnino separetur a corpore hoc, non tamen ab omni.—Quod motus celi sunt propter animam intellectivam.—Anima separata non est alterabilis secundum philosophiam, licet secundum fidem alteretur.—Quod scientia magistri et discipuli est una numero.—Quod intellectus agens non est forma corporis humani.—Quod inconveniens est ponere aliquos intellectus nobiliores aliis; quia cum illa diversitas non possit esse a parte corporum, oportet ut sit a parte intelligentiarum.—Quod non fuit primus homo nec ultimus erit.—Quod mundus est eternus.—Quod impossibile est solvere rationes philosophi de eternitate mundi.—Quod naturalis philosophus simpliciter debet negare mundi novitatem, quia nititur causis et rationibus naturalibus; fidelis autem potest negare mundi eternitatem, quia nititur causis supernaturalibus.—Quod creatio non est possibilis, quamvis contrarium non sit tenendum secundum fidem.—Quod corpora celestia moventur principio extrinseco, quod est anima.—Quod non contingit corpus corruptum redire unum numero, nec idem numero resurgere.—Quod resurrectio futura non debet credi a philosopho, quia impossibile est investigari per rationem.—Quod nihil plus scitur propter scire theologiam.—Quod sermones theologi sunt fundati in fabulis.—Quod fabule et falsa sunt in lege christiana, sicut et in aliis.—Quod lex christiana impedit ad dicere.—Quod sapientes mundi sunt philosophi tantum.—Quod non est excellentior status quam vacare philosophiæ.—Quod non est curandum de fide, si dicatur aliquid esse hæreticum.—Peccata contra naturam, utpote abusus in coitu, licet sint contra naturam speciei, non tamen contra naturam individui.—Simplex fornicatio, utpote soluti cum soluti, non est peccatum.—Continentia non est essentialiter virtus.—Perfecta abstinentia ab actu carnis corrumpit virtutem et speciem.—Panper in fortunis non potest agere in moralibus, &c." (Vid. Bûlaus, *III*, p. 433, 434-671.)

Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned a set of propositions, which had had the run of Oxford—similar to those which were branded by authority at Paris (1277). Avicenna seems to have had great influence on some of the theologians of S. Francis. Roger Bacon declares that it was the traditionary teaching of the Oxford schools, that the active intellect exists separate from the soul of man; and, moreover, that it was generally held, that the active intellect was, in reality, identical with God.* William, Bishop of Paris—he maintains—publicly declared before the University of Paris—and was supported by no less an authority than Robert of Lincoln, and Adam of Marisco—that the active intellect could not be a portion of the soul. Marisco, on being asked—"What, then, is the active intellect?" replied, "The chariot of Elias," meaning either God or an angel.†

So corrupted had the University become at one period, that it limited the number of its doctors in theology to eight. The infection spread, from the learned and the students, amongst the general population. Several fanatics of low rank had to be burnt, because they went about protesting that the most depraved of mankind had an equal chance of salvation with S. Peter and S. Paul, on the principle that, since the intelligence of mankind was one, all mankind would be where that one universal intelligence was: and hence good and bad would live an equal life. Even ecclesiastics—ribald clerks, with tonsure, and priest's habit—scoured the country, and travelled about amongst country towns and villages, proclaiming to the ignorant people, that all souls

* "Baco ergelt sich im Lohne der arabischen Peripatetiker; Avicenna sei der Erste gewesen, der über die Aristotelische Philosophie wieder Licht verbreitet habe; der Grösste nach ihm sei Averroes. Die Averroistische Philosophie, anfangs wider Gebühr unbeachtet und vernachlässigt gelange nunmehr bei den Einsichtsvollen zu allgemeiner Anerkennung, obwol sie in einzelnen Punkten zu befürchten und in anderen zu ergänzen sei. Die Berufung Baco's auf Robert von Lincoln hatte allerdings sehr guten Grund, es gab zur Zeit keinen entschiedeneren Realisten als Robert. Dass er aber auch den allerdings sehr realistisch gesinnten Wilhelm von Auvergne zu seinem Meinungsgenossen machen wollte, beruhte auf einem augenscheinlichen Missverständniss." (Werner, *Cap. V.* p. 569.)

The following, from Bulaeus, is sufficiently significant:—"In eodem concilio (1270) decretum est, ut mouerentur Rector Universitatis et Procuratores Facultatis Artium, ne paterentur in scholis philosophicis agitari res fidei, ne Imbecillioribus adolescentum animis ratio dubitandi de mysteriis inscrutabilibus instillaretur. Quamobrem sepius ob eam rem congregata Facultas tandem statuto memorabili, quod anno sequenti edidit, voluit omnes professores a suo consortio et ordine rescari, qui contra statuta peccarent. (*III.* p. 397; *Cf.*, Werner, p. 568.)

† "The mediæval schools," says Dr. Newman, "were the arena of as critical a struggle between truth and error, as Christianity has ever endured; and the philosophy, which bears their name, carried its supremacy by means of a succession of victories in the cause of the Church. Scarcely had universities risen into popularity, when they were found to be infected with the most subtle and fatal forms of unbelief, and the heresies of the East, germinated in the West of Europe, and in Catholic lecture-rooms, with a mysterious vigor upon which history throws no light. The questions agitated were as deep as any in theology; the being and essence of the Almighty were the main subjects of the disputation, and Aristotle was introduced to the ecclesiastical youth as a teacher of Pantheism. Saracenic expositions of the great philosopher were in vogue, and when a fresh treatise was imported from Constantinople, the curious and impatient student threw himself upon it, regardless of the Church's warnings, and reckless of the effect upon his own mind. The acutest intellects became sceptics and misbelievers; and the head of the Holy Roman Empire, the Cæsar Frederick the Second, to say nothing of our miserable King John, had the reputation of meditating a profession of Mahomedanism. It is said, that in the community at large, men had a vague suspicion and mistrust of each other's belief in Revelation. A secret society was discovered in the universities of Lombardy, Tuscany and France, organized for the propagation of infidel opinions; it was bound together by oaths, and sent its missionaries among the people in the disguise of pedlars and vagrants." (*Lectures on University Subjects*, p. 229-300.)

were merged in one, and that, therefore, it was a delusion to preach the doctrine of future reward or punishment. Though S. Thomas turned the tide, it was not till long after his time, that these phantasms were thoroughly destroyed.*

From all this, it is evident that the University of Paris—whose vocation it was to teach the world—was deeply tainted with the most frightful intellectual corruption, and that the plague, which had been brought by the Moors into Spain, had seized upon the centre from which radiated the light of science, sacred and profane. It was not a mere surface attack, or passing epidemic, but a deep-seated corruption that had taken possession of men's minds, and had to be met, combated, and overcome. Islam, and Christ, could not live together in harmony, for Christ must reign, or the moral and intellectual degradation which springs from a false philosophy, must eat out the heart and intellect of men.

What added to the excitement of this period, was, the influence of the world of spirits upon the imagination.† This is not the place for speaking about the truth of those marvels. True or false, the present point is, that they were believed in, and had all the effects, at all events, of reality—for instance: a recluse, at Bonn, saw a light through a chink in her cell, which looked over a churchyard; she went to the window, and perceived a woman, surrounded by a blaze of glory, hovering over a grave, and heard a voice saying—"This is the Mother of Christ, come to take away the martyr." We read of people seen in the air, writing by some celestial light. Thomas of Cantimpré saw, in 1246, just before S. Louis started for the crusades, a luminous cross, eight cubits long, standing in the air. William of Auvergne heard distinctly, voices, weeping and sobbing, when his sister died. John of Salisbury relates how, when a boy, a magician tried to use him as an instrument of his dark art. When Robert of Lincoln died (1253), the Bishop of London heard sounds like the deep toll of some superhuman bell, and some friars, who were journeying that night, heard in the air the harmonious sounds of bells. Innocent III., seems to prophesy his own demise, in his allocution, at the opening of the Lateran Council. Balls of fire, chalices surmounted by Hosts, half-moons, stars, ærial crucifixes, all manner of

* The General Council of Vienna in 1311, and the General Council of Lateran (V.) as late as 1513, had to condemn the opinion, that all men together have but one soul.

See Bull of Leo X., read during the fourth session of Lateran:—"Reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse aut unicam in cunctis hominibus, et hæc in dubium vertentes." (See Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux*, p. 203.)

† No doubt, ignorance and superstition did their part:—"L'abus dans la vénération des reliques," says Fleury, "dégénéra en superstition; mais l'ignorance du moyen âge en donna de plus manifestes; comme cette divination nommée le sort des Saints, dont Grégoire de Tours rapporte tant d'exemples, et avec un sérieux à persuader qu'il y croyoit; comme ces épreuves, nommées le jugement de Dieu, soit par l'eau, soit par le feu, soit par le combat singulier, qu'Agobard condamnoit si fortement, mais qu'Hincmar soutenoit, et qui furent en usage si long-temps; comme l'astrologie à laquelle on voit qu'ils croyoient, principalement aux effets des éclipses et des comètes." (Fleury, *Troisième Discours sur l'Hist. Eccl.*, p. 91.)

strange sights, and awful interpositions, were continually spoken of. The *Magnum Speculum* is full of them; Matthew of Paris, John of Salisbury, Cæsar of Heisterbach (1240)—in fact, all the voluminous writers of the middle ages, carry one into a state of things, in which the spirit-world was far more mixed up in human affairs, than it is in our days.* Then, the actions of men themselves were often very startling. Alanus de Insulis was struck dumb (they say), for not having invoked the Blessed Virgin at the beginning of a sermon.† Fulk, coming to Paris as an illiterate man, and then being waited on by professors, and by scholars with note-books in their hands, ready to take down the extraordinary wisdom that poured from his lips;‡ John of S. Giles, the famous university professor, preaching to an immense audience in S. James's, suddenly, after speaking of perfection, descending the pulpit, and, in the presence of the astonished multitude, begging for the habit of religion, are simply specimens of what I mean.§ Brother Gueric, the first prior of the Dominicans at Metz, was converted by a few simple words. One day, as he was studying at his window, in Paris, he heard some one singing this refrain, in the streets below, which at once made him enter into himself:—

“Tempus vadit,
Et ego nil feci;
Tempus venit,
Et ego nil operor.”

* “In every department of thought, and of knowledge, there was manifested a vague disquietude, a spirit of restless and feverish anxiety, that contrasted strangely with the preceding torpor. The long slumber of untroubled orthodoxy was broken by many heresies, which, though often repressed, seemed in each succeeding century to acquire new force and consistency. Manichæism, which had for some time been smouldering in the Church, burst into a fierce flame among the Albigenses. Then it was that the standard of an impartial philosophy,† was first planted by Abelard in Europe, and the mind of the learned distracted, by subtle and perplexing doubts, concerning the leading doctrines of the faith. Then, too, the teachings of a stern and uncompromising infidelity flashed forth from Seville and from Cordova: and the form of A errors began to assume those gigantic proportions, which, at a later period, overshadowed the whole intellect of Europe, and almost persuaded some of the ablest men that the reign of Antichrist had begun. At the same time, the passion for astrology, and for the fatalism it implied, revived with the revival of pagan learning, and penetrated into the halls of nobles and the palaces of kings.” Again: “In an age which was still grossly ignorant and credulous, the popular faith was necessarily full of grotesque superstitions. . . . These superstitions had once consisted, for the most part, in wild legends of fairies, mermaids, giants, and dragons. . . . About the twelfth century, they began to assume a darker hue, and the imaginations of the people revelled in the details of the Witches' Sabbath, and in the awful power of the ministers of Satan. . . . The imaginations of the people were riveted upon the subject. A contagious terror was engendered. Some, whose minds were thoroughly diseased, persuaded themselves that they were in communion with Satan.” (Lecky's *Rise of Rationalism*, Vol. I., Chap. I., p. 52, 53.) While quoting Mr. Lecky to confirm what I say, in the sense I say it, I separate myself entirely from him in every other connection.

† See De La Marche, p. 271.

‡ De Vitry, *Hist.*, Tom. IV., Lib. II., Cap. II: Peter the Cantor, his former master, Alberic of Laon, Robert de Courçon, and Stephen Langton, were amongst those who placed themselves under his direction.

§ Franciscans used to travel the country, with horns, to summon the people, and though often excessively ignorant, by their earnestness, stirred up men's hearts to great excitement. It is related of one of these friars, in 1233, that he used to sound his horn, and then sing out thrice, “Allelujah!” The people would sing out “Allelujah” in reply; and then he would cry out—“Benedicite, Laudate, Glorificate in Patre, Benedicite, Laudate, et Glorificate in Spiritu Sancto,” and all would respond with a shout—“Allelujah Gloriosa Donna!” Bishop Philip Berter transported people with fanaticism by his preaching. The Dominican, Siger of Flanders, suddenly converted, by a sermon, Blessed Margaret of Ypres, and several inhabitants of Lille. Women burnt their ornaments in a public place, later on, at the word of Thomas Carrette. (*Hist. Litt.*, XXIV., 379.)

Such occurrences were frequent. The minds of men seem to have been excessively excited by the effects of the new learning; and by the super-natural influences that worked so strangely upon them. The legend of Alanus de Insulis is a fair type of this state of things. He was one of the most famous professors of the University. On a certain day, he promised his pupils to give them a perfect knowledge of the Blessed Trinity.* The day before the lecture, while walking by a solitary stream, he saw a little boy, trying to fill a trench of sand with water. "What are you doing, my sweet child?" said the professor. "I am going to put the river into my trench," he replied. "Do you think you will succeed?" said the philosopher. "Before you keep your promise," was the reply. "What have I promised?" asked Alanus. "You said you would explain the Trinity of God." Alanus was terrified and overcome. He saw his pride. On the morrow, a vast crowd had assembled, and Alanus ascended the pulpit, and having uttered these words, "*Sufficiat vobis vidisse Alanus*," came down, hurried out of the church, went off to Cîteaux, and became a shepherd lay-brother. After many years, he came to Rome, to take charge of the horses of the Abbott, who went there to attend the Council against the Albigenses. As a great favour, the Abbott permitted him to sit during the council, at his feet. At one moment, the heretics appeared to triumph. Alanus rose up from beneath the Abbott, and, to his intense surprise, bowed, and said—"*Jube Domine Benedicere!*" "Madman, what art thou doing?" said the Abbott. "*Jube Domine Benedicere!*" meekly replied the brother; and so he went on, till the Pope commanded him to speak out. Then he began, and with such marvellous keenness of dialectical skill did he press the enemy, that, overcome with fury, the heretics exclaimed, "*Aut Diabolus est aut Alanus.*" "*Non sum ego Diabolus, sed Alanus!*" gently replied the man of genius. From this time forth, the clerks were in attendance on him, to write down his dictated wisdom.† Endless stories

* In his observations on the thirteenth century Du Pin says:—"Il y eut dans ce Siècle de deux sortes d'erreurs contre la Religion, et l'Eglise eut deux sortes d'Adversaires à combattre. Les premiers étoient des Herétiques manifestes qui renversoient les principes de la Religion Chrétienne en attaquant ouvertement l'Autorité, les Sacrements, les cérémonies, et la discipline de l'Eglise. Les autres étoient des Theologiens teméraires, qui voulant se distinguer en soutenant des opinions subtiles et nouvelles, avançoient des propositions scandaleuses, teméraires, erronées, contraires à la Tradition de l'Eglise et à la Foy de Jesus-Christ. . . . A l'égard des Theologiens teméraires qui avançoient des erreurs contre la saine doctrine, on ne trouva pas de moien plus propre pour en arrêter le progres, que de les faire censurer par les autres Theologiens; de les faire revokeer par ceux qui les avoient avancées, et d'empêcher qu'elles ne fussent enseignées dans les Ecoles. Ce fut là l'origine des Censures des Facultez, qui commencerent à être en usage dans ce Siècle, et devinrent tres frequentes dans les suivans." (Du Pin, Nouvelle Bib., Tom. X., Chap. X., p. 171. Ed. MDCC.)

† Alanus (*Doctor Universalis*) was a native of Flanders (not to be confounded with Alanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in the previous century), and lived a long time in England. He taught theology, at Paris and Montpellier. A number of knights, drawn by his renown as a teacher, came to him on one occasion, and asked him this question—"What is the greatest mark of courtesy?" He proved to them, it was liberality in good works. He then asked them a question—"What is the greatest proof of rindness?" Being the contrary they ought easily to have answered it. They were unable. Alanus answered for them, and the answer was to the point—"It is to

might be repeated, to prove the extraordinary activity, power, passion, and fermentation of the human mind before, and during, and some little time after, the period of S. Thomas of Aquino. This leaven runs through, and tinges, with its unearthly colouring, the mass of humanity in the middle ages.* It is possible, also, that the extraordinary ignorance of history and geography which generally prevailed, tended to develop the faculties of wonder and admiration, and to prepare the mind for almost any marvel that might be announced.† When the keenness of the vision into things unseen, is not checked by the practical realities of creation, it is a comparatively easy thing to lose the just balance of the mind. When we are assured that Francus was son of Hector, and that the Franks came over from Troy; that the history of Spain begins with Japheth; that of England, with Brutus; and that of Scotland with Fergus; when historians always begin history from the creation of the world, pointing out Babylon, which had been destroyed centuries before, as existing—now identifying it with Cario, and now with Bagdad; when Priam is dressed in ermine, with armorial bearings; when Nabuchodonosor is favoured with a seneschal, and surrounded by a court of barons—and when names are clipped, and altered, to suit the peculiar ear of the historian; and all manner of liberties taken with fact; and allegory, and invention, served up in the place of proofs—we can partly understand how the mind, living so much upon fantasy, became so excessively impressionable to the eloquence of rhetoricians, the brilliancy of debate, and the action of the marvellous, in both the plane of magic and religion.‡

It will be well now, for a passing moment, to turn to another Order—to which reference has already been made, and with which S. Thomas of Aquin had an intimate relationship—that is, to the

be always taking away the goods of the poor." He wrote a *Summa de Arte Prædicandi*. Du Pin doubts if he ever joined the Cistercians. (Vid. *Nouv. Bib.*, Cap. IV., p. 60.)

* Sometimes the excitement turned to desperate fanaticism. For instance—"Le mysticisme," as Michelet calls it, "répandu dans le peuple par l'esprit des croisades, avait déjà porté son fruit le plus effrayant, la haine de la loi, l'enthousiasme sauvage de la liberté politique et religieuse. Ce caractère démagogique du mysticisme, qui devait se produire nettement dans les jacqueries des siècles suivants, particulièrement dans la révolte des paysans de Souabe, en 1525, et des anabaptistes, en 1538, il apparut déjà dans l'insurrection des *Pastoureaux*, qui éclata pendant l'absence de Saint Louis. C'étaient les plus misérables habitants des campagnes, des bergers surtout, qui, entendant dire que le roi était prisonnier, s'armèrent. S'attroupèrent, formèrent une grande armée, déclarèrent qu'ils voulaient aller le délivrer. . . . Ce qui est certain, c'est que ces bergers se montraient partout ennemis des prêtres et les massacraient: il confiaient eux-mêmes les sacrements." (*Hist. de France*, Vol. III., Liv. IV., p. 434, 435.)

† Stephen of Bourbon seems to have acquired about the best knowledge of history. See his catalogue in his *De Materis Prædicabilibus*. De Vitry, also, must not be overlooked.

‡ Speaking of the ignorance of the period, Fleury says of the writers:—"Je n'y trouve ni distinction du pluriel et du singulier, ni de construction uniforme; en un mot, aucune régularité. De-là vient qu'ils désignoient si fort les noms étrangers, et que nous trouvons Toldres Liasesres dans Villehardouin pour Théodore Lascaris; dans le Florentin Malespini, Palloloco pour Paléologue, et Chirigoro pour Grégoire; enfin dans d'autres plus modernes, Cécèle pour Sicile. Il est encore important de savoir qu'en ces temps-là les laïques, même les plus grands seigneurs, n'avoient pour la plupart aucune teinture des lettres, jusqu'à ne savoir ni lire ni écrire. Ensorte que, s'ils voulaient faire une lettre, ils appeloient un clerc, c'est-à-dire, un ecclésiastique, auquel ils disoient leur intention; et qui l'écrivoit en latin, comme il juroit à propos; puis quand on avoit reçu la réponse, il falloit de même la faire expliquer." (*Disc. Cinquième, sur l'Hist.*, p. 198.)

Franciscans. When S. Thomas came to Paris, they had been some time settled in the city, and were in a very flourishing condition.* Sometimes, as many as seven hundred friars were in Paris at one time. The halls in their convent were particularly fine. The greater school was not exceeded by any other in the University. It was seventy-six feet long, forty-eight feet broad, and had eleven large windows. Two lectures were given every morning: one, on speculative theology; the other, on various points requiring explanation; and in the afternoon, there was a lecture on Holy Scripture. From four to five in the evening, the Fathers held discussions, affirming, denying, and clearing the subject-matter, whilst it was open to any one to contend against them, or answer their objections. In this seminary, two hundred and twenty-two youths were educated. Every night, two of the younger brethren repeated, in the graceful hall of the seminary, portions of the Divine Office: and on festivals, all were required to be present together in the church. Here there were four schools: one for grammar, another for rhetoric, one for logic, and the fourth for the "Sentences" of the Lombard, and the Physics of Aristotle. It was to these lowly Franciscans that that celebrated Paris doctor, Alexander of Hales, betook himself, in consequence of his tender love to our Blessed Lady, hoping thus, not merely to secure his own salvation, but to labour, in a mortified life, for the good of others. He appears to stand in the same relation to the friars of S. Francis, in which Albert stands to the Dominicans. Here, too, S. Bonaventure, the dear familiar friend of our S. Thomas, received his illuminations, and helped to build up the Church of God.†

The first Dominican who publicly professed theology in Paris, was that enthusiastic Englishman, of whom mention has been made, John of S. Giles.‡ So high a reputation had he acquired, during his career of doctor of theology, and the Paris students clamoured so loudly for his reappearance in the chair after he became a Dominican, that the friars were constrained to consent to his giving public lectures. His was not a local reputation: having taught in three or four foreign universities, his name was famous throughout the learned world. It was in this school that

* The Franciscans (Cordeliers) came to Paris about the year 1217, but they were only fully installed in the reign of S. Louis. They were suppressed in 1790. Their Library, in 1787, contained seventeen thousand six hundred and fourteen volumes. King Louis left them (and the Dominicans) his books; "*Libros vero nostros, quos tempore decessus nostri in Francia habebimus . . . legamus fratribus Predicatoribus et fratribus Minoribus Parisiis.*" (*Testamentum Ludovici, IX.* : vid. A. Du Chesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, Tom. V., p. 438.)

† The Museum Dupuytren, in the Rue de l'Ecole-de-Médecine, exactly opposite the Rue Hautefeuille, is now in the refectory of what was the Franciscan convent. The convent occupied all the space as far as the Rue Antoine-Dubois: the Ecole Pratique and Chimique and the Ecole-de-Médecine, occupy the place of those vast buildings.

‡ Some say that it was John of S. Giles who was the first to introduce the scholastic method amongst the Dominicans.

the great encyclopedic writers, Alanus de Insulis, and Vincent of Beauvais, laboured over their gigantic tasks. Here, that humble religious, afterwards known as Innocent V., was trained. Here, Roland of Cremona, and Hugh of S. Caro, accomplished the difficult task of maintaining that high name for wisdom, which S. James's had acquired through the genius of John of S. Giles. When S. Thomas arrived at Paris, John of Paris occupied one of the Dominican chairs, and Albert was sent, as bachelor, to occupy the other—for, according to a special statute, the chairs had respectively to be occupied, by a Frenchman, and a foreigner.

In the natural course of things, our Saint would have had to be presented by the General Chapter, or by the General of the Order, to some master in the schools—as, in fact, he was presented to Albert by the General. With the master, he would go through the “Sentences” of the Lombard. After a year's drill, he would be presented to the Chancellor, by the Prior of the Paris house, in the presence of all the actual professors of the University. The *magister* then took an oath that he was competent to teach, upon which, the Chancellor would confer on him the *Licentia Docendi*.* But a stiff trial had to be given him before he actually began his work—that he might give a clear proof to the entire University, that he was fit to instruct others in theology and philosophy. The *Magister Licentiatus*, as he was styled, would have to hold a solemn disputation in the Episcopal Aula. Hence, of one who had passed through that ordeal, it was said—*aulam suam habebat*. If he passed with credit, he became Laureate. Now, he might teach a school himself, and the *Magister Laureatus*, consequently, having been trained by an experienced professor, commenced to comment on the “Sentences” of the Lombard. This, he would continue doing for twelve months. After that time, just as, two years before, he had read the “Sentences” under a master, so now, some young man reads the “Sentences” under him, whilst he—thorough master of his subject, experienced in the technicalities of disputation, and well-seasoned in the schools—holds *disputationes generales*, upon any difficult points that may turn

* Fleury gives the Dominican course thus:—“Celui qui étoit nommé bachelier par le général de l'ordre ou par le chapitre, commençoit par expliquer le maître des sentences dans l'école de quelque docteur, ce qu'il faisoit pendant une année: à la fin de laquelle le prieur du convent, avec les docteurs, qui professoient actuellement, présentoit ce bachelier au chancelier de l'église de Paris, et ils assuroient avec serment, qu'ils le jugeoient digne d'obtenir la licence, c'est-à-dire, la permission d'enseigner comme docteur. Après quelques examens publics, et quelques autres formalités, le bachelier étoit reçu docteur, et continuoit la seconde année d'expliquer le livre des sentences dans son école, car chaque docteur avoit la sienne. La troisième année le nouveau docteur tenoit encore son école; mais il avoit sous lui un bachelier qui expliquoit les sentences, et qu'il présentoit à la fin de l'année pour la licence, comme on l'avoit présenté lui-même. Tout le cours du doctorat s'achevoit en ces trois années, sans préjudice des actes qu'il falloit soutenir de temps en temps: ce qu'il y avoit de bon, est que personne n'étoit reçu docteur qu'après avoir enseigné publiquement.” (*Cinquième Disc.*, sur l'Hist. Eccl., p. 194, 195.)

up.* Besides this, he would also handle the *Quodlibeta*. On the completion of his third year, he would present the bachelor, who had had the advantage of his experience—just as he himself had been presented—for his licentiate. Thus it was, that the efficiency of the teaching body was maintained. These grades were not gone through as a matter of form. To succeed in the grand disputation in the Aula; to lecture before a crowd of the keenest minds, without a book†—the students all the while marking every word—required talent and readiness of logic; memory, and power of analysis; besides presence of mind, and sufficient fluency of speech. When it is remembered that William of Champeaux had to suffer from Abelard, and what Abelard himself had to suffer from his opponents, some idea may be formed of the requisites of a doctor, lecturing publicly before all the learning of the Paris world. The Dominicans were excessively particular about efficiency.‡ Unless a man had formerly lectured with *éclat*, or was a person of evident distinction, they were loth to place him in the chair.§ At first, the majority of those who joined the Order, were experienced professors, who had made their reputation, and at the calling of Jordan and others, had left the dangers of the University, for the security and peace of religious life. Reginald, Jordan, Henry, Roland, Humbert, Raymund, Conrad, John of S. Giles, and more than can be mentioned, were of this class.

Albert went through his course in the ordinary way: in the second year, being master with John of Paris; and in the third,

* D'Assailly gives this picture of the master and disciple:—"Qu'on imagine donc une salle basse, un carré long; au milieu d'un des plus petits côtés du carré, la porte d'entrée; puis, en face de la porte, à égale distance des deux angles, une chaire de forme particulière, très-profonde et très-haute. Cette chaire éveille à la fois l'idée d'un trône et d'une de ces chaises moitié siège, moitié prison, où l'on enferme encore quelquefois les enfants, dans les campagnes. Le meuble en question pouvait contenir deux personnes, le docteur, l'aspirant au grade de licence. Le premier, le docteur, dominait le public et, bien entendu, son disciple; le second, le futur docteur, assis aux pieds du *magister*, prenait des notes on feuilletait les livres de la loi sur une tablette. Que faisait le docteur? Le docteur expliquait le texte, qu'il chargeait aussi son subordonné de développer. Quelquefois encore une question subtile était mise sur le tapis, il lui laissait engager l'argumentation avec un des simples écoliers, quitta à intervenir, en temps et lieu, dans le débat. Il s'interposait alors entre les deux champions, à la façon de ces prévôts d'armes qui, dans les duels entre *Burschen* de Bonn ou d'Heidelberg, parent les coups de pointe illicites ou trop dangereux." (*Albert le Grand : Mouvement des Ecoles*, p. 186, 187.)

† Men, from youth up, seem in those days to have given themselves to the work of study, and of forming and developing their minds with an earnestness which is no longer known. Trade, and speculation of another kind, making money, and living for amusements, seems to have taken the place of the ancient intellectual interests and ambitions. The air, in those days, though it may have been tainted with dangerous elements, still had that catholic quality about it which seems to have braced men's intellects, and to have impregnated them with a love of abstract truth, and to have drawn them off mere self-seeking, and grinning in mud and earth. When grasping for money took the place of chivalry and contemplation, then science lost the greater portion of her votaries.

‡ John of Salisbury quotes these lines written by an old monk of Chartres, describing very prettily the conditions favourable for acquiring knowledge:—

"Mens humilis, studium querendi, vita quieta,
Serutinum tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena,
Hæc reserare solent multis obscura legendo."

§ "Declarantes etiam quod illi qui per Bullas aut Brevia apostolica, sine licentia et favore Reverendissimi Magistri vel Capitulorum Generalium promoti sunt, vel de cetero promovebuntur ad quoscunque gradus in Theologia, sive Baccalaureatus sive Baccalaureatus sive magisterii, nullis libertatibus, exemptionibus, gratiis, preeminentiis hujusmodi graduatis ab ordine concessis gaudere possunt sed solum pro simplicibus conventuallibus haberi debent. Mandantes Precentibus conventuum, et omnibus fratribus nostri ordinis sub pena *Gravioris culpe*, ne tales sic per saltum et furtive graduatos pro graduatis habeant, aut eos graduatos nominare præsumant." (*Const. apud. Font. 290.*)

Primarius Regens with Stephen of Auxerre, who had succeeded John. It was under the influence of these men, but, especially, of Albert, that S. Thomas finished his education. Wadding has endeavoured to prove that S. Thomas had studied under that brilliant commentator, Hales the Minorite. But Tournon, and Bareille, have shown, conclusively, that Alexander had died before S. Thomas reached Paris, and that, some little time before his death, he had ceased to attend the schools.* If he had studied under a Franciscan at all, it would have been under John of Rochelle, who succeeded Alexander, and who was the master of S. Bonaventure.

But we left our Saint under the tuition of Albert, at Paris—I now must carry on his history during the quiet time of his pupilage.

At this period, his favourite book was Cassian—as at Cologne—and the writings of S. Augustine.† His biographers relate an anecdote of him which is also told of Lanfranc. He was reading in the refectory. The Prior, thinking he had made a false quantity when he had not, corrected him. Thomas, with great humility, pronounced the word wrong out of obedience. On some of the friars expressing their surprise at this, he said to them, “It makes little difference how a word is pronounced, but it is of great importance for a religious to practise humility and obedience.” When at table, he knew not what he eat. Abstraction, contemplation, silence—these composed the atmosphere in which he dwelt.‡

It is often the custom of good men to moralize upon the beauty

* See Wadding, *T. I. ad. an.* 1245; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, *Liv. LXXXII.*, n. 15; Baillet, *Jugments des Savants*, *Tom. I.*, p. 110.

Hales's epitaph runs thus:—“Hic jacet frater Alexander de Hales, qui obiit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo quadagesimo quinto, duodecimo Kalendas Septembris, Gloria Doctorum decus et Philosophorum.”

Bareille's words are these:—“On a vu de quelle manière Thomas d'Aquin fut attaché à l'école de frère Albert, dans l'ordre de saint Dominique. Suivant ce que nous avons dit en nous appuyant sur les monuments historiques les plus certains. Thomas ne vint étudier à Paris que vers la fin de l'année 1245; or, des autorités non moins indubitables attestent que le docteur Alexandre de Hales était mort le 21 du moins d'août de la même année. Si l'on ajoute à cela qu'il avait cédé sa chaire quelque temps auparavant, quelle possibilité restera-t-il de lui donner Thomas d'Aquin pour élève? Il suffit, au reste, à la gloire du docteur irréfragable d'avoir vu saint Bonaventure assis sur les bancs de son école.” (*Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, p. 125.)

† “Wie in der Wissenschaft, so hatte er während dieses dreijährigen Aufenthaltes zu Paris in den Tugenden des inneren Lebens zugenommen. Sein Liebling's und Erholungsbuch waren Cassian's Collationen, deren er sich nach seinem eigenen Geständnisse dazu bediente, um durch Betrachtung und Beschauung sein wissenschaftliches Streben zu beschwingen und zu vertiefen. So in sich versenkt gieng er öfter vom Mittagstische, ohne zu wissen, was als Speise aufgesetzt worden; die ascetischen Pflichten des klösterlichen Lebens erfüllte er auf das strengste, die Übung des Gehorsams war dem kindlich demüthigen und anspruchlosen Wesen des sanfteren Jünglings eine ganz zur Natur gewordene Tugend. Als er bei Tische einst vorlas, bedeutete ihm der Obere, dass, er ein ohnehin richtig betontes Wort anders auszusprechen habe; Thomas gehorchte. Nach Tische bemerkten ihm einige Mitschüler, er hätte den Fehler, welchen der Corrector gemacht, nicht nachsprechen sollen; er aber erwiderte: Es liegt wenig daran, ob ein Wort so oder anders ausgesprochen werde; aber sehr viel ist daran gelegen, dass ein Ordensmann jederzeit bereitwilligen Gehorsam übe.” (Werner, *B. I.*, *Cap. II.*, p. 108; *Cf.* Bareille, *Chap. XII.*, p. 123.)

‡ Most of the great contemplative or learned saints were thus affected. S. Anselm, we are told, would swallow, at table, without knowing what it was, anything that was put before him. His disciples pushed pieces of bread under or by his hands, and thus, without knowing it, he would eat and make a meal.

of peace and gentleness—on the charm of solitude and silence; but they do not often go beyond this; they do not often sink into the depth of the human spirit, and seek to discover the hidden spring which produces the great effect. He alone, who has lived to God and to himself, can fully realize the strength and vigour produced within the soul, by prayer, silence, solitude; by dwelling under One Eye alone, and communing with One Only Spirit, and by opening out the whole man—the entire being—like a flower to the sun—towards the light and warmth that is produced by heaven. Great souls, souls made of fine and noble elements, have it in them; it is their nature, when alone, to seek Him who is above, and to find their freedom and their companionship with the world that is unseen. Open the life of any saint; speak to any man who has really given himself to God. Ask him of his silent, solitary hours—whence come all his sweetness and his spiritual light—and he will have but one answer to give. It comes from basking and living in the sun, and by letting the spirit expand itself, and grow, with its own spontaneous rectitude, towards Him who made it; from Whom it originally came; and to Whom, finally, it will have to go. Ask the gentle, silent, Young Aquino, how he spent his time.—He spent it drinking in the brightness of heaven, and filling himself with the strength of God. But this is a digression.

Nothing has been handed down, of any moment, regarding the teaching of S. Thomas at Paris during this period. Albert was in the height of his reputation. The days of Abelard and William of Champeaux seemed almost to have returned. Neither the accommodation at S. James's, nor the hall attached to the University, was large enough to contain the crowds of students. It has been said, in another place, that, on account of want of room, Albert was forced to lecture in a square still pointed out to strangers, near Notre Dame, and which, ever since that day, has been known as Place Maubert (*du Maître Albert*).—Albert, having finished his course, took his Doctor's cap.

The success of the Dominican professors at Paris, induced the friars to extend the field of their labours. The same year in which S. Thomas finished his studies (1248), a General Chapter was held at Paris.* Here it was ruled that four new schools should be started, on the model of S. James's:—Bologna, for the Lombard

* "In demselben Jahre, in welchem Thomas seine Studien in Paris beendete (1248), wurde zu Paris ein Ordenskapitel gehalten und beschlossen, neben der theologischen Schule zu St. Jacob vier neue Schulen zu errichten, in welchen eben so, wie in Paris, Lehrer und Schüler im umfassenderen Betriebe der heiligen Wissenschaft herangebildet werden sollten. Als die Orte dieser neuen Schulen wurden ausersehen: Bologna für die lombardische Ordensprovinz, Montpellier für die Provence, Oxford für England, Cöln für Deutschland. Nach Cöln wurden Albert und Thomas beordert, ersterer als oberster Regent der Schule; der dreißigjährige Thomas als zweiter Lehrer und *magister studentium*." (Werner, B. I., Cap. III., p. 109.)

Province; Montpellier, for Provence; Oxford, for England; and Cologne, for Germany. In spite of Albert's great fame at Paris, both he and Thomas were ordered to Cologne. Albert was to take the chair, re-arrange the studies, and be Regent; whilst Thomas—who was not twenty-three—was to be second professor, and "*Magister Studentium*."

The old city of Cologne, which was frequented by pilgrims from all the world, was moved, when the return of Albert and Thomas was announced. Albert's name, his ancient reputation, and his new dignity, attracted crowds. Thomas had as yet to make his powers known.

CHAPTER XVIII.

S. THOMAS MADE BACHELOR.

It was not long before the young "*Magister Studentium*" acquired a brilliant reputation at Cologne. Here it was that he began to make a name which eventually became more than European. It is natural that his sheer purity and saintliness should draw young men around him. But he had other attractions. He possessed the keenest of minds, the most capacious of memories; he could, with facility, take up any tangled skein, unravel it, and, with a mastership that might make ordinary men despair, display its whole complexity in such a manner, that the student could, with the greatest ease, take in the entire bearing of the question.*

His distinctions, even compared with those of Albert, were so new, his arguments so ingenious, that all were dazzled at his great ability. It was in the school of Cologne that he first gave evidence as a teacher, of that depth, balance, and expansion which, in after life, made him the weightiest of authorities on the most momentous of religious questions. In his treatment of the Lombard, and in handling of Scripture, he had ample opportunity for displaying his many-sided gifts.†

* "Il suffit de dire en passant, . . . qu'on ne croyoit pas qu'il y eût rien de si élevé, ou de si obscur, soit dans les matières de Théologie, soit dans les livres des anciens Philosophes, qu'il ne rendit aisé, ou intelligible. Les questions les plus épineuses, les plus capables d'arrêter l'esprit par leur obscurité il les mettait toujours à la portée de ses auditeurs." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. I., p. 98, 99.*)

He lays down the principle, thus, himself:—"Peritia docendi requirenda est, ad quam quinque pertinent, scilicet apertio, brevitatis, utilitas suavis et maturitas. Aperta debet esse doctrina ut ab omnibus intelligatur. In lib. *Prosperi de Vita contemplativa*, dicitur 'tam apertus debet esse sermo docentis, ut ab intelligentia sua nullos quamvis imperitos excludat. Utendum est pleno sermone, ut nummo, ubi est publica forma.'" (*De Erud. Princip., Vol. XVI., Lib. V., Cap. IX., p. 432.*)

† "Si diede pure ad interpretare alcuni libri della Sacra Scrittura, ed a sporre l'opera del Maestro delle Sentenze. In questo suo officio, comechè egli avesse ventidue anni e non più, trapassò di gran lunga l'aspettazione, che altissima si avea di lui, e venne in tanta fama che pel nobile desiderio di udirlo, e maestri e discepoli a gran numero traevano a quella città."

"Chi volesse entrare ne' particolari delle sue lodi, a pezza non finirebbe; dirò senza più che la scholastica filosofia (e dimostrativa era allora la filosofia, quale appunto debb'essere) non mai avea fatto die sè tanto bella e maravigliosa mostra, quanto fece per opera di Tommaso. Al mirare ch'è facea col suo perspicacissimo senno per entro la natura delle cose e al vederne di tratto ogni rispetto, al suo pronto levarsi ai più alti principii della scienza, al ricchissimo tesoro delle sue cognizioni, alla perfezione del suo metodo non che alla inimitabile efficacia del suo ricco parlare tutti rimaneano a guisa di attoniti, nè poteano riaversi dello stupore. Everamente i più dotti scolastici e' lasciossi di lungo spazio addietro massime in ordine al modo che perfettamente teneva nell'addottrinare." (Gibelli, *Vita, Cap. XIII., p. 50, 51; Cf. Touron, Liv. II., Chap. I., p. 98.*)

Nor did he confine himself to teaching in the schools. He preached and wrote.* His first pieces were "*De Ente et Essentia*," and "*De Principiis Naturæ*;" in which, following the leadership of Albert, he lays down fundamental principles of philosophy—principles which were afterwards developed, and which thread his entire teaching in metaphysics. He also composed several minor papers which point to his mastery of Aristotle; to the frame-work which he afterwards put together for sound scholastic teaching; and to the subtlety, lucidity, and grasp of his intelligence. His two first pieces contain the germ of a future system, and are remarkable productions for a youth of twenty-two.†

No doubt, the Saint's practice in teaching, and the accuracy he acquired by writing from an early age, were of great assistance to him in developing his powers. Then, he possessed another gift, very valuable in the middle ages, particularly so in the thirteenth century, and more especially useful to a religious man—a changeless calmness and self-possession. Partly, through education—through the vicissitudes of life; greatly, by character; partly, through breadth of mind; and principally, through grace—he possessed his soul in patience. He, if any man, could say—*Anima mea, in manibus meis semper*: for it was never known, even under the most trying provocation, that he lost his gentle self-control.‡ His humility and sweetness came out strikingly when arguing in the schools.§ Though his opponent, in the heat of disputation, might forget himself, Thomas not so. He answered meekly, and with benevolence—steadied by the light from which his every action sprang.

On one occasion, when a certain student arrogantly defended a thesis, of which he knew the Saint disapproved, he was suffered to proceed without remark. Asked why he did not check the youth, the Saint replied that he could not bring himself to put the young man to shame. Next day, emboldened by the silence of the pre-

* Here is a specimen of the French language, as used in the thirteenth century, on the words:—*Erat tunc inconstituta*: "ce estoit une cote, ce dist sanz censure, e dessore estoit conoissne par tot; ce done il a entendre que fu bien ovrée, e signifie le concorde e le carite de seinte glise." (See A. Lecoy, *De La Marche, La Chaire Française*, p. 163.)

† "Malgré la préoccupation d'un début dans l'enseignement oral, Thomas trouva le temps de se livrer au travail de la composition. C'est alors qu'il écrivit le *Traité des principes de la nature*, celui de *l'Être et de l'essence*, et plusieurs autres ouvrages où se trouvent dilucidées avec autant de netteté que de profondeur, les notions les plus abstraites de la métaphysique et de l'ontologie. Ses premiers écrits sont, en effet, de la même époque que ses premières leçons. Il essayait à la fois de ces deux organes de la pensée, la parole et l'écriture, dont il devait désormais se servir sans relâche pour répandre sur l'esprit humain des torrents de lumière et de vérité." (Bareille, *Cap. XIII.*, p. 132; Cf. Tolom. da Lucca, *Hist. Eccl.*, *Lib. XXII.*, *Chap. XXI.*)

‡ Disputing at Paris, on one occasion, with John of Pisa the Minorite, say the Bollandists: "Quantunque dictus Joannes exasperaret eundem Fratrem Thomam verbis ampullosis et tumidis, nunquam tamen ipse F. Thomas restrinxit verbum humilitatis; sed semper cum dulcedine et humanitate respondit: et idem faciebat dictus F. Thomas in omni disputatione quantunque acuta et solerti." (Boll., *Cap. IX.*, n. 77, p. 710.)

§ F. Leonardus de Caieta testifies thus of S. Thomas:—"Fuitque homo magnæ humilitatis et patientiæ; ita quod nunquam videbatur turbari ab aliquo; ac etiam magnæ sobrietatis et vigiliantiae." (Boll., *Cap. VIII.*, n. 75, p. 709.)

vious evening, the student continued his argument with still greater arrogance. The Saint now thought it time to interfere. So, with infinite sweetness, yet with crushing power, he put a few questions, made some distinctions, and upset the student with such ease, first on one point, then on another, that the whole school was in an uproar of admiration. Both the youth and his companions were thus taught a lesson of gentleness and power, which they did not easily forget.*

On another occasion, he was preaching to a crowded congregation at S. James's. It was Palm Sunday. During the discourse, an official, sent by the Senate of the University, walked up the church. He beckoned to the Saint to stop, and then read out, before the astonished people, with S. Thomas standing silent in the pulpit, an offensive document, drawn up by the secular party, in opposition to the Friars Preachers. When the man had finished, and the congregation had recovered from their surprise a little, S. Thomas proceeded with his sermon, with the same calmness with which he had commenced it. No human influence, however sudden or distressing, seemed to have any power over his extraordinary mind.†

Corrado de Suessia, who knew him intimately, gave a most interesting testimony on oath to the simplicity and purity of his life. He declared him to be "a man of holy life and honest conversation, peaceful, sober, humble, quiet, devout, contemplative, and chaste: so mortified, that he cared not what he eat, or what he put on. Every day, he celebrated, with great devotion, or heard, one or two masses; and, except in times proper for repose, he was ever occupied in reading, writing, praying, or preaching. I saw him," says Corrado, "leading the above life."‡ To this was joined a great confidence in spiritual illumination. "His science," says Raynald, "was not acquired by natural talent, but by the revelation and infusion of the Holy Ghost, for he never set him-

* "In crastinum autem cum ad idem in aula Domini Episcopi coram eisdem Fr. Thomas cum studentibus convenisset, et eadem quaestiones fuissent et determinationes per Licentiaudum sine correctione aliqua repetite; Frater Thomas cum omni moderamine dixit; Magister, ista vestra opinio salva veritate, fecuri non potest, quia est contra tale concilium; unde oportet vos aliter dicere, si non vultis a concilio discordare. Tunc aliter dicere cepit, sed opinionem in sententia non mutavit. Contra quem iterum arguens, et Concilium contra ipsum adducens, compulit ipsum suum confiteri errorem, et petere humiliter a predicto Doctore scire plenius veritatem. Tunc Frater Thomas dixit: modo bene dicitis, et docuit ipsum quod erat pro veritate tenendum. De quo Magistri omnes admirati sunt de tranquillitate mentis ejus et verbi, qui sic arguebat adversarium, quasi doceret discipulum, et quod tantæ scientiæ subito proposuisset mirabile documentum, ut suum locum teneret, et debitum solveret occulta scilicet virtus animi, et veritas manifestata Magistri." (Boll., *Cap. V.*, n. 27, p. 666.)

† "In disputationibus, quibus consueverunt homines aliquando modum excedere, semper inveniebatur mitis et humilis, nullis verbis gloriosis et ampullosis utens, et sic erat abstractus a temporalibus ampliacionibus, quod in mensa dum comedebat, semper habebat oculos ad superiora, et ponebatur coram eo scutella, et removebatur pluries ipso non sentiente." (Boll., *Cap. IX.*, n. 77, p. 710.)

‡ "Homo sanctæ vitæ, et conversationis honestæ, pacificus, sobrius, humilis, quietus, devotus, contemplativus, et castus; ita quod reputabatur virgo; et in cibo et potu fuit tantæ sobrietatis, quod singularitates ciborum non petebat, nec etiam curabat de cultu vestimentorum, et omni die cum magna devotione aut ipse celebrabat aut audiebat unam aut duas missas, et præter naturalis quietis horas semper vacabat aut lectioni, aut Scripturis, aut aurationi, aut predicationi. Vidi enim facientem predictam vitam." (Boll., *Cap. V.*, n. 47, p. 699.)

self to write, without having first prayed and wept. When he was in doubt, he had recourse to prayer, and with tears he returned—instructed and enlightened in his uncertainty.”* A letter, attributed to the Saint, gives his views on the temper of a Christian student. It is addressed to a certain “*In Christo Carissimus Joannes*.” John is not to plunge all at once into the sea of science, but to approach it by degrees, as water does along the beds of rivers, beginning with easy things, and then advancing to more difficult ones; talking too much must be avoided; purity, conscience, prayer, and solitude, are to be cultivated; John is to be amiable to all, familiar with none, for familiarity produces contempt, and stands in the way of study; he is to avoid mixing up with the affairs of seculars; he must shun vain conversations, and walk in the footsteps of the saints; he must not concern himself whence good comes, but treasure it up in his memory; he must try and know what he does, and try and understand all he hears; rid his mind of doubts, and fill the chamber of his intelligence with knowledge; and never aim at knowing what is beyond his reach.†

It was about this period that S. Thomas was ordained priest. It is mortifying that no certain information can be procured, regarding the time at which it took place. To him, it must have been an occasion of extreme joy, and overwhelming awe. His treatise on the dignity of the Christian priesthood; his illuminated Tract on the Blessed Sacrament; and his writings on the Mass; besides other references to the Real Presence, manifest the temper of his mind.‡ All his biographers lay stress on his great devotion while celebrating. He was frequently rapt in spirit whilst at

* “Ejus scientia non fuerat a naturali ingenio acquisita; sed per revelationem et infusionem Spiritus Sancti: quia nunquam ponebat se ad scribendum aliquod opus, nisi præmissa oratione et effusione lacrymarum; et quando in aliquo dubitabat, recurrerebat ad orationem, et perfusus lacrymis de ipso dubio revertabatur clarificatus et doctus: et hoc testimonium retulit ipsi testi, et multis aliis publicæ.” (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, n. 58, p. 704.)

† It may be interesting to give this letter in full:—“Quia quesisti a me, in Christo mihi charissime Joannes, qualiter te studere oporteat in thesauro scientiæ acquirendo: tale a me tibi super hoc traditur consilium, ut per rivulos non statim in mare eligas introire, quia per faciliora ad difficiliora oportet devenire. Hæc est ergo monitio mea et instructio tua. Tardiloquum te esse jubeo, et tarde ad locutorium ascendentem; conscientie puritatem amplectere, orationi vacare non desinas, cellam frequenter diligas, si vis in cellam vinariam introduci. Omnibus te amabilem exhibe, nihil quære penitus de factis aliorum, nemini te multum familiari ostendas, quia nimia familiaritas parit contemptum, et subtractionis a studio materiam subministrat. De verbis et factis secularium nullatenus te intronitas. Discursus super omnia fugias; sanctorum et bonorum imitari vestigia non omittas, non respicias a quo audias, sed quicquid boni dicitur, memoria recommenda. Et que agis et audis, fac ut intelligas: de dubiis te certifies, et quicquid poteris in armario mentis reponere, satage scire cupiens vas implere. Altitate te ne quesieris. Illa sequens vestigia frondes et fructus in vineam Domini Sabaoth utiles, quamdiu vitam humeris proferes ac produces. Hæc si sectatus fueris, ad id attingere poteris quod affectas.” (*Opusc.*, *LXI.*, Vol. *XVII.*, p. 338, ed. Parmæ.)

‡ “Io per me non sarò arido di por mano a descrivere quale e' fosse la prima volta che celebrò a messa; lingua mortale non può ritrarre in carte cosa, che tanto scuta del divino; dirò solo che interuato con tutta la mente e cou tutto il cuore in Dio era siraggiante d'amore, che pareva un compressore anzi che un viatore. Chi legge faccia da sè ragione dello stato di quell'anima nobilissima ed eccelsa; e a questo effetto consideri ben addentro le sublimi e stupende cose che questo Angelo delle scuole tutto acceso in fuoco d'amore venne scrivendo sopra l'Augustissimo Sacramento e sopra l'eccezzuza e dignità del Sacerdozio.” (Gibelli, *Vita*, *Cap. XIV.*, p. 55.)

“Erat enim præcipue devotus ad sacrosanctum Sacramentum Altaris: de quo quia concessum ei fuerat profundius scribere, donatus est ei devotus celebrare.” (Boll., *Cap. VI.*, n. 30, p. 667.)

Mass, when the tears would spring to his eyes, and flow copiously.* This happened to him also at other times. During Compline, at the words, "*Ne projicias nos in tempore senectutis cum defecerit virtus mea*," he was frequently thus carried away.† After he had said Mass, he prepared his lectures, and then went to the schools. Next, he wrote, or dictated to several scribes; then he dined, returned to his cell, and occupied himself with Divine things till time for rest; after which he wrote again, and thus ordered his life in the service of his Master.‡

The duty of preaching, also fell upon him.§ A man so filled with the Spirit of God would, almost of necessity, manifest the passion which ruled supreme. His reputation, even at this period, was great enough to draw a large congregation into the Dominican Church. His learning, his piety, his extraordinary gifts, then his nobility, and his commanding, yet gentle appearance, must have produced a deep impression.

But, before speaking of his sermons in particular, a general view of "preaching" in the thirteenth century will not be unacceptable.

Sacred eloquence, from the time of the Apostles, till the fourth century, consisted principally in homilies and in popular harangues. Then, we come upon the days of the great columnar Fathers, whose eloquent thoughts have a power still to move men's hearts, and whose methods influenced those lesser lights who followed them. S. Basil, S. Gregory, S. Chrysostom, and S. Augustine—looking back even from our day—occupy a position which could be filled by no other four. They were succeeded—worthily indeed, but were not approached—by S. Gregory the Great, S. Isidore of Seville, and Venerable Bede: just as, in turn, S. Gregory, S. Isidore, and S. Bede were succeeded, but were not surpassed by Alanus of Farfa, Rabanus, Heric, Alcuin, and Paul Warnefrid.

* "*Consueverat autem frequentius rapti in Missa tantæ devotionis effectû ut totus perfunderetur lacrymis, qui tanti Sacramenti sacris absorbebatur mysticis, et reficiebatur ex donis.*" (Id. Cf., *Sum. Theolog.*, P. III., q. XXII., Art. I., sqq. Opusc., *De Offic. Sacerd.*, Opusc., *Exposit. Missæ*, &c.)

† "*Visus fuit etiam frequenter, cum cantaretur ille versus in Completorio quadragesimali tempore: Ne projicias nos in tempore senectutis, cum defeceret virtus mea.* (Ps. 70, 9.) quasi raptus et in oratione absorptus multis perfundi lacrymis, quas de oculis videbatur educere piæ mentis." (Boll., *Cap. VI.*, p. 667, 668.)

‡ "*Post auditum ipsam Missam exiit vestibus statim ascendeat cathedram: post descensum cathedræ ponebat se ad scribendum, et dictandum pluribus scriptoribus: postea comederat, et deinde redibat ad cameram, et se divinis occupabat usque ad quietem; et post quietem scribere assumebat, et sic totam vitam suam ordiabat ad Deum.*" (Boll., *Cap. IX.*, n. 77, p. 710.)

§ The Dominicans had a spacious place for lecturing and preaching in, for:—"Aux jours solennels, l'Université, n'ayant pas de demeure fixe ni de local assez vaste, empruntait pour ses orateurs la chaire des écoles dominicaines de la rue Saint-Jacques." (*Hist. Litt.*, Chap. XXIV., p. 314.)

Maurice de Sully gives an interesting account of the first preachers of Christianity:—"Sains Thomas prêcha en Inde le major, sains Bartholomeus en Inde le menor, sains Simons en Perse, sains Phelipe en Sycie, sains Johans en Ayse, sains Jakes li graindres en Espaignes, sains Jakes li menses en Judée, sains Pieres en Lombardie, sains Pols en Gresse, sains Andreis en Archadie; et il et lor desciple menèrent la créance de la crestienté par tot le monde." (*Sermon du 20e Dimanche après Pentecôte. De La Marche*, p. 1.)

The scale of excellence seems gradually to diminish, till we come to such stirring times as the Crusades, or to days of contest against the violence of heretics, which, from the very nature of the case—from the force of circumstances—caused earnest men to speak with vigour and enthusiasm, if not with the elegance and polish of academicians. There was Ralph Ardent, for example, now almost forgotten, who anticipated the great Dominicans in his eloquence and power; then, S. Bernard, and Peter the Hermit, whose unction and earnestness, and fire, are well known, as exerting a great sway over the masses—and Hugh of S. Victor's, and Comestor, and Fulk, of whom mention has been made before; and Maurice de Sully, and John of Nivelles—mighty orators in their day, but now forgotten with the rest—bringing us down to the great revival in the Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominic.*

James de Vitry, Maurice de Sully, and William of S. Amour, say quite enough about the boldness of such heretics as the Catharites, and the Vaudois, to give a clear notion of the energy with which the children of S. Dominic would follow out their special vocation. The preaching of the Word of God, with school learning, was their one object in life. They opposed with fire and eloquence, the truth of the Gospel against the errors and blasphemies of fanatical performers, who, in the streets, or in the country places, would collect the simple-minded around them, and pour into their ears all manner of detestable teaching.

The language in which, at this period, sermons were preached, was French; that is, when given out from the pulpit. Even when written in Latin—and this was generally the case—they were delivered to the people in the people's tongue. S. Bonaventure is said to have preached in French.† S. Bernard, even, preached his Crusades in the vulgar tongue. Jordan of Saxony, and John of Wildeshusen, also, preached in French. In 1213, the Abbott of Jumièges had to explain the Gospel in French for the sake of the less instructed (*simplicioribus fratribus*). But, as a rule, the clergy were addressed in Latin. It was not thought complimentary to do otherwise. The epitaph of Abbot Notker

* "Wir besitzen noch theils Homiliensammlungen, theils nur einzelne Reden und Anslegungen aus der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters von dem hl. Gallus, Alcuin, Haymo von Halberstadt, Rhabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Ratherius von Verona. Als eifrige Prediger glänzten in der nachfolgenden Zeit: der hl. Petrus Damiani, der hl. Anselm, der hl. Norbert, Ivo von Chartres (f. Carnotensis), Gottfried von Vendôme, Gottfried von Bordeaux, Hildebert von Mans (H. Cenomauensis) u. A. Der hervorragendste Redner des Mittelalters war aber unstreitig der grosse hl. Bernhard (1091-1153), der durch die Salbung wie das Feuer seines Wortes wieder ganz an die hl. Väter erinnert und ausserordentliche Erfolge feierte." (*Das Kirchliche Predigtamt*, von Nikolaus Schleiermacher, *Zweite Auflage, Einleitung*, p. 22.)

† "Licet ego," says S. Bonaventure, "nesciam bene loqui gallicè, non tamen propter hoc verbum Dei quod debeo proferri in se minus valet. Ideo non curetis de hoc, dum tamen me intelligere possitis." (*De La Marche*, p. 236.)

(998) shows what the custom was, even as early as his time.* Some had a fancy for making sermons in rhyme—*sermones rimatos*—which seem to have had a strange attraction for many amongst the people.

The sermon generally took place—if it were an ordinary Sunday, and the preacher addressed the people in an instruction—after the Gospel, as is still the custom to this day.† But special sermons, preached on state occasions, such as at marriages or funerals, were delivered after Mass. There were sermons *in mane*, in the morning; and *post prandium*, after dinner. Then there were Collations, or Conferences, which were generally delivered by the same person who spoke to the congregation in the morning. The people were arranged, with the men on one side, and the women on the other, and ladies of distinction came to church, preceded by their valets, carrying cushions for them to sit upon during the discourse. The preacher was in the habit of addressing the people as “*Fratres*,” “*Fratres Carissimi*,” “*Bele Gens*,” “*Bele Segnors*,” “*Douce Gent*,” “*Signor et Dames*.” Sometimes, if the preacher said something offensive, or made use of unsound or heretical expressions, there were not wanting those who would interrupt him, and call him to order.‡ Robert of Sorbon gives a very interesting account of an instance of this. A learned clerk preached before the King of France. During his sermon, he went on to say that all the Apostles, at the moment of the Passion, abandoned Christ, and that faith became extinguished in their hearts; the Blessed Virgin, alone, kept it, from the day of the Passion, to that of the Resurrection, in commemoration of which, in the Holy Week of penance, at matins, all the lights, one after the other, are put out, except one, which is reserved for making blessed fire at Easter time. A solemn ecclesiastic, of higher rank, rose up to reprehend him; for the Apostles, according to this

* “*Vulgari plebem, clerum sermone latino
Erudit, et satiat magni dulcedine verbi.*”
(D. Bouquet, *Cap. X.*, p. 286.)

Then, again, the translator of Robert Lincoln says:—“*Lingua romana coram clericis saporem suavitatis non habet.*” (De La Marche, p. 234.)

† Schleinger speaks thus of the influence of schools on preaching:—“*Einen bedeutenden Einfluss auf allmähliche Wiederbelebung der Beredsamkeit übten, sich immer schärfer ansprühend und weiter verpflanzend, die Scholastic und Mystik; jeue, indem sie mehr Schärfe und Gründlichkeit in die Beweisführung brachte (von der Scholastik rührt besonders die mehr planmäßige Anlage und die Frequenz der Eintheilung her); diese, indem sie der Schattenseite der scholastischen Methode, der Trockenheit und Spitzfindigkeit, entgegenarbeitete und der Beredsamkeit mehr Gemüth, ungekünstelte Einfachheit und Salbung vermittelte.*” (*Predigtant*, p. 22.)

‡ According to S. Thomas, the priest should aim at practising what he preaches. Frigerio sums up his teaching beautifully thus:—“*Avvisava il santo, dover concorrere nell'evangelico predicatore alcune conditioni, che si leggono sparse ne'suoi componimenti, da noi qui compilate. Dicea dunque, che non dee mettersi Veruno a questa alta impresa, se non è sciolto da ogni affare secolare, e soggolate in prima le proprie passioni coll'acquisto delle cristiane virtù; di che grande insegnamento ue diede il nostro divin Maestro, il quale dopo l'intrapresa austerità nel deserto, e dopo le tante vittorie di satanasso riportate, immediatamente cominciò a predicar il Vang'lo: *Ut doceret*, dice egli nella Somma, *post cernem edomitam oportere alios ad predicationis officium transire.*” (*Lib. III.*, *Cap. V.*, p. 153; *Summa*, *Par. III.*, *qu. XLII.*, *art. III.*, *ad. 1.*)*

ensor, had abandoned Jesus Christ in body, but not in heart. The preacher was about to retract, when the King, (Louis) getting up in his turn, intervened. "The proposition is not false," he said: "it is to be found clearly expressed in the Fathers: bring me the Book of S. Augustine." The book was brought, and the King pointed out a passage in his Commentaries on the Gospel of S. John, where, in point of fact, S. Augustine expresses himself in these words:—"Fugerunt, relicto eo corde et corpore."* Sometimes, if the preacher said hard things about the ladies—like S. Bernard's saying that the first time a woman opened her mouth, she upset the whole world—the women rose up, and protested, before the congregation, against the unfairness of such imputations. Nepotism, riches, pluralities amongst the clergy, cheating in trade, usury, immorality, and vanity and love of dress, and of adorning their heads, especially amongst women—were constant subjects for the preacher.

Of course, sometimes, the congregation would not properly attend to the discourses. At one time, complaints were made that the men left the church just as the sermon began, and only came back when it was over. Cesarius of Arles, to put a stop to this kind of abuse, had the doors of the church closed after the Gospel.† Robert of Sorbon, with the same end in view, adopted different means.‡ One Easter Sunday, he told his congregation that he would be short, like the Gospel of the day: "I know," he said, "that on this day you must have a short sermon, and a long dinner. But it is to be hoped that the Mass is not too long for you."§

When the preacher found some of his congregation asleep, he did not experience much difficulty in addressing himself to them pretty directly.¶ Many anecdotes are given to this effect. For

* "Besonders günstig war für das Predigtwesen die Einsetzung des Dominicaner ('Prediger') und Franciscanerordens, die sich beide eifrig mit Verkündigung des göttlichen Wortes befassten. Unter die berühmten geistlichen Redner aus dem zwölften bis fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, gehören der hl. Dominicus, Thomas von Aquin, Bonaventura, Atonius von Padua, Philippus Benitius, Bernardin von Siena, Vincentius Ferrerius, Thomas von Villanova, Laurentius Justiniani . . . Gerson . . . der hl. Johannes Capistranus . . . Berthold von Regensburg . . . Tauler . . . Snsio, &c. (See Schleiermacher, p. 23.)

† Martène, *Antiq. Eccl.*, Rit. I., p. 380.

‡ Still, during the thirteenth century, the influence of popular preaching was very great. Speaking of the work of S. Francis and S. Dominic, De La Marche says:—"A partir de ce moment la prédication populaire prend un essor rapide, une extension énorme. Les nouveaux venus excitent chez les autres une louable émulation, et bientôt le sermon en arrive, comme nous le verrons, à tenir une place des plus importantes dans la vie publique et privée. Dans le domaine des monuments écrits, cette ardeur se traduit par une fécondité jusque-là inouïe, qui a fait dire aux auteurs de l'*Histoire littéraire*: 'L'innombrable amas des sermons latins ou français dont les anciennes bibliothèques sont encombrées ne pourra être débrouillé qu'à l'aide du loisir qui attend les historiens d'une époque moins heureuse.' On peut appliquer déjà au XIII^e siècle l'observation que fait à propos du suivant M. Victor Le Clerc: 'Tout discours est presque un sermon: parler c'est prêcher. L'art de la prédication est tout l'art de la parole.'" (*Les Prédicateurs*, p. 13.)

§ "Surrexit, non est hic. Hoc est verbum breve, et faciendum de ipso brevem sermonem, si poterimus; quia bene scio quod hodie vultis brevem sermonem et longam mensam: sed utinam, non brevem missam." (De La Marche, p. 203.)

¶ It cannot well be denied that in the latter half of the thirteenth century, sacred oratory fell so low that there was some excuse for men at times failing to keep up their attention. Even the Dominicans and Franciscans became so carried away with Aristotle, that the fulness

instance, the preacher would cry out: "He who sleeps in the corner there, does not know the secret I am going to tell you." Another, seeing persons fast asleep, left the immediate subject of his discourse, and said, with a loud voice, "Once upon a time, there was a king called Arthur," upon which, the sleepers awoke, and the orator said to them, not without irony, "When I speak of God, you sleep; but immediately I talk of fables, you awake." De Vitry's plan was to cry out, "He who sleeps there in that corner, does not know my secret!" And on another occasion, when an old woman was asleep, "Would you have me speak of the honest woman? I will talk, then, of the old woman fast asleep there. . . . Those who sleep at sermons, take good care not to sleep at table."

With regard to subject-matter, sermons depended upon the state of society, and the different classes into which men were divided.* There were sermons *ad clericos*, and *ad populum*; then, sermons *ad status* addressed to the different wants of various sections, e. g.: *Dolentes de morte propinquorum*, *Majores civitatis*, *Familie divitum*, *Mulieres meretrices*. Then there was the *dilatatio*, or the method of spinning out, and making the most of a few ideas; and the *sermo communis*, or common sermon, which was so constructed as to fit in with almost any occasion, and was intended to prevent the preacher ever being taken by surprise.

Of Englishmen, Stephen Langton, and S. Edmund, were both noted for their preaching: the former, on account of his powerful voice, was called *Stephanus Lingue-tonantis*; the latter was famous for his zeal. But of all, whether secular or religious, the Dominicans were, without doubt, the great preachers of the thirteenth century. In 1273, sixty preachers were employed in the principal churches of Paris, and of them, exactly one half were Dominicans. In the early part of the century, the style of preaching was earnest, simple, and natural. There must have been eloquence and fire, to have effected what the Dominicans achieved. Later on, their manner changed, the method became too dry and scholastic, and the spirit of analysis that did so much harm to theology, entered into sacred eloquence.

and fire of the pulpit gave way to the dry, formal methodism of the dialectical disputant. Towards the year 1260, the influence of Scotist subtlety and affectation seems to have influenced, more or less, every pulpit. Inspirations, *clan*—the real flow of the soul, such as we meet in S. Francis of Assisi, and his immediate disciples, was dried up. Logic-chopping, and cutting ideas into snips, and arbitrary lengths, little suited the requirements of the rhetorician; indeed, even the name itself of "rhetoric," so Doumou says, could not be found in the course of studies drawn out for the public schools.

* De La Marche speaks of the following subjects as preached upon by S. Thomas:—"Les morceaux que nous avons rencontrés sous son nom dans les recueils du temps sont, avec celui là, (*Attendite à falsis prophetis*) un sermon pour la fête du pape Saint Grégoire, sur le texte, '*Ecce vigil et sanctus descendit*,' un autre pour le premier dimanche après l'Épiphanie, sur l'évangile '*Puer Jesus proficiebat et augebat*,' suivi également d'une collation; un autre enfin sur l'Eucharistie, prêché le Jendi-Saint, en consistoire, devant Urbain IV. et ses cardinaux. On se rappelle que ce pape fut l'instituteur de la fête du Saint-Sacrement. Il mourut en 1264; le dernier sermon est donc antérieur à cette date." (*Les Prédicateurs, Première Partie*, p. 115.)

But it is time to return to the preaching of S. Thomas. His sermons can be judged by what he has written, and by the history of their effects.* His biographers speak of their simplicity, depth, and balance. Several anecdotes, related by Tournon, prove the power he possessed over his audience. On one occasion, in a sermon on the Passion, in S. Peter's, during Lent, he so vividly brought home to the congregation the sufferings of the Cross, and drew so touching a picture of the compassion, mercy, and love of Christ, that his words were interrupted by the passionate crying of the people. Then, on Easter Sunday, his sermon on the Resurrection filled the congregation with such jubilant triumph, that with difficulty they were restrained from giving public expression to their feelings.†

It was not after the modern fashion, that the Saint preached. His power did not proceed from violence of manner, fierce gesture, theatrical display, or artificial warmth. There was nothing of brute-oratory about him. The exaggerated and excited method of announcing the Gospel, imported from the Continent—and which might suit the market-place, but ill-beseems the dignity of the pulpit—was unknown to the great Dominican. Doubtless, he felt that the truth of God is too sublime to admit of much human heat in its expression; that a loud manner does not tend to make proof more cogent; and that the Spirit of the Gospel is gentle, calm, and self-possessed; yet firm, earnest, and commanding.‡ Tocco says that he preached a Lent at Naples on the one text, "*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum*," and that, during the whole time, he was seen to keep his eyes closed in the pulpit, and his head in such a position as if he were looking into heaven.§

* Miracles were amongst the wonders he worked:—"Volle anche il Signore autorizzare il gran ministro della sua divina parola con opere della sua onnipotenza, cioè co' segni e miracoli, come si videro nella primitiva Chiesa: sicché predicando l'ottava di Pasqua nella mentovata Basilica, udillo una donna, che lungo tempo già pativa d'un profluvio di sangue, senza poter a tanto male riparare. Sentissi costei eccitare in questa predica alla divotione del Santo, e come quell'altra del Vangelo si persuase, che, se avesse potuto accostarsigli, e baciargli la sacra veste, rimarrebbe incontanente sana; ne fu la speranza lontana dall'effetto, poichè finita la predica, baciandogli il lembo della cappa, *confestim stetit fluxus sanguinis ejus*, come della mentovata già disse S. Luca: e predicando per ogni parte il miracolo, si pose a seguirlo sino al convento di Santa Sabina, dove Tomaso fé ritorno." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. V., n. 4, p. 150.*)

† "Laonde un venerdì santo, mentreche nella Basilica Vaticana ragionava sopra la passione del Salvatore, commosse al fatamente gli uditori, che tutti in lagrime si risolvevano, dove nella seguente predica della domenica di Resurrezione sentissi ciascuno riempiere di santo giubilo ed allegrezza. Predicò anche per lo spatio di dieci anni in Napoli, e quivi per una intera quaresima spiegò l'orazione Dominicale, sicome in altro tempo quadragesimale, la salutatione Angelica con gli occhi chiusi e con la testa alzata verso il Cielo." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. V., n. 3, p. 150.*)

‡ "Et quia sic erat Doctor mirabilis elevatus ad Deum, sic caritate diffusus ad proximum, predicationes, suas, quibus placeret Deo prodesset populo, sic formabat, ut non esset in curiosis humanarum sapientiarum verbis, sed in spiritu et virtute sermonis, qui evitatis in prosecutione sermones quæ curiositati potius quam utilitati deserviunt, in illo suo vulgari natalis soli, quod propter continuum mentis raptum mutare non potuit, proponebat et prosequatur utilis populo, subtilitates questionum scholasticarum disputationi relinquens." (Boll., *Cap. VIII., n. 49, p. 673.*)

§ "Joannes Blasii Index . . . vidit ipsum (S. Thomam) per totam unam quadragesimam predicantem oculis clausis, contemplativis et directis ad cælum." (Boll., *Cap. VIII., n. 70, p. 708.*)

"Con gli occhi chiusi e con la testa alzata verso il cielo." (Frigerio, *L. III., Cap. V., p. 150.*)

Yet it does not follow because his eyes were closed, that he did not give full expression to his thoughts. Bourdaloue recited his master-pieces with his eyes shut; but as Schleinger assures us, he by no means was wanting in animation and variety of manner. Our Saint preached ten years in Naples, as well as in Paris, Rome, Cologne, and other places. The people revered his word as if it had come direct from the mouth of Christ. "*Tam reverenter audiebatur a populo,*" says Tocco, "*quasi sua prædicatio prodiret a Deo.*"*

The sketches he has left of his sermons are a valuable index to his method. In the fourth Opusculum (according to the Parma edition), there are one hundred and forty-two skeleton-sermons for Sundays, and eighty-three for festivals. The former, on the Gospels; and the latter, upon our Lord, and upon the Saints—forming a very complete and useful set of discourses, even for the present day. Whether our Saint confined himself to these "notes" and extemporized the words, cannot be known with any certainty. Probably, having great practice in speaking, and in writing, he felt no difficulty in clothing his thoughts in appropriate language; and with his prodigious memory, a very meagre skeleton would suffice.† In the notes, he divides the meaning of his text into three or four grand divisions; and each of these he subdivides into three or four portions. The divisions are expressed with exceeding brevity, and yet, with so good a choice of words, that the whole pith becomes evident at a glance. To each division, or subdivision, is attached a text to the point from Holy Scripture, with the proper reference. The skeleton is so well organised that, when once fixed in the mind, there is no difficulty in diversifying each portion into one very clear and consecutive discourse. To

* And no wonder, if what the Bollandists relate of the Saint is true, viz.: "*Non audebat aliquid dicere, nisi quod Deus dedisset eum implere.*" (n. 49, p. 674.)

† "Des sermons sans nombre qu'il prononça dans le cours de son ministère, nous ne possédons que des analyses courtes et déclarées, qu'on pourrait comparer dans un certain sens à ces rapides souvenirs que Bossuet avait coutume de tracer, en descendant de la chaire où son génie venait d'éclater avec tant d'ampleur et de magnificence. On retrouve néanmoins dans ces notes abrégées du Docteur angelique, l'empreinte ineffaçable de sa large pensée, l'inflexible rigueur de sa méthode, un admirable emploi de l'Écriture, l'inaltérable pureté de l'enseignement religieux, et cette guerre surtout qu'il n'a cessé de faire aux vices, à la dépravation du monde; tout le conduit à ce dernier but, le panégyrique d'un saint, comme la méditation d'un mystère, comme un discours direct de morale évangélique. (Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas D'Aquin*, Chap. XV., p. 163.)

‡ "Si nous nous renfermons dans le cercle des compositions qui émanent indubitablement de Saint Thomas, nous trouverons peut-être le théologien plus remarquable que l'orateur; mais cependant l'orateur y gagnera encore. Pour se former de ses prédications une opinion juste, on peut prendre comme type le sermon du troisième dimanche après la fête de Saint Pierre, qui a pour texte cette parole de l'évangile:—'*Attendite a falsis prophetis.*'" Then the words are given in a note thus:—"Invenimus aliqui qui student in philosophia et dicunt aliqua que non sunt vera secundum fidem: et cum dicitur eis quod hoc repugnat fidei, dicunt quod philosophus dicit hoc; sed ipsi non asserunt, imo solum recitant verba philosophi. Tullus est falsus propheta sive falsus doctor; quia idem est dubitationem movere et eam non solvere, quod eam concedere. Ille cisterneum aperit qui dubitationem movet de his que spectant ad fidem: cisterneam non cooperit qui dubitationem non solvit. Videte, charissimi: multi fuerunt philosophi, et multa dixerunt de his que pertinent ad fidem, et vix invenietis duos concordare in unam scientiam; et quicumque aliquid veritatis dixit, non dixit eam sine mentione falsitatis. Plus est modo una vetula de his que ad fidem pertinent quam quondam omnes philosophi," &c. (De La Marche, p. 114, 115.)

those who seek for plans of sermons, these notes would be very suggestive. One often sees "notes" for sermons, but not often such as these, where the divisions are in keeping with the subject, and form a portion of its unity; and do not represent a heterogeneous admixture of unharmonious ideas.*

Here is a specimen taken at random of the method of the Angelical.

HOMILY CXXXIII.

THE INNOCENT.

"That you may be sincere and without offence, unto the day of Christ."—*Philip*. i. 10.

The Apostle in this Epistle exhorts us to three things. Firstly, to the avoidance of sin: "That you may be sincere." Secondly, to all love: "Filled with the fruits of justice." Thirdly, to the possession of a right intention: "Unto the glory and praise of God."

I. On the *first* head, it must be noted, that three commands are given. (1) That we should seek after purity of mind: "That you may be sincere." "Blessed are the clean of heart; for they shall see God." (2) That we should avoid doing injury to our neighbors: "Without offence: giving no offence to any man." (3) That we should persevere in both courses: "Unto the day of Christ," *i. e.*, till after death; when the day of man is ended, the day of Christ begins. "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved." The Gloss treats of this under the word "sincere;" signifying the avoidance of works of corruption, with respect to ourselves, and of giving offence with respect to our neighbours, and perseverance in this course till the day of Christ.

II. On the *second* head, it is to be noted, that the Apostle likewise gives three commandments. (1) He exhorts to rectitude of mind: "The fruits of justice." S. Anselm defines justice to be that rectitude of will which is preserved for its own sake. (2) To the having a delight in that which is good: "The fruits of the spirit are peace, joy, longanimity, goodness, benignity, meekness, faith, modesty, continency, chastity." (3) To the having perfection in good, "being filled:" "Be ye therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect."

III. On the *third* head, it is to be noted, that in every action we should, in a threefold manner, direct the eye of our intention to God:—(1) So as to believe that every good thing comes from Him, as if from the fount of all good, through Jesus Christ: "Of his fulness we all have received, and grace for grace; for the Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." "Without Me you can do nothing." (2) So as to make God to be praised and honoured in all our actions: "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father, who is in heaven." (3) So that the reward of eternal glory may be given to us for our desire to work: "Unto the glory and praise of God." "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where the rust and moth consume, &c. . . . But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."

* Sometimes, the outline is as brief as this:—"Quadruplicem gratiam debemus mortuis, lo eos debetis obsequiis sepelire. Eccl., 38: *Fili, in mortuum produc lacrymas* . . . ; 20 pro eis orare; 30 pro eis elemosynas facere . . . ; 40 pro eis sacrificium altaris offerre. Exemplum Gregorii in fine dialogorum, . . . qui pro monacho quodam fecit dicere triginta missas." (*Ibid.* p. 114.)

HOMILY CXXV.

TRUE AND FALSE RICHES.

"I give thanks to my God always for you, for the grace of God that is given you in Jesus Christ; that in all things you are made rich in Him."—1 Cor. i. 4, 5.

The Apostle in giving thanks that they were enriched "by Him," indicates that there are certain riches which are to be desired; and in threatening the rich, Christ shews that there are certain riches which are to be avoided. Whence we learn that there are *temporal* riches, *spiritual* riches, and *eternal* riches. Of temporal riches, it is said: "If riches abound, set not your heart upon them." Of spiritual riches: "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord," and "Glory and wealth shall be in his house." Of eternal riches: "With me are riches and glory; glorious riches and justice." "With me are riches," *i.e.*, the better goods; "And glory," *i.e.*, ineffable; "glorious riches," *i.e.*, such as are exalted; "and justice," *i.e.*, such as is according to merit.

I. In the *first* place it is to be noted, that *temporal* riches are to be despised chiefly for four reasons. (1) On account of their uselessness: "He that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them," *i.e.*, the fruit of eternal life. "Riches shall not profit in the day of revenge." That is, temporal riches do not avail for the salvation of man in the day of judgment; "But justice shall deliver from death;" *i.e.*, the good works of justice deliver from eternal death. "Set not thy heart upon unjust possessions; and say not, I have enough to live on. . . . For it shall be of no service in the time of vengeance and darkness." "We brought nothing into the world, and certainly we can carry nothing out." (2) On account of the necessity of leaving them: "They have slept their sleep; and all the men of riches have found nothing in their hands." "The riches which he hath swallowed, he shall vomit up, and God shall draw them out of his belly." (3) Because they lead the unjust possessor to perpetual poverty: "The rich man when he shall sleep, shall take nothing with him: he shall open his eyes, and find nothing. Poverty like water shall take hold on him." (4) Because the contempt of them leads to eternal life: "And everyone that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess everlasting life."

II. On the *second* head, it is to be noted, that by riches man sins in four ways. (1) By acquiring them unjustly: "He that heapeth together riches by usury and loan, gathereth them for him that will be bountiful to the poor." "He that oppreseth the poor to increase his own riches, shall himself give to one that is richer," that is, to the world, "and shall be in need." (2) By possessing them avariciously: "Riches kept to the hurt," *i.e.*, to the peril of the owner, "are lost with very great affliction." (3) By being badly spent: "Give not thy substance to women," *i.e.*, to the corruptions of sin; "thy substance," *i.e.*, thy body and the riches of temporal things. Mystically it signifies do not contaminate your whole store of virtue by the corruptions of vice. "The younger son gathering all together, went abroad into a far country, and there wasted his substance living riotously." (4) By trusting in them, and becoming proud of them: "He that trusteth in his riches shall fall," *i.e.*, from eternal life. Gloss: "He who thirsts after present goods, neither thinks nor reflects on the future, so that in the end he will lack eternal riches: 'Charge the rich of this world not to be highminded, nor trust in the uncertainty of riches, but

in the living God . . . to lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on the true life.”

III. On the *third* head, it is to be noted, that *spiritual* riches are knowledge and virtue; “The riches of salvation, are wisdom, and knowledge: the fear of the Lord is his treasure.” “Through fear sin is driven out.” “They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts, and in His sight will sanctify their souls.” “The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord. . . . For he that is without fear, cannot be justified.” Discretion and honest conversation are the result of knowledge; for it is by knowledge that man knows what is due to God, to his neighbour, and to himself. God teaches us this knowledge, being weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts of pleasures and desire. Isaias by the Holy Spirit, the Lord, asks, saying, “Whom shall he teach knowledge? And whom shall he make to understand the hearing?” And then He answers, “Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts.” It is strange, when man finds bitterness and burning in these breasts, that he does not withdraw from them. As S. Augustine says, “O Lord, Thou hast mingled my delights with bitterness that I might seek to live without bitterness.” Thou, O man, if thou wishest to be taught by the Lord, separate thyself from these breasts, because it is said—“Wisdom shall not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins.” But by wisdom the love of God enters into the soul; hence S. Bernard says, “Let a man learn what he will;—I will not call him wise, who will not fear nor love God.”

On the *fourth* head, it is to be noted, that these *spiritual* riches are to be sought for three reasons. (1) On account of their immensity: “For she is an infinite treasure to men! which they that use become the friends of God.” “For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom.” “She is more precious than all riches, and all the things that are desired, are not to be compared with her.” Gloss: “Charity is to be preferred not only before earthly, but also before heavenly riches; nay, even before the very sight itself of the angels, so that none need dread poverty who have acquired the riches of wisdom.” (2) On account of their utility: “The ransom of a man’s life are his riches; but he that is poor beareth not reprehension.” “Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire.” “Beareth not.” Gloss: “Let him who wishes to redeem his soul from future wrath gather together the riches of good works; for if he lack these, he will not be able to bear the reprehension of the just Judge. There the poor shall not be rebuked, but they shall partake of the blessing of the inheritance.” (3) On account of their dignity: “The crown of the wise,” *i.e.*, the eternal crown in reward of their virtue, “is their riches,” *i.e.*, true riches, and not earthly gain; whilst “the folly of fools is imprudence.” Gloss: “Though they have a certain emolument as their riches, the wise will still share in the eternal crown, on account of their virtues; whilst the stupidity of fools is most glaring in this, *viz.*, that through improvidence they sacrifice eternal gains for present satisfaction.” For imprudence is often called improvidence.

V. On the *fifth* head, it is to be noted, that *eternal* riches are to be sought for three reasons. (1) On account of their truth, for they are true riches: “If, brethren, you wish to be truly rich, love true riches,” S. Bernard. (2) On account of their joyousness: “The saints shall rejoice in glory: they shall be joyful in their beds.” “His eyes shall see the King in His beauty.” (3) On account of their eternity: “But the just shall live for evermore.” “And of His kingdom there shall be no end.” “Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where the rust and moth consume, and where thieves break through and steal.” The Lord sheweth by these three (rust, moth, and thieves), that there

is no safety in the possession of earthly riches; for there are certain things which rust devours, such as silver and gold, and other metals. There are others which not the rust, but the moth destroys and eats, such as silken and precious garments; there are other things which neither rust nor moth eat, but which thieves steal and dig up, such as gems and precious stones; whence it is manifest how uncertain are the goods of life, and the possession of all things. The Lord persuades us to lay up to ourselves treasures in heaven, saying, "Lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven: where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through, nor steal." But how can any one lay up treasures in heaven, unless by first making riches in time? By rust, moth, and thieves, we may understand spiritual wickedness. By rust pride is signified: for pride, when it takes possession of the soul, turns it from the "path of justice." As rust shews itself openly, so pride ever spreads itself abroad after human praise. By the moth envy is signified: for like the moth it destroys what it fixes itself on, and gnaws it to pieces. By thieves evil spirits are understood, who are on the watch to dig up and steal the treasures of the soul. In heaven there is no rust; for there is no place there for pride, since the devil and his followers were cast down from thence. In heaven there is no moth, no envy, because no one there will envy the happiness of another. In heaven there are no thieves or demons, because they with their chief have fallen from thence. S. Chrysostom says: "There is only one thief who steals the treasure laid up in heaven, and that thief is vain-glory."*

Whilst Thomas was thus occupied, Frederick II. was carrying out his policy of violence in Italy. His excommunication, and the way he had been abandoned by the Italian nobility, added to his exasperation. In his striving after the dominion of the world, and in his endeavour to usurp power belonging to the Holy See, he treated with brutal cruelty those who did not fall in with his unscrupulous ambition. Many noblemen, outraged by his arrogance, and fearing the spiritual weapons of the Church, openly declared against him, and sided with the Guelfs. This was the case with the two rough brothers of the Saint, who, through the prayers of the Angelical, were brought to see the error of their past course. The loving heart of Thomas never forgot them. No sooner did he become a priest, than he offered the Holy Sacrifice, with many tears, begging the Lord to change them into other men. They turned against their powerful relation, and espoused the cause of the Pope. Frederick then destroyed their stronghold at Aquino, and they died at last in the cause of truth. In reward for his earnest prayers, and tears, and simple faith, S. Thomas was favoured by a heavenly revelation, which assured him that his brothers had received forgiveness.†

* (*Opp.*, Vol. XV. *Opusc.*, IV. *Serm.* CVXV. *De Dominica Decimaoctava, ex Epistola*, p. 183, 184.) Compare *The Homilies of S. Thomas Aquinas*, by John M. Ashley, B.C.L.:—A very miserable translation, and in many parts utter rubbish.

† "Tommaso, che sempre con gran fervore avea supplicato a Deo per la vera prosperità di tutti i suoi, in tanta sventura disciolto in lagrime si afflisce in aspre penitenze, e instantemente

After four years at Cologne, our Saint received orders to prepare to take his degrees at Paris. This move was made, no doubt, with full deliberation. The Superiors of the Dominicans were merely carrying out a preconceived plan for strengthening the Order. And how was this best achieved? By placing their most promising subjects at Paris, and by earning so unmistakable a name for depth, accuracy, and brilliancy of teaching, that men would be constrained to acknowledge their superiority. Jealousy might be strong, but never so powerful as to overset an institution which, according to the unanimous voice of learned scholars, held the palm for doctrine in the most deeply theological university in the world.

Albert, and Cardinal Hugh of S. Caro, were instrumental in getting our Saint to Paris.* Albert had had a life-long experience of the difficulties which beset a professorship; of the qualifications required for success; and of the work which had to be accomplished in the future—a work requiring something more than learning, viz.: tact, temper, coolness, and caution. He saw all these qualities combined, in an unusual degree, in Thomas of Aquino, and founded on a basis of supernatural love. Then, Hugh had been present when the young man implored the Holy Father to let him follow Christ in humility and poverty—and had not forgotten it. He had watched, ever since that occasion, the career of the young Dominican, and became more firmly convinced, every day, that he was destined to perform some great service for the Church.

Thomas, when he had heard his fate, was much concerned. His pronounced distaste for honours and position, made him wish to be left alone.† But, in obedience to authority, he set out on

pregò il Signore che si fiera persecuzione tornasse a tutti in materia di merito; lo pregò che si ammassero di virtuosa costanza i fratelli, e portassero pazientemente il peso dell'infortunio; lo pregò che volessero delle loro cose più dilette anzi di se medesimi far sacrificio a Lui che è assoluto Signore e dominatore de' dominanti; a Lui, da solo il quale è la vera gloria, la vera felicità. Nè a sole preghiere si stette contento; tutto ciò che pur lui si poteva ad alleviamento de' loro mali, tutto e' mise in opera; nè restò mai di venirli sostenendo colla virtù delle sue confortatrici parole."

"Ai modi, ch'egli ebbe adoperati conseguì, la mercè di Dio, il desiderato effetto. Landolfo e Rinaldo a tanta calamità aprirono gli occhi dell' intelletto, tornarono al cuore, a fede si abbandonarono a Dio, comportarono ad espiazione de loro falli il furiare di quel Superbo, e venuta la loro volta conclusero santamente la vita. Tanto inestimabile tesoro ad una famiglia si è l'averne un santo!" (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Cap. XV., p. 58; Vid. Boll., *Cap. VII.*, p. 671, 672; Tournon, *Liv. II.*, Cap. III., p. 105-109; Bareille, *Chap. XIV.*, p. 144.)

* "Post hæc autem cum Frater Thomas sic mirabiliter in scientia et vita proficeret, et Magistro Alberto ex commissione Reverendi Patris, Fratris Joannis Magistri Ordinis incumberet, ut Parisiensis studio de sufficienti Baccellareo provideret: Magister predicti sui discipuli prævidens velocem in doctrina profectum, persuasit per litteras magistro ut de Fr. Thoma de Aquino pro Baccellareo in predicto studio provideret, describens ejus sufficientiam in scientia et vita. Quem cum non statim duceret acceptandum, adhuc sibi in gratis ignotum; snasu Domini Hugonis Cardinalis ejusdem Ordinis, cui erat de ipso per litteras intimatum, predictus Magistro ipsum in predicti studii Baccellareum acceptavit; scribens ei, ut statim Parisios se conferret, et ad legendum sententias se pareret." (Boll., *Cap. III.*, n. 15, p. 661; Cf., Tournon, *Liv. II.*, *Chap. IV.*, p. 110; Bareille, *Chap. XIV.*, p. 148; Gibelli, *Capo XVI.*, p. 60.)

† "Qui [i. e. Thomas] præ humilitate de se semper humilia sentiens, hanc promotionem voluisset rennere, nisi oportuisset Magistri litteris obedire." (*Ibid.*)

"Tommaso, che di se non conto tenea, recò in mezzo tutte le considerazioni che mai gli caddero in cuino a dovere rimovere il Generale dalla presa risoluzione; ma tutto fu indarno. Per virtù di perfetta obbedienza, facendo dell' altrui volere il suo, mossesi di Colonia per alla volta di Parigi." (Gibelli, *Capo XVI.*, p. 60; see Tournon, *Liv. II.*, *Chap. IV.*, 110, 111.)

his journey from Cologne, and begged his way to Paris. Some say he stopped at Louvain, but of this, the evidence is insufficient. It is certain that he passed through Brabant and Flanders, and preached before the Duchess Margaret.* Probably, the Duchess was acquainted with his family; and since she encouraged men of letters, possibly she had heard of his reputation, as a teacher in the schools. She conceived the warmest admiration for his saintliness and genius; and, subsequently, was in the habit of consulting him in her difficulties relating to the well-being of her people.

Not only the Duchess, but the learned men of Paris had been told of his successes during his four years at Cologne; and he was received by them with marks of unusual distinction.

There were many young Dominicans, who, if age counted for much, had a greater claim to be sent to Paris than Thomas of Aquino. But they were all passed over by the General: and Thomas, on account of his talents and activity, was admitted—though below the legal age—amongst the Bachelors (1248).

But it was not at his own request that he was promoted. On the contrary, his deep humility, and the greatness of the responsibility, tempted him to refuse the proffered honour. However, holy obedience constrained him to obey. The Dominican professors of theology at this time were Hugh of Metz, and Elias Brunetus.† It was as teacher in the school of Elias, that S. Thomas, according to the custom, now began to expound the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the Lombard. He was no sooner made Bachelor, and it became his duty to speak, than his silence abandoned him.

The quiet, meek young man—so mortified, so recollected—began to let flow that fountain which had been filled with “the waters of wisdom” during his long and deep meditations.‡ His

* “So berichtet Carle a. a. p. 80, u. 450, nach Fenillade, einem anderen Biographen des heiligen Thomas. Tournon nennt s. 127, statt der Gräfin Margarita von Flandern die Gemahlin des Herzogs Heinrich III. von Brabant, Alix oder Adélaïde von Bourgogne.” Vgl. von Kampen, *Geschichte der Niederlande*, Hamburg, 1831: Bd. I., § 99, n. 100.” (Werner, *Vol. I.*, p. 113.)

† “C’est peut-être ici qu’il faudroit placer un fait rapporté par quelques Historiens modernes, qui assurent que notre Saint fut appelé en Brabant, pour les affaires qui regardoient les Chanoines d’un Chapitre, dans les archives duquel on voit encore aujourd’hui, dit-on, les actes de cette visite, avec les réglemens, qui furent faits et signés de la main du Serviteur de Dieu. Comme les plus anciens Auteurs n’ont point parlé de ce fait, non plus que du voyage de S. Thomas à Louvain, nous n’en pouvons rien dire de positif. Il est vrai cependant que dans son retour d’Allemagne en France, il visita la Duchesse de Brabant, Adélaïde, ou Alix de Bourgogne, Epouse d’Henri III., Duc de Brabant, surnommé le *Debonnaire*. Cette Princesse, que les Historiens appellent quelquefois Comtesse de Flandres, étoit illustre, & par ses vertus, & par toutes les qualités de son esprit.” (Tournon, *Liv. I.*, Chap. IV., p. 111.)

‡ “Öffentliche Lehrer der Theologie aus dem Prediger-Orden waren damals Hugo von Metz und Elias Brunetus; in der Schule des Letzteren übernahm Thomas das Amt des zweiten Lehrers, und erklärte der Vorschrift gemäss die heilige Schrift und die Sentenzen des Lombarden. Seine Erfolge übertrafen jede Erwartung; die Zahl seiner Zuhörer wuchs mit jedem Tage, und bald drang der Ruf seines Namens über die Gränzen Frankreichs. Eine gute Zahl seiner kleineren Schriften, deren Abfassung in die Zeit seines diessmaligen Aufenthaltes zu Paris fällt, wurde durch Bitten und Anfragen entfernter Personen veranlasst.” (Werner, *Vol. I.*, *Dritte Capitel*, p. 114.)

† “Factus autem Bacallareus, cum cepisset legendo effundere, quæ taciturnitate deliberaverat occultare; Dens tantum ei infudit scientiam, et in labiis ejus tanta divinitus est effusa doctrina; ut omnes etiam Magistros videretur excedere, et claritate doctrinæ scholares plus

influence over young men was very remarkable. It far surpassed—as will be seen—that of any other master. As no other, he could inflame the minds of his disciples with an ardent love of study. They were conscious that his teaching had something about it of another world: and the feeling crept over all, and finally mastered them, that he spoke as one “having power.” The opinions which he formed at that early age, with few exceptions, he committed to writing; and held them, and defended them, with little change, in his maturer years.* From his youth, he had dedicated himself to wisdom as his spouse. The Bollandists say that this spouse of his drew him to herself in such a manner, that nothing could overcome a mind which, in the possession of one reality, possessed everything.† Only one thing he asked for—that was wisdom.‡ Even in conversation, his mind clung to its One only Rest—though speaking to man, his eye was fixed on God.§

Rainald, his confessor, knew, for certain, that the Saint gained everything by prayer. On one occasion, during class, the conversation fell on the great Angelical. Rainald burst into tears, and exclaimed, “Brothers, my master forbade me, during his life, to tell the wonderful things he did:—one thing I know of him, that it was not human talent, but *prayer*, that was the secret of his great success.¶ He never discussed, read, wrote, or dictated, without begging with tears, for illumination.” Tocco says that he thus acquired all he knew.¶ This was his daily prayer:—“Grant me I beseech Thee, O merciful God, ardently to desire, prudently to study, rightly to understand, and perfectly to fulfil that which is

ceteris ad amorem scientiæ provocare. Erat enim novus in sua lectione movens articulos, novum modum et clarum determinandi inveniens, et novas reducens in determinationibus rationes: ut nemo, qui ipsum undisset nova docere, et navis rationibus dubia definire, dubitaret, quod cum Deus novi luminis radiis illustrasset, qui statim tam certi cepisset esse judicii, ut non dubitaret novas opiniones docere et scribere, quas Deus dignatus esset noviter inspirare.” (Boll., *Cap. III.*, n. 15, p. 661.)

* “Et quia ad subtilitatem ingenii sequitur iudicii certitudo, dum intellectus, potest subtilitate capere vnicuique etiam quod verum est iudicare; quod ideo conveniens fuit, ut prædictus Doctor, sicut subtilis ingenii fuisse dicitur, sic et certi iudicii, fuisse evidentissime iudicaretur nam opiniones et rationes, quas adhuc Baccellarus advenit, paucis exceptis, Magister effectus scripsit, tenuit, et detendit.” (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, n. 41, p. 170.)

† “Sic enim divina sapientia quæ melior est cunctis opibus, quam sibi a juventute sponsam acceperat, ipsum inebriaverat caritate, ut nullum mundanum ejus mentem alliceret, qui in uno bonorum omnium sufficientiam possideret.” (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, n. 43, p. 170, 171.)

‡ “Exemplo Salomonis nihil aliud, quam Dei sapientiam, quam amabat, in oratione petebat.” (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, n. 31, p. 668.)

§ “Nullum vite tempus esset vacuum, quod non esset sacris actionibus occupatum. Ita quod si aliquando pro consolatione Fratrum vel aliarum venerabilium personarum cogeretur dimisso studio in leontorio consistere, a profectu virtutis et studii, etiam illa hora modica non vacabat. Nam expeditis his, quibus oportuisset propositis respondere aliquid historiale aut morale ad edificationem breviter discebat, reliquum si superfuisset tempus, priusquam ad cameram suam completa lectione redisset, surgens a loco cum quibuscumque sedisset, sicut non advertens divinis intentus, discurrere per claustrum vel hortum, consuetum tempus suis meditationibus et speculationibus expendebat; sic iterum ad orandum paratus, quasi non dimisisset oraculum, cuius nulla occupatio immutabat affectum: quia nec aliis detectabatur ejus affectio, nisi his revelationibus, quas impetrasset orando.” (Boll., *Cap. VI.*, n. 30, p. 668.)

¶ “Inter quæ fuit, quod scientiam suam, quam præ aliis intrandum habuit, non humano ingenio, sed orationis merito acquisivit.” (Boll., *Cap. VII.*, n. 31, p. 668.)

¶ Boll., *Cap. VI.*, n. 31, p. 668.

pleasing to Thee—to the praise and glory of thy Name.”* When a child, if conversation did not turn on God, or on matters which tended to edification, the Angelical would go away.† He wondered how men, especially religious men, could talk of anything but God, or holy things.‡ He was “*Miro modo benignus in animo, qui totus suavis erat in verbo et liberalis in facto.*”§ He wept for the sins of others as if they had been his own—yet so spotless was his mind, that he could hardly bring himself to think that man could sin. No one could look on him in conversation without receiving the grace of a special consolation.¶ To meet his eye and to hear his voice, was to warm the heart and to elevate the soul.

The young professor had reason to throw himself earnestly into his work. Though ever dwelling in the unseen kingdom, as is evident from his history, he was keenly alive to the tendency of the intellectual world around him. His saintliness, his character, and his parts, seem to have pointed him out as destined to sway the philosophical and theological teachings of an age, in which the human mind appeared to be in a very dangerous state of flux. The rationalism of the Abelardine school—the corroding mysticism of the East, and depravity of morals—had to be faced, and to be withstood. Thomas fixed himself, therefore, on the immovable basis of authority, and grounded his teaching on the monastic methods of the “Sentences” of Peter the Lombard.¶ It can hardly be doubted that the surprise caused by his distinctions, and the admiration created by his novelty in argument, proceeded, in great measure, from his vivid appreciation of the work he had to do—of the enemy he was contending with, and of the powers

* “Concede mihi, queso, misericors Deus, quæ Tibi placita sunt, ardentè concupiscere, prudenter investigare, veraciter agnoscere, et perfecte implere, ad laudem et gloriam Nominis Tui.”

† Boll., Cap. VIII., n. 49, p. 672, 673.

‡ “Admirabatur autem plurimum, ut ejus are frequentius est auditum, quomodo aliquis, et præcipue religiosi, possent de alio nisi de Deo loqui, aut de his quæ edificationi animarum deserviunt.” (Ibid., Cap. VIII., n. 49, p. 673.)

§ Boll., Cap. VI., n. 37, p. 669.

¶ “Iste sanctus diffinitor crederet, quod homo peccaret, stultes sibi omnes vel meliores æstimans in innocentia vel natura; cum constitisset aliquem ex infirmitate peccasse, sic alienas delectat culpas, ut proprias: illius imitatus exemplum, qui per compassionem ut propriis nebat incendia in delectibus alienis. Ex qua benignitate caritatis miranda affectus ex solo ejus corporali aspectu videbatur oriri ut nemo ipsum aliquandiu alloquendo et conversando potuisset aspicere, a quo non contingeret gratiam specialis consolationis haurire.” (Boll., Cap. VI., n. 37, p. 669.)

¶ It is a both curious and interesting fact, that the disciples of Albert and S. Thomas, in comparing their two masters, should have attributed to each respectively, what I should call, attributes of activity and *quies*. Pranti thus quotes the *Manuale Scholasticum*, p. 14. “Cam.—Sælo magistrum, qui Albertum, quem vocitant doctorem magnum, imitatur; illius sequar doctrinam. Bart.—Et quasi minor sit beatus Thomas, reputas? Cam.—Res illa mihi latet, verum nomen Alberti præstantius est. Bart.—Certe non, quia sanctitate gaudet beatus Thomas. Cam.—Certum est, quia plures fuerunt sancti simpliciter pro se ferentes si quidem mea conjectura est, tantum ex operibus, sc. devotione et jejuniis, abstinentia sanctitatem obtinuisse, dominum vero Albertum scientie propter excellentiam meruisse magnitudinis nomen; ceruine, quod jam præconium ad philosophiam splendidius sit? Bart.—Velim me esse cum sancto Thoma. Cam.—. . . . Inauda jejuniis ceterisque præceptis ad beatam vitam ducentibus, et eris comes ejus vite sanctitatisque particeps; . . . ex studio artium hoc non percipitur, sed ex contemptuatione divina. Bart.—Nihil prodest, verba evomere; mea sententia fert, clarum esse doctrinam beati Thomæ. Cam.—Neque ego repugno, quamquam Albertum præfero.” (Logik, Vierter Band, § XXII., p. 185.)

by which, alone, that enemy could be overthrown. Frigerio says he was looked upon, "*quasi divino oracolo*"—as a heavenly oracle.* He followed Albert, but his teaching was more incisive, more definite, and more strictly to the point.

It will be seen, later, how he met dominant errors, and gained the confidence of those who naturally would have looked upon him with jealousy or suspicion. Many of his disciples became distinguished men. Ægidius Romanus, of the Colonna family, was his pupil for eleven years, and became famous for his acquaintance with theology, philosophy, and law. Ægidius was a vehement defender of Thomistic traditions, and wrote voluminously on morals, and scholastic theology.† Eventually he joined the Augustinians, was made General, then Archbishop of Berry, and acquired the title of "*Doctor Fundatissimus*."

S. Thomas assisted others besides his own pupils—sovereigns, cardinals, bishops, superiors of Orders, and professors, besides inquisitive young men, wrote to him for advice, and for solutions to their difficulties. For instance, a professor, of Venice, sends him a paper of thirty-six articles, to which he desires a response in

* "Omnes magistros videretur excedere, et claritate doctrinæ, scholares plura cæteris ad amorem scientiæ provocare. Erat enim novus in sua lectione movens articulos, novum modum et clarum determinandi inveniens, et novas reducens in determinationibus rationes; ut nemo, qui ipsum audisset nova docere, et nova rationibus dubia definire, dubitaret, quod cum Deus nova huiusmodi radiis illustrasset, qui statim tem certi capisset esse iudici, ut non dubitaret novas opiniones docere et scribere, quas Deus dignitas esset noviter inspirare." (Boll., *Cap. III.*, n. 15, p. 661.)

† Ma si dispose, poi mosso dall'ubbidienza, di accettare il carico: perciò si partì da Colonia, & se ne andò in Parigi ad interpretar i quattro libri delle sentenze di Pietro Lombardo, & giunto il Santo in Parigi, cominciò ad eseguire l'ufficio di Bacellieri; & tosto, che la sua dottrina fu conosciuta, concorsero innumerevoli scolari ad ascoltarlo, & lo stimavano come se fosse un divino oracolo, & come, che la dottrina era ammirabile, e la vita esemplare, divenne a tutti gratissimo. In questo tempo cominciò a scrivere, & commentar i quattro libri delle sentenze: dove così eccellente divenne, & con tanta copia di scienza, & con sottilità di questioni, & con varie distinzioni, & con profondità di dottrina, che tutti giudicavano, che la sua dottrina li era divinamente dal Spirito Santo inspirata più presto, che naturalmente acquistata: egli usava nelle sue lezioni un metodo particolare: & allegava ragioni tanto vive, per confermare i suoi detti, che perciò ciascuno giudicava, che l' suo intelletto fosse illuminato pel dono particolare di Dio." (Vita, p. 16.)

† He may be called the forerunner of the great Thomistic theologians of the sixteenth century. To give a few of their names will show the energy of the revival:—"Da begeben uns zuerst," says Werner, "die strengen Thomisten aus den Schulen des Prediger-Ordens: Dominicus Soto, 1560; Petrus Soto, 1563; Martin Ledesma, 1574; Bartholomæus Medina, 1581; Johannes Vincentius, 1595; Baltasar Navaretus, 1600; Raphael Ripa, 1611; Ludwig de Montesinos, 1621; Didacus Nunez de Capenzado, 1624; Thomas Torres, 1630; Joseph a St. Maria, c.a., 1625; Didacus Alvarez, 1635; Joh. Gonzalez, c.a., 1636; Gregor Martinez, 1637; Michael Zafardi, 1642; Johannes a St. Thoma, 1644; Franz Manca Prado, 1636; Joh. Paulus Nazarius, 1646; Marcus Serra, 1647; Gregorius Cipullus, c.a., 1644; Hacquet, 1660; Franz Auranzo, 1664; Caspar Ruyz, c.a., 1654; Joh. Martinez Prado, 1668; Contenson, 1674; Joh. Martinez de Prado, 1668; Peter Godoy, 1677; Gonet, 1681; Hyacinth Parra, 1684; Franz Perez, c.a., 1690; Franz a Jesu Maria, 1677; Cornejo de Pedrosa, 1618; Franz Suarez Villegas, Matthæus Orlandi, 1695; Petrus de Aragon, c.a., 1580; John Putzeanus, 1623; Petrus de Lorca, 1606; Alphonus Curiel, 1609; Hieronymus Perez, c.a., 1555; Franz Zamel, 1607; Petrus de Cabrera, 1600; Ludovicus Caspensis, c.a., 1641; Raphael Aversa, 1657; Diotelaenus, c.a., 1610; Gaspar Ram, c.a., 1612; Michael de Palacois, c.a., 1560; Sebastian Perez, 1593; Wilhelm Estius, 1613; Frans Sylvius, 1649; Jos. Wiggers, 1639; Toletus, Melchior de Castro, 1599; Molina, 1650; Gregor de Valentia, 1603; Gabriel Vasquez, 1604; Egidius Lusitanius, 1608; Petrus de Arrabal, 1608; Benedict Pereira, 1610; Johann Salas, 1612; Franz Zuniga, 1614; Franz Suarez, 1617; Franz Albertin, 1619; Leonhard Less, 1623; Martin Becanus, 1624; Joh. Ragusa, 1624; Didacus Graudius, 1634; Alphons de Arango et Penafiel, 1657; Adam Tanner, 1632; Johann Prepositus, 1634; Diego Alarcón, 1634; Hieron. Fasolus, 1639; Augustin Bernol, 1642; Augustin von Rom, 1643; Caspar Hurtado, 1646; Jo. Martinez Ripalda, 1648; Franc. Amicus, 1651; Franc. ab Oviedo, 1651; Joh. Castillo, 1683; Franz Lugo, 1652; Bernardin Villegas, 1653; Franz Suarez, 1659; Roderich Arriaga, 1657; Joseph Angles, Lychet, Franz Aretinus, Ponticus, 1560; Peter Coninck, 1573; Franz Herrera, c.a., 1590; Franz de Ovando, c.a., 1580; Mastrina, c.a., 1600; Franc. de Pitigiannis, c.a., 1600; Johann de Rada, 1608; Theodor Smising, c.a., 1600; Philipp Faber, 1630; Anton Hiquens, 1641; Angelus Vulpes, 1647; Caspar Schemma, 1657; (S. Thomas, B. III., *Erstes Buch*, p. 143-149.) Werner also gives, in a foot-note, the several works written by the above-named theologians.

four days.* The Saint answers him with great courtesy, saying how occupied he is, still promising to do his bidding. Each question is first stated by S. Thomas, and then he gives the answer as briefly as is compatible with clearness. He is asked whether the angels move the heavens; whether they do so "*suo imperio*;" if there were any method of proving this infallibly; and whether these spirits belong to the order of heavenly Virtues. The answers given by S. Thomas show how great an influence the writings of the Areopagite had had upon him. Then Br. Gerard of Besançon, a Dominican, writes asking six questions, which hardly show that Br. Gerard had either a very practical or a very scientific turn.† He wishes to know, amongst other things, whether the star which appeared to the Magi was like a cross, or a man, or a crucifix; whether the little hands of Jesus created the stars; whether the words of Simeon—"thy own soul a sword shall pierce"—were remembered by our Lady with vehement grief seven times a day till the Resurrection; and lastly, there is a somewhat insane question about Confession. B. Gerard asked these questions with an eye to the pulpit. The Saint treated them as they deserved—showing, that he was not given to scholastic subtleties. He tells B. Gerard that he thinks, when indubitable truth offers so much matter for sermons, frivolity should be avoided:—still, what has been said need not be recalled, unless scandal has arisen.‡ The *Opusculum*, on the difference between the Divine and human word; and the somewhat larger treatise, on the nature of the intellectual word, are full of close reasoning; and state principles which are fundamental, regarding the method of human knowledge.§ They show a deep study of the Stagyrice,

* "Lectis vestris litteris, in eis inveni articulorum multitudinem numerosam, super quibus a me vobis responderi infra quadriduum vestra caritas postulabat. Et licet essem in aliis plurimum occupatus, ne tamen deessem vestre dilectionis obsequio, dilatis parumper aliis quibus me intendere oportebat, questionibus a vobis propositis proposui per singula respondere. *Articulus I.*—Primus ergo articulus est, an Angeli sint motores celorum. Super quo dixi taliter respondendum quod hoc non solum a Philosophis est multipliciter probatum, verum etiam a sanctis Doctoribus evidenter asseritur. Dicit Augustinus in V. de Trinitate, quod 'sicut corpora grossiora et inferiora per subtiliora et superiora quodam ordine reguntur ita omnia corpora per spiritum vite rationalium.' In libro etiam LXXXIII. *Quaestionum*, dicit, quod 'unaquaque res visibilis in hoc mundo habet angelicam potestatem sibi præpositam.' Gregorius etiam dicit in IV. Dial., quod 'in hoc mundo visibilis nihil nisi per creaturam invisibilem disponi potest.'" (*Opusc.*, X., *Responsio de Articulis*, XXXVI.: ad *Lectorem Venetum*, Vol. XVI., p. 169, ed. Parm.)

† For example, take the fourth question:—"Quarta questio, an parvulus manus parvi Jesu nati creaverint stellas. Ad quod respondeo, quod locutio hæc non est propria. Nam parvulus manus sunt manus humanitatis, quarum non est creare. Sed quia unus et idem Christus est in divina et humana natura perfectus, potest hujusmodi locutio sane exponi, ut dicatur: Manus parvulus istius pueri creaverunt stellas; id est, iste puer habens manus parvulas, creavit stellas. Tali enim modo loquendi ad quamdam unionis expressionem aliquando Doctores utuntur, sicut in quibusdam cantatur Ecclesiis: 'Manus quæ nos plasmaverunt, clavibus confixæ sunt.' Non tamen hæc sunt extendenda, vel prædicanda populo. Sed tamen si prædicatum sit non arbitror revocandum: nisi super hoc error aut scandalum oriatur, in quo casa oporteret sanæ locutionis sensum exponi. Non sunt autem in talibus, quantum fieri potest, simplicium animi sollicitudi." (*Opusc.*, XI., *Responsio de VI. Articulis ad Lectorem Bisuntinum*, Vol. XVI., p. 175.)

‡ "Prima questio fuit, an stella quæ Magis apparuit, haberet figuram crucis. Secunda, an haberet figuram hominis. Tertia, an haberet figuram crucifixi." After some remarks the Saint concludes:—"Non enim decet prædicatorem veritatis ab fabulis ignotas divertere. Si autem ab aliquo sit prædicatum, non arbitror esse necessarium quod revocatur, nisi forte ex hoc populo scandalum sit exortum; et tunc non deberet ut erroneum reprobari, sed ut incertum exponi." (*Opera*, Vol. XVI., p. 175. Ed. Parm.)

§ Of these two *Opuscula*, Professor Gaetano Gibelli thus speaks:—"Per questi due metafisici Trattati splendidiissimi di dottrina, se i nostri filosofanti gli avessero per le mani, e accu-

and, though Albert and S. Augustine are kept in view, they manifest marks of powerful and independent thought.

One of the most important of his treatises is that addressed "*ad Fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum*," on the nature of the angels; a favourite subject in the middle ages. It was begun during the Saint's Bachelorship, but he never got beyond the thirtieth chapter.*

In this treatise, he exhibits a familiar acquaintance with the systems of Thales, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Democritus, Anaxagoras, and others. He shows his mastery of Arabian philosophy, and of the teachings of Porphyry, and Avicenna. He compares Plato, with Aristotle, and brilliantly refutes the doctrine of Avicbron. He oversets the pantheism of Avicenna, the untenable doctrines of the Platonists, and the equally dangerous, but perhaps more remotely destructive tenets of Origen. He establishes the Providence of God over the angels, with the assistance of Aristotle's metaphysics; and proves, with an argument full of ingenuity, that the same Providence extends its beneficent influence to the smallest creature. Finally, the Manichean error is disposed of, and the "*substantiæ separatae*" are proved to have been created; whilst the last chapter treats of the condition and distinction of the angels. The Areopagite, S. Basil, S. Augustine, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Jerome, S. Gregory Nazianzen called "*Theologus*," S. Chrysostom, and S. John Damascene, are used in a manner which makes it evident that S. Thomas must have been extensively read in the Fathers, even so early as this in his career. The treatise shows the Saint's grasp of some of the cardinal questions of the day, and how masterfully he dealt with errors, which, had it not been for him, might have stained the most promising minds in the Paris schools.†

ratamente ne cercassero ogni cosa, senza fallo la moderna filosofia, la quale, a voler dire il vero, è di torbidi nvoli involuta, agevolmente disnebbiar si potrebbe, e di chiarissima luce gloriarisi." (*Vita di St. Tommaso d'Aquino*, p. 62. Ed. 2. Bologne, 1859.)

* He begins thus:—"Quia, sacris Angelorum solemnibus interesse non possumus, non debet nobis devotionis tempus transire in vicium; sed quod psallendi officio subtrahitur, scribendi studio compensetur. intendentes igitur sanctorum Angelorum excellentiam utcumque deprimere, incipiendum videtur ab his quæ de Angelis antiquitus humana conjectura ætnavit; ut si quid invenerimus fidei consonum, accipiamus; quæ vero doctrinæ repugnant catholicæ, refuteamus." The chapters are headed thus:—"De opinionibus antiquorum philosophorum.—Opinio Aristotelis et Avicennæ de numero substantiarum separatarum.—In quo conveniat opinio Platonis et Aristotelis.—In quo differunt Plato et Aristoteles.—De substantiarum separatarum essentia secundum Avicbron.—Reprobatio opinionis Avicbron quantum ad modum ponendum.—Reprobatio opinionis Avicbron de materialitate substantiarum separatarum.—Solutio rationum Avicbron opinionis.—Opiniones dicentium substantias immateriales causam sui esse non habere, et earum reprobatio" &c. (*Vol. XVI., Opusc., XIV., De Substantiis separatis, sue de Angelorum natura; ad Fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum*, p. 183.)

† The Saint treats fully on the Angels, taking his works generally. Of their origin and being, or essence, see *Summa, Pars Prima, qu. L., art. 1, p. 203; art. 2, p. 204; qu. L., art. 3, p. 205; qu. LI., art. 2, p. 208; qu. LI., art. 3, p. 209; qu. LXXIX., art. 1, p. 308; qu. LVI., art. 2, p. 221; qu. LVII., art. 1, 2, 3, p. 222, 223; qu. LIX., art. 2, p. 231; qu. LX., art. 2, p. 234; art. 5, p. 236; qu. CVII., art. 2, p. 411, 412; qu. CVIII., art. 5, 6, p. 416-418; Contra Gentiles, Lib. II., cap. XLVII., p. 101, 102; Ibid., cap. XLVIII., p. 102; Lib. III., cap. LXXX., p. 221-223. Of their difference, respecting each other, see *Summa, Pars Prima, qu. LXII., art. 2, p. 240; art. 4, p. 241; art. 7, p. 243; qu. LXIII., art. 1, p. 245; art. 3, p. 246, 247; art. 9, 251, qu. CVIII., art. 4, p. 415. Of their work, see Summa, P. Prima, qu. CVI., art. 3, p. 412; qu. CX., art. 2, p. 423, 424; art. 3, p. 424; qu. CXII., art. 1, p. 428; qu. CXIII., art. 6, p. 434. (*Summa, Vol. I. Contra Gentiles, Vol. V. Ed. Parma.*)**

There are some other Opuscula which are put down to this period—writings of less importance in themselves, but interesting, in as far as they point out what kinds of subjects occupied the thoughts of scholars in the thirteenth century. There is the Tract against those who maintained the eternity of the world, and which strikes at the root of the Eastern systems.* Here the Saint follows his favourite, S. Augustine, and shows his acquaintance with the writings of Boethius, S. Anselm, and Hugh of S. Victor's. Then, there is "*De Sortibus*," which rests principally upon the common assumption that the heavenly bodies exerted immense influence on terrestrial affairs; "*De Fato*," in which the Saint shows that he is well acquainted with some of the Latin poets; and finally, a treatise on the "Essence of matter and its dimensions," in which, in nine chapters of subtle arguing, the errors of Averroës are combated. The "Exposition" of the two decrees of Innocent III. for the Archdeacon of Trent, an "*Opusculum de motu cordis ad Philippum Magistrum*," and another "*De Potentiis Animæ*," seem also to have been written during this period.

But, whilst thus engaged, upon the Scriptures, and the Lombard, S. Thomas was frequently in the pulpit; he zealously observed the duties of conventual life, and regularly delivered lectures to the crowds that pressed around his chair. His versatility, his power of abstraction, his astonishing memory, his jealous husbanding of time, carried him with ease through works which would have broken the spirit of any ordinary man. He possessed that marvellous gift, which Origen and Cæsar are said to have displayed, of being able to dictate to three, and even four scribes,† on different and difficult subjects, at one time, without for a moment losing or entangling the thread of each separate question—dictating to each as if he alone was exclusively the object of his attention.‡

* "*De Æternitate mundi contra murmurantes*." (*Opusc.*, XXIII., p. 318-321.) Here is a specimen of his method of arguing:—"Præterea: Causa produciens totam rei substantiam, non minus potest in producendo totam substantiam, quam causa produciens formam in productione formæ; immo multo magis; quia non producit educendo de potentia materie, sicut est in eo qui producit formam. Sed aliquod agens quod producit solum formam, potest in hoc ut forma ab eo producta sit quandocumque ipsum est, ut patet in sole illuminante. Ergo multo fortius Deus, qui producit totam rei substantiam, potest facere ut causatum suum sit quandocumque ipse est. Præterea si aliqua sit causa quæ posita in aliquo instanti non possit poni effectus ejus ab ea procedens in eodem instanti, hoc non est nisi quia illi causæ deest aliquid de complemento: causa enim completa et causatum sunt simul. Sed Deo nunquam deficit aliquid de complemento. Ergo causatum ejus semper potest poni eo posito; et ita non est necessarium quod duratione præcedat." (p. 319.)

† "*Vera revelatione sui socii, et suorum studentium scriptorum veraciter est compertum, quod prædictus Doctor de diversis materiis, tribus scriptoribus, et aliquando quatuor in sua camera eodem tempore, Spiritu revelante, dictabat.*" (Tocco, Boll., n. 18, p. 665.) It is said that Origen could dictate to seven scribes at one time.

‡ The Opuscula the Saint is said to have written during his bachelorship are thus numbered according to the Parma edition of his works. Responsio ad Lectorem Venetum de XXXVI. articulis. (*Opusc.* X.) Responsio ad Lectorem Bisuntinum de VI. articulis. (*Opusc.* XI.) De differentia verbi divini et humani. (*Opusc.* XII.) De natura verbi intellectus. (*Opusc.* XIII.) De substantiis separatis sen de natura angelorum ad fratrem Reginaldum socium suum carissimum. (*Opusc.* XIV.) In Decretalem I. expositio ad Archidiaconum Tridentinum. (*Opusc.* XIV.) In

There are one or two points in S. Thomas's answer to the Duchess of Brabant, about the Jews, which are of interest.* He begins, as was his custom, by saying how overpowered he was with work, but that charity would not suffer him to keep silence.† The Duchess asked whether she could make exactions from the Jews? Absolutely speaking, he thinks she could; still, according to the Apostle, we should be without offence to Jew and Gentile, and the Church of God. Nor is it permissible for her to turn to her own account, money the Jews acquired by extortion. She may not receive ill-gotten goods; they must be returned to the lawful owner. If this cannot be effected, they must be converted to some pious purpose, at the suggestion of the Diocesan, or some other worthy person. Can Jews be punished by fine, seeing that their money is acquired by usury? Some penalty should be added, since money, thus obtained, does not belong to them. The Saint blames princes for not constraining the Jews to take to some honest occupation, as had been done in parts of Italy; and observes that if princes are defrauded of their rights, it is their own fault, for not acting with greater vigour with the Jews.‡ Can presents be taken from Jews? Yes: but if the gifts have been acquired by usury, they should be returned to the owner, or converted to pious purposes. What is to be done with the residue, if more is received from the Jews than is required? The answer is given in the principle already stated. Is it lawful to sell places to bailiffs and officials? Many inconveniences would follow from such a practice. The worst men—the ambitious, and

Decretalem II. expositio ad eundem. (Opusc. XX.) De sortibus ad Dominum Jacobum de Burgo. (Opusc. XXI.) De aternitate mundi. (Opusc. XXIII.) De fato. (Opusc. XXIV.) De Essentia materie et anarum dimensionum. (Opusc. XXVIII.) De motu cordis ad Philippum magistrum. (Opusc. XXXI.) De potentis animæ. (Opusc. XL.) But there is a doubt as to the genuineness of some of them—of this later.

* “Adelaide di Borgogna era moglie di Enrico III. Duca del Brabante. Questa principessa, chiara d'ingegno e più chiara del virtù, avea in altissima riverenza gli scienziati e sopra tutti Tommaso, cui ella avea in costume di richiedere a quando a quando di consiglio. Non si potrebbe agguagliare a parole l'allegrezza ch'ella n'ebbe, e l'ammirazione in che si levò ponendo mente alle maniere soavissime e veramente angeliche di lui. Egli le fu cortese di molti salutevoli ammonimenti, massime intorno al modo di tenere nel governare i Giudei che fattisi Iddio de' loro oro tiravano all' altrui oppressura. Tali consigli ella bramò ch'è mettesse in iscrittura affinché più profittevoli le tornassero; il che, secondo suo usato, sapientemente e' fece non molto appresso.” (Gibelli, *Vita Cap. XVI.*, p. 62.)

† “Excellentie vestre recepti litteras, ex quibus et piam sollicitudinem circa regimen subditorum vestrorum, et devotam dilectionem quam habetis ad Fratres nostri Ordinis plenarie intellexi, Deo gratias agens, qui vestro cordi tantarum virtutum acmina inspiravit. Quod tamen in eisdem a me requirebatis litteris, et vobis super quibusdam articulis responderem, utique mihi difficile fuit: tum propter occupationis meas, quas requirit operatio lectionis; tum quia mihi placeret ut super his requireretis aliorum consilium magis in istis rebus peritiorum. Verum, quia indecens reputari ut vestre solitudini negligens coadjutor inveniar, aut dilectioni ingratus existam; super propositis articulis vobis ad presens respondere curavi; absque præjudicio sententia melioris.” (Opusc. XVII., *De Regimine Judæorum ad Ducissam Brabanticæ.* Vol. XVI., p. 292.)

‡ “Si vero dicatur, quod ex hoc principes terrarum damnificentur; hoc damnum sibi imputent, utpote ex negligentia eorum proveniens. Melius enim esset ut Judeos laborare compellerent ad proprium victum lucrandum, sicut in partibus Italie faciunt, quam quod otiosi viuentes solis usuris ditiorent, et sic eorum domini suis redditibus defraudentur. Ita enim et per suam culpam principes defraudarentur redditibus propriis, si permetterent suos subditos ex solo latrocinio vel furto lucrari. Tenerentur enim ad restitutionem ejus quodcumque ab eis exigenter. Tertio quærebatur, si ultro offerant pecuniam, vel aliquid euentiam, an recipere liceat. Ad quod respondendum videtur, quod licet recipere; sed expedit quod sic acceptum reddatur his quibus debetur, vel eliter, ut supra dictum est, expendatur, si nihil aliud habeant quam usuram.” (*Ibid.*, p. 292.)

the avaricious, would be purchasers; and having once obtained position, would abuse their power, and become overbearing and tyrannical. Is it lawful to impose taxes on Christian subjects? * It must be borne in mind that princes of the earth were instituted by God, not that they might seek themselves, but the common utility of their subjects. For it is said in Ezechiel, "Her princes in the midst of her, are like wolves ravening the prey to shed blood, and to destroy souls, and to run after gains."† And in another place, it is said, by a certain prophet, "Woe to the shepherds of Israel, that fed themselves; should not the flocks be fed by the shepherd? You ate the milk, and you clothed yourselves with the wool, and you killed that which was fat; but my flock you did not feed."‡

Hence, princes receive their rents that they may not despoil their subjects—according to the Prophet, "He shall have a portion of the land of Israel, and the princes shall no more rob my people."§ Still, if the revenue be not sufficient for supporting their position, princes may exact what is necessary. Those who live for the common good, should be supported by the people. So, also, extra expenses for the common good are to be defrayed by the public purse. But it is unlawful to tax the people to meet inordinate outlays, or for the lust of personal gain. The seventh question is: what is to be done with money extorted by officials? To be returned to the rightful owner. Lastly, should the Jews have a badge to distinguish them from Christians? Both according to the General Council (of Lateran), and to their own law, they should wear some distinctive mark on their dress. ||

Such is the manner in which the Angelical treated political questions of no little difficulty in his day. Any person carefully reading the advice given by the Dominican to the Duchess, will, at once, perceive with what prudence, tact, and judgment the Saint viewed the difficulties in which she was placed. It will, moreover, be observed, that he possessed a spirit of justice, and a

* "Sexto quærebatis, si liceat vobis exactiones facere in vestros subditos Christianos. In quo considerare debetis, quod principes terrarum sunt a Deo instituti non quidem ut propria lucra querunt, sed ut communem populi utilitatem procurent. In reprehensione enim quorundam principum dicitur in Ezech. XXII., 27: 'Principes ejus in medio ejus quasi lupi rapaces, positi ad effundendum sanguinem, et ad quærendas animas, et avaritiæ lucra sequenda: et alibi dicitur per quendam Prophetam (Ezech. XXXIV., 2): 'Vae pastoribus Israel qui pascabant semetipsos. Nonne greges pascuntur a pastoribus? Lac comedebatis, et lanis co-operiebamini; quod crassum erat, occidebatis; gregem autem meum non pascabatis.' Unde constituti sunt redivit terrarum principibus, ut ex illis viventes a spoliatiõe subditorum abstineant. Unde in eodem Propheta (Cap. XLV., 8), Domino mandante dicitur, quod 'principi erit possessio in Israel, et non depopulabuntur ultra principes populum meum.'" (Ibid.)

† Chap. XXII., 27.

‡ Ezech., Chap. XXXIV., v. 2.

§ Chap. XLV., v. 8.

|| "Ad quod plana est responsio, et secundum statutum concilii generalis, Judæi utriusque sexus in omni christianorum provincia et in omni tempore aliquo habitu ab aliis populis debent distinguî. Hoc eis etiam, in lege eorum mandatur, ut scilicet faciat fimbrias per quatuor angulos palliorum, per quos ab aliis discernantur." (Opera, Vol. XVI., p. 294, *Parma.*)

He finishes thus:—"Hec sunt, illustris et religiosa Domina, quæ vestris quæstionibus ad præsens respondenda occurrunt; in quibus vobis non sic meam sententiam ingero, quin magis suadeam peritorum sententiam esse tenendam. Valeat Dominatio vestra per tempora longiora." (Ibid., p. 294.)

love of freedom, tempered by wisdom in its widest sense, which was not as general as it might have been in the middle ages. The views of the Angelical become all the more striking, when it is borne in mind that he was a friar, and had no practical experience of government. In a man of genius, intuition and instinct often serve in the place of study; and what ordinary men only acquire, by laborious application, he is enabled to grasp, by reason of his extraordinary gifts. Such seems to have been the case with the Angel of the Schools.

CHAPTER XIX.

COMMENTARY ON THE "SENTENCES."

PART I.

THOSE who knew him, expected that the young Professor would be quite equal to his work at Paris, but they did not expect that he would have attained so speedily such a wide-spread name. Frigerio says that he elucidated the "Sentences" with such sublimity of thought, that he seemed rather the author of the work than its expositor.* Tocco declares that at this time God poured into him so great a knowledge, and caused so divine a doctrine to flow from his lips, that he surpassed all the masters of the University, and by the lucidity of his expositions, drew, beyond all others, the intelligences of his disciples towards a love of science.† Students from every part of Europe flocked around his chair.‡

In touching on his Commentary on the Lombard, the influence of Alexander Hales, the Minorite, must not be forgotten.§ Alexander was a giant after the fashion of Albert, only, if possible, he possessed greater vivacity of intelligence, and, in this peculiarity, seems to have been another Scotus. His learning and acuteness earned for him the title of "*Doctor Irrefragabilis*."|| His principal performance is a commentary on the "Sentences." Unlike most commentators, he did not follow the Lombard point

* "Ivi leggendo il detto Maestro delle sentenze con tal' altezza di concetti, con distinzioni non più udite, con acutezze di nuovi argomenti, facendo anche nascere altissime quistioni, non meno utili, che sottili, che anzi l'autore, ch' espositore pareva." (Frigerio, *L. I., Cap. V., p. 27, 28.*)

† "Factus autem Bacellarens, cum cœpisset legendo effundere, quæ silentio deliberaverat occultare; Dens tantam ei infudit scientiam, et in labiis ejus tanta divinitus est effusa doctrina, ut omnes etiam magistros videretur excedere, et claritate doctrinæ scholares plus cæteris ad amorem scientiæ provocare." (Boll., *n. 15, 661.*)

‡ "Onde da tutte le parti d'Europa concorrevano studenti in tal numero alla sua scuola, sembravano esser più tosto un ordinato squadrone di soldati." (Frigerio *L. I., Cap. V., p. 28.*)

§ "Scriptis in Becellaria et in principio sui Magisterii super quatuor libros Sententiarum opus, stylo disertum, intellectu profundum, apertum intelligentia, et novis articulis dilatatum; ad quarum determinationum rationem cum humanas scientiæ, quasi ancillas ad arcem divinæ Sapientiæ in obsequium adduxisset, quas sacris sententiis concordaret; visus est humanas funditus intellexisset scientiæ, et summum gradum sui studii fixisse in sapientiæ divinorum, quibus noviter videbatur instructus, et gustu divinæ sapientiæ delectatus, quem jam Dens duce[m] suorum eloquiorum faceret: quem tanta replevit scientia, ut alios illustraret. Nec absurdum videatur aliquibus, quod in sapientiæ Divinæ sententiis, secularibus quis utatur scientiis, cum ab eodem intellectu divino objecta omnium scientiarum prodeant, a quo divinæ sapientiæ veritates emanant, cui omnes scientiæ juris deserviunt, a qua et humanitus acquisita procedunt." (Boll., *Cap. III., n. 15, p. 661.*)

|| He was a Gloucestershire man, and was called Hales, from the monastery in Gloucestershire of that name, where he was educated. He studied, also, in Paris, and later on became one of the most renowned professors of the university. He entered the Franciscan Order in 1222. Besides being called the "Doctor Irrefragabilis," he was also said to be the "Theologorum Monarcha."

by point, but took a middle course between those writers who simply elucidated the text, and those who used it as a quarry out of which to draw materials for original works.

His mind was too independent, and too subtle, and he had mastered Aristotle too completely, for him to have been content with merely following.* Doubtless, it was owing to his intimate acquaintance with the Aristotelian mind, that made him, in a measure, discontented with the form into which the Lombard had thrown his work. Though it did possess a kind of unity, it was not a scientific one; and, in several respects, was not in keeping with rules of logical sequence and division. Alexander enlarged upon the work; and though he kept to four books, in several places he changed the order of the subject-matter.†

His first book, in place of being composed of forty-eight distinctions, is thrown into seventy-four questions. Instead of making no mention of the being, essence, and operations in general, of the Divinity, he begins to treat of these points in the forty-second question, and continues to the end of the first book; and, finally, in place of treating the "last things" with the Lombard, under "signs," he makes them follow as a natural sequence, after treating of the Resurrection of our Lord.‡

The extent of his reading must have been prodigious. He quotes all Aristotle's principal works, with his commentators and expounders. He is acquainted with Algazel, Avicenna, Abumasar, and Averroës. There seems to have been hardly a Father of the

* Stöckl gives a very fair idea of the position of the Mendicants, in the theological world of the thirteenth century, in the following words:—"Mitglieder der Bettelorden waren es, welche die Höhepunkte der Scholastik bezeichnen. Die Mitglieder der Bettelorden waren und blieben von dreizehnten Jahrhundert an die vornehmsten Träger der scholastischen Philosophie und Theologie; die Bettelorden waren es, welche die rüstigsten und genialsten Kämpfer auf dem Gebiete der Wissenschaft ins Feld stellten; sie waren es, welche jenen grossen geistigen Kreuzzug unternahmen, in welchem die ungläubige Philosophie gestürzt und auf den Trümmern derselben jenes herrliche Gebäude christlicher Wissenschaft aufgeführt wurde welches in den grossen Werken ihrer grossen Meister unserm Blicke sich darstellt. Die Bettelorden haben sich um die christliche Wissenschaft unsterbliche Verdienste erworben; ihr Name und die Namen der grossen Meister, welche aus ihnen hervorgegangen, sind mit ehernem Griffel in die Annalen der christlichen Wissenschaft eingemeißelt und werden immermehr aus ihnen verschwinden." (*Gesch. der Philosoph. Zweiter Band, Erst. Abt.*, p. 319, 320.)

† "Alexander von Hales war der erste, welcher von der aristotelischen Philosophie zur systematischen Construction der theologischen Wissenschaft in ausgedehnterer Weise, als es bisher der Fall gewesen, Gebrauch machte. Er schrieb in Auftrage Innocenz IV., eine *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, in welcher er das ganze System der Theologischen Wissenschaft auf der Grundlage der Sentenzen Peters des Lombarden mit Hilfe der aristotelischen Philosophie in einem grossartigen Entwurfe zu entwickeln und darzustellen suchte. Innocenz IV. soll dieses Werk siebenzig Theologen zur Prüfung übergeben, und nachdem dieselben es erprobt hatten, allen Lehren der Theologie empfohlen haben. Es ist dieses Werk in der That ein glänzendes Denkmal tiefer Einsicht und scharfer Denkkraft, welches Alexander von Hales sich gesetzt hat." (*Loco citato.*)

‡ As a specimen of his style, the following interesting passage on ideas in God is taken from his *Summa*:—"In Deo omnes rationes singulorum sunt convolute per unam inconfusam unitatem. Dicendum est de ideis, quod una tantum est in re, multiplex in ratione.—Dicendum ergo, quod idea in Deo idem est, quod Divina essentia. Tamen alio modo signat eam. Nam essentia divina signatur absolute: et sic signatur per hoc nomen 'essentia.' Iterum significatur ut causa: et hoc vel efficiens vel, finalis, vel formalis, exemplaris: ergo idea significat divinam essentiam prout est causa formalis exemplaris, quia ipsa est omnium rerum exemplar. Et sic per ideam signantur duo: scilicet divina essentia, quod est principale signatum: et quantum ad hoc idea non dicit nisi unum. Iterum, per ideam signatur connotatum: et illud connotatum est respectu plurium rerum, quæ sunt secundum divinum exemplar: et quantum ad hoc sunt idee plures, quia plures et diverse sunt rationes, secundum quas conditur." (*Alex. Alens. Summa Theologica, Lib. I., qu. XXIII., Memb. II., art. 1-4; Cf., Lib. II., qu. XII., Memb. II., qu. XIV., Memb. IV.*)

Latin Church who was unknown to him. Of the ancients, he quotes Origen, S. Chrysostom, S. Athanasius, the Cyrils and Gregories, Denis, and Didymus. Of the Greeks, his favorite, of course, is the Damascene.*

Of Pagan writers of antiquity, he quotes poets, philosophers, historians, and orators, in such numbers, that it would weary the reader to run through their names.†

What makes it advisable to give some short account of Alexander is this—that though the scholastics may not have followed him in his love for multiplying authorities, creating difficulties, and bringing up new and endless matter for dispute, they held very closely to his method. For instance, the Lombard divides his books into distinctions, containing a certain number of questions. Alexander, on the other hand, puts questions, and in a greater proportion than the Lombard; these fall into *membra*, and the *membra* into articles—each article contains a series of reasons for or against the point in question. Then come the resolutions, which seldom take any side absolutely, but are modified to meet the arguments which are stated on either part. Finally, answers to objections are given. This method is followed, in the main, by Albert, and then by S. Thomas of Aquino.‡

Alexander did his work so fully, that he left others little more to do, than to arrange and develop, more perfectly, that raw material which he had accumulated in such quantities. If he did not bring systematic theology to anything like perfection, he laid a broad basis upon which those who came after him were very content to build. He, in fact, was the first to treat of the

* Max Müller gives his history thus:—"At the court of the Chalif Almansur—where Abdal-lah-Ibn-Alnuakafa translated the fables of Calila or Dimna into Arabic—there lived a Christian of the name of Sergius, who for many years held the high office of treasurer to the Chalif. He had a son to whom he gave the best education that could then be given, his chief tutor being one *Cosmas*, an Italian monk, who had been taken prisoner by the Saracens, and sold as a slave at Bagdad. After the death of Sergius, his son succeeded him for some time as chief councillor (*πρωτοσυμβουλος*) to the Chalif Almansur. Such, however, had been the influence of the Italian monk on his pupil's mind, that he suddenly resolved to retire from the world, and to devote himself to study, meditation, and pious works. From the Monastery of S. Saba, near Jerusalem, this former minister of the Chalif issued the most learned works on theology, particularly his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. He soon became the highest authority on matters of dogma, in the Eastern and the Western Churches. His name was *Joannes*, and from being born at Damascus, the former capital of the Chalifs, he is best known in history as *Joannes Damascenus*, or S. John of Damascus. He must have known Arabic, and probably, Persian; but his mastery of Greek earned him, later in life, the name of Chrysorroas, or Gold-flowing. He became famous as the defender of the sacred images, and as the determined opponent of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, about 726." (See *Contemporary Review*, p. 558, *fifth year*, new series, July, 1870.)

† "Von den Werken des Aristoteles," says Werner:—"finden sich bei Alexander die meisten und wichtigsten citirt und benützt: die Bücher von den Prädicamenten und Postprädicamenten, die Topik, die Metaphysik, die Physik, die Bücher vom Himmel, von der Erzeugung der Thiere, Schlaf und Wachen, von der Seele, die Ethik und Politik; auch die Commentatoren und Erklärer des Aristoteles. . . . Ausserdem citirt er bisweilen auch andere Schrift steller des heidnischen Alterthums, einen Plato, Euklid, Ptolemäus, Plotinus, Porphyrius, Apollonius, Glandianus, Hippokrates, Makrobios, Cicero, Ovidius, Quintilian, Priscian, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Virgilius." (*Vol. I.*, p. 317.)

‡ "It is pretty certain that, in writing his *Summa*, Alexander had at hand the works of Avicenna, and, probably, those of Averroës, or the "*Metaphysics*" of Aristotle. The *Summa* was published for the first time at Venice, in 1475, in folio, under the title of *Summa Universæ Theologie*. Since that date many editions have appeared. (See *Hist. Litt. de la France*, Tom. XVIII.) The commonest edition is that of Venice, 1576, four vols., folio. (See Hauréau, *Tom. I.*, Chap. XV., p. 423.)

Being, Essence, and Attributes of God, in a scientific manner; and, though questions regarding the Blessed Trinity were successfully and carefully handled by the Lombard, Alexander enlarged and perfected them, and, in this respect, gave to posterity a body of divinity, well-digested, and of considerable value. But, like all writers of those days, he was not strong in his Cosmology, and his proofs from the contingency of the world against its eternity would hardly satisfy the deeper mind of Thomas of Aquino.*

It was in this that S. Thomas surpassed all men of his day—that he never for one moment was carried away by the force of fantasy, or by subjective methods of reasoning. His unusual calmness gave him time and light for seeing a difficulty, and detecting its solutions; and he was far too much detached from self to be tempted to seek arguments that were based simply upon personal peculiarities of disposition or of mind. He never dreamt of holding anything but what was handed down, and what could be enforced, by Scripture, by the Fathers, and by the dictates of enlightened reason. Thus, he not only mastered, in their complexity and unity, the teachings of his day, but, by his power of mind, grasped them, and bore them forward to a greater perfection.

If Alexander deserves praise for being the first to treat, systematically, questions regarding the Divinity,† Thomas deserves praise for perfecting that teaching, and for having added deep and pregnant principles regarding the inner life and beatitude of the Blessed Trinity. Then, he far eclipsed the Minorite in his proofs of the non-eternity of the world—a question of momentous importance in the middle ages. While following S. Augustine, on the difficult doctrine of predestination, he did a noble service, by the originality of his development of Christian doctrine respecting

* Some writers have committed the error of supposing that Alexander was the first to write a commentary on the "Sentences." Such men as Du Boulay, Morhoff, Erucher, and Daurman, seem to have made this mistake. They do not appear to have been aware that William of Auxerre wrote a Gloss, called "Aurea Doctoris acutissimi sacreque praeulii Domini Guillelmi Antissiod. in Quatuor Sententiarum libros perlucida explanatio." The Summa of Robert of Melun has already been mentioned, that of Stephen Langton might be added to it. (Cf. Hauréau, *De La Philos. Scholast.*, Vol. I., Chap. XV., p. 424.)

† Stöckl gives the following *résumé* of the view of Hale on our knowledge of God:—"Wir sind hienieden, lehrt Alexander, im Stande, Gott zu erkennen; aber diese Erkenntniß kann keine intuitive sein, es sei denn, dass der Mensch durch ausserordentliche göttliche Erleuchtung auf Augenblicke zu einer solchen unmittelbaren Schannung Gottes emporgehoben würde. Unsere Erkenntniß Gottes hienieden kann nur eine mittelbare sein; und sie ist dann entweder vermittelt durch den Glauben oder durch die geschöpfliche Welt. Letztere ist die eigentliche Vernunftkenntniß. Die geschöpflichen Dinge lassen uns erkennen, das Gott ist, und welches seine wesentlichen Eigenschaften sind, da er sich in der Schöpfung der Welt geoffenbart hat. Und deshalb sind denn auch ganz apodiktische Beweise möglich für das Dasein Gottes." (*Gesch. der Philosoph.* Zweiter Band, Erste Abt., § 91, p. 321.) Again:—"Er beweist daher das Dasein Gottes mit Richard von St. Victor vor Allem daraus, dass Alles, was ist, entweder ewig und aus sich, oder aber zeitlich und von einem Andern beursacht sein müsse. Ferner beweist er Gottes Dasein mit Anselm und Augustin aus dem Begriffe der Wahrheit schlechthin, der absoluten Wahrheit. Ferner beweist Alexander Gottes Dasein mit Anselm und Richard von St. Victor aus dem Begriffe des Höchsten und Vollkommensten. Auch den ontologischen Beweis Anselms eignet sich Alexander an, während er von Johannes Damascenus den Causalitäts-Beweis aufnimmt. Endlich beweist Alexander das Dasein Gottes noch mit Hugo von St. Victor aus dem Bewusstsein des Menschen selbst." (*Loco cit.*, p. 321, 322.)

evil, and the rule of God's providence over the world. Again: he surpasses Alexander, in the lucidity and completeness of his treatment of the original state of man; and pushed on the science of his day, many steps, by his tract upon original sin. But, where the Angelical is most brilliant and profound, is when he deals with questions concerning our Blessed Lord. In his writings on the possibility and fitness of the Incarnation, Alexander of Hales is far beneath him.* He treats, in detail, difficult points regarding the human knowledge and wisdom of our Lord; and is the first theologian who dedicated a special article to His High-priestly office; while his genius shines forth, with singular brightness, in his splendid theory on Satisfaction.

Regarding the doctrine of Grace—one of the hinges of theology—a steady progress can be perceived. The Lombard borrows his materials from S. Augustine: Albert and Alexander, by means of their scholastic machinery, develop the doctrine into fuller proportions, and into minuter detail; but it was left for Thomas of Aquino to carry it to such perfection, that, during the remainder of the middle ages, his view was followed as a guiding light, without a dissentient voice. Then the teaching on the Sacraments—closely connected with grace—was fully mastered by our Saint, and his *dicta* on these points were looked upon with great respect by all who sought safe development of doctrine based upon immovable authority.†

If judged by its bulk, the "Commentary on the four Books of the Lombard" would seem sufficient to have occupied a life. It fills over one thousand two hundred and fifty pages of the large quarto Parma edition, printed in double columns. The first book embraces three hundred and eighty pages; and, in imitation of the Lombard has forty-eight distinctions, followed by questions

* Hauréau gives the following testimony to the reputation of Alexander:—"Jean Pits raconte que, sur la renommée de ses leçons publiques, Innocent IV, l'avait chargé de composer une *Somme* qui fut la règle des docteurs; que cet ouvrage présenté au saint siège par le Docteur Irréfragable, fut, dans la suite, soumis au jugement de soixante-dix théologiens, et que ceux-ci, l'ayant approuvé, le recommandèrent, en outre, comme un livre parfait, achevé, à tous les maîtres en théologie. Il est vrai que rien n'y est omis, que l'auteur de cet immense ouvrage a prévu toutes les difficultés et les a toutes résolues; et s'il s'est constamment maintenu, comme on l'atteste, dans les strictes limites de l'orthodoxie, qui donc aura la prétention de faire, après lui, quelque découverte dans un champ si bien exploré?" (*Vol. I., Chap. XV., p. 425.*)

† In spite of Alexander being, what may be called, a more original thinker than either S. Thomas, S. Bonaventure, or Albertus Magnus, he never held an equal sway with them. The difference between his method and theirs in treating the Lombard, is given very well by Werner:—"Alexander schloss sich an die von dem Lombarden befolgte Lehrordnung nicht so eng an, als man es von einem Commentator füglich zu erwarten hätte; andererseits hatte er es doch wieder nicht auf eine durchgreifend bewältigende Umgestaltung und Gleiderung des theologischen Lehrstoffes angelegt. Er schwankte demnach unentschieden zwischen der Rolle eines Commentators und jener eines selbstständigen Bearbeiters. Die nachfolgenden Theologen, Albert, Thomas, Bonaventura schieden diese beiden Functionen auseinander, und beschränkten sich bei der Auslegung der Sentenzenbücher mit bewusster Absichtlichkeit auf die Aufgabe der blossen Commentirung, daher sie auch dem Texte des Lombarden unbedingt sich anschlossen, und ihm von Distinction zu Distinction mit ihren Erklärungen folgten. Freilich brachten auch sie, gleich Halesins, ihre gesammte eigene Theologie unter; der Text des Lombarden bot ihnen eigentlich nur den Anlass, ihre eigene Ansicht über dieselbe Sache mit erschöpfender Ausführlichkeit vorzutragen, daher man ihre Commentare nicht so fast Erklärungen des Lombarden, als Werke über den Lombarden nennen möchte." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 319, 320.*)

and explanations. The second book occupies four hundred and odd pages, with forty-four distinctions; the third, "*De Incarnatione Verbi*," over four hundred and forty pages, with fifty distinctions; and finally, the fourth book has eight hundred pages, divided into fifty distinctions.*

Such is the first great work of Thomas of Aquino—a monument of ceaseless labor, great skill, and patient thought—a pattern of that steady, thorough method, followed by the old doctors, who prepared their lectures with scrupulous care, and delivered them with such clearness and precision, that the student could take down all the divisions, arguments, answers, and distinctions, with comparatively little difficulty. The duty of professing, in those days, was looked upon as one of great gravity. To be chosen to frame a system of theologic or philosophic truth, out of the *débris* of the past, and to fix it in the minds of the rising world, implied a responsibility so weighty, that serious men would have shrunk from it altogether, had not a high, supernatural motive urged them to accept the onerous duty.† The vast labors of those men—of Albert, Alexander, Bonaventure, the Lombard, S. Thomas of Aquino, and the other encyclopedic writers of the thirteenth century, show us what kind of standard of learning and knowledge professors aimed at in the middle ages.‡

It will be well to indicate the general plan of the Commentary, and treat the subject in such a way, that the method and mind of the Saint may come out as clearly as is possible.

* How far S. Thomas surpassed Alexander of Hales, in simplicity, directness, and brevity of expression, can be seen, at once, by comparing their Commentaries on the Lombard. Rubens gives an example, taking simply the methods used by each in stating a question. *Apud S. Thomam*: "Utrum pueri in statu innocentie nati fuissent in iustitia confirmati." *Apud Halensem*: "Sequitur inquirere utrum (liberi) essent heredes patrum iustitie quantum ad iustitiam confirmatum." After comparing thus, these two methods of statement, Rubens exclaims, not without some cause, "Quam dilucide concinnisque verbis propositus ab Aquinate status questionis! Obscurum et implexum quis inficiabatur positum ab Halensi titulum!" (S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Opp., Tom. IV., Suppl. Dissert., IV., Cap. I. p. 35.)

† Much ignorant rhetoric is poured out, in these days, upon the great writers and teachers of the middle ages. One writer picks up the platitudes of another, and dangles them before the public—the public which never, hardly, has time to read the originals for themselves, or to study the real current of events;—and thus error is fixed on the public mind. The scholastics, like all men, had their faults, their system can be criticised: but one thing is certain, that they dedicated their whole strength to their work. They were no *dilettanti* performers. Science, such as it was, and the education of the young, occupied the most precious portion of their lives. They knew, and felt the value of principle. They had few such distractions as men have in these days; they were mostly men who had abandoned this world, out of love for the next. They had something spiritual, and heroic in their make, to start with. They lived amidst grand ideas: their convictions and their lives were not of the earth.

‡ "Die theologische Systematik des Mittelalters bildete sich aus den den Sentenzenbüchern des Lombarden gewidmeten commentirenden Thätigkeit herans. In dem Werke des Lombarden lag selber bereits ein System der kirchlichen Lehre vor, Gang der Entwicklung und Methode der Behandlung war in demselben vorgezeichnet, und wurde für die nachfolgenden Theologen maassgebend. Auch Thomas schulte sich vorerst im Studium der Sentenzenbücher, ehe er zu grösseren selbstständigen, nach der Methode der Schule abgefassten Arbeiten schritt, und endlich auf Grundlage dieser Vorarbeiten den nach einem eigenen Plane unternommenen Bau eines nach ihm genannten Systemes ausführte. Zwar hatte auch bereits Albert der Grosse neben seinem Commentar zu den Sentenzen eine theologische Summe als System des theologischen Wissens abgefasst, aber er folgte im Ganzen und Grossen doch nur der vom Lombarden vorgezeichneten Einteilung, und hinterliess sein Werk nur zur Hälfte vollendet, in zwei Büchern, die denselben Stoff behandelnd, welchen die ersten zwei Bücher der Sentenzen in sich fassen." (Werner, B. I., *Viertes Capitel*, p. 306, 307.)

The Prologue gives the division of the work, and is quite in the general manner of the Saint, when making an application of Holy Scripture. He selects a text, and draws out of it the division of his subject:—"I, Wisdom, have poured out rivers; I, like a brook out of a river of a mighty water; I, like the river Dorix, and like an aqueduct, came out of paradise, I said: I will water my garden of plants, and I will water abundantly the fruits of my meadow."*

The Angelical says that, amongst the many sayings about wisdom, that of the Apostle, in particular, is singularly solid and true, namely:—"Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God, who, from God, is made unto us wisdom."† But this is not said as if wisdom belonged exclusively to the Son; but because, in a particular manner, it can be predicated of Him. For, by the wisdom of God, the hidden things of the Divinity are manifested; creatures are not only produced, but they are also restored, and perfected. That the manifestation of the Divinity (*Divinorum*) belongs to God's wisdom is evident from this—that God knows Himself fully, and perfectly, by His wisdom.‡ Therefore, whatever we know of Him, must be derived from Him: for, what is imperfect, has its origin from what is perfect. Now, this manifestation is principally made by the Son: "No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal Him." Therefore, it is rightly said in the person of the Son: "I, Wisdom, have poured out rivers." By "rivers" is here understood the flux of the eternal processions, by which, in an ineffable manner, the Son proceeds from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from both. Formerly, these rivers were hidden, and, in a way, confused, both in the similitude of creatures, and in the enigmas of the Scriptures, so that hardly

* (*Eccli.*, XXIV., 40.)

"Ego sapientia effudi flumina; ego quasi trames aquæ immensæ defluo; ego quasi fluvius Dorix, et sicut aqueductus exivi de paradiso. Dixi: Rigabo hortum plantationem, et inebriabo partus mei fructum."—"Inter multas sententias quæ a diversis de sapientia prodierunt, quid scilicet esset vera sapientia, unam singulariter firmam et veram Apostolus protulit dicens *Christus Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam, qui etiam nobis a Deo factus est sapientia*, 1 ad Corinth. I. 24 et 30. Non autem hoc ita dictum est, quod solus Filius sit sapientia, cum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sint una sapientia, sicut una essentia; sed quia sapientia quodam speciali modo Filio appropriatur, eo quod sapientiæ opera cum proprietatibus Filii plurimum convenire videntur. Per sapientiam enim Dei Manifestantur divinorum abscondita, produciuntur creaturarum opera, nec tantum produciuntur, sed etiam restaurantur et perficiuntur: illa, dico, perfectio quæ unumquodque perfectum dicitur prout proprium finem attingit. Quod autem manifestatio divinorum pertineat ad Dei Sapientiam, patet ex eo quod ipse Deus per suam sapientiam seipsum plene et perfecte cognoscit." (*Opp. Tom. VI., Commentum in Primum Librum Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi. Prologus S. Thomas.*)

† 1 Cor., I., 24-30.

‡ "Unde si quid de ipso cognoscimus oportet quod ex eo derivetur, quia omne imperfectum a perfecto trahit originem: unde dicitur Sapient. IX., 17: *Sensum tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam?* Hæc autem manifestatio specialiter per Filium facta invenitur: ipse enim est Verbum Patris, secundum quod dicitur Joan I.: unde sibi manifestatio dicentis Patris convenit et totius Trinitatis unde dicitur *Matth. XI., 27: Nemo novit Patrem Nisi Filius et cui Filius voluerit, revelare*: et Joan I., 18: *Deum nemo vidit unquam, nisi Unigenitus qui est in sinu Patris*. Recte ergo dicitur ex persona Filii: *Ego sapientia; effudi flumina*. Flumina ista intelligo fluxus æternæ processionis, quia Filius a Patre, et Spiritus Sanctus ab utroque. Ineffabili modo procedit. Ista flumina olim occulta et quodammodo confusa erant tum in similitudinibus creaturarum, tum etiam in enigmatibus scripturarum, ita ut vix aliqui sapientes Trinitatis mysterium fide tenerent." (*Loco. Cit.*)

any of the ancients believed in the Trinity. The Son of God came and poured out, as it were, these shut-up rivers, by publishing the name of the Trinity: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."* "The depths also of rivers he hath searched, and hidden things he hath brought forth to light."† And this touches upon the matter of the first book."‡

In the second place, the production of creatures belongs to the wisdom of God. Like an artist, He possesses, not merely a speculative, but a practical wisdom, with regard to creatures—hence, "Thou hast made all things in wisdom."§ And this attribute belongs especially to the Son, inasmuch as He is the image of the invisible God, according to whose likeness, all things were made. || Hence, "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, for in Him were all things created."¶ Rightly, therefore, it is said in the person of the Son: "I flow like a brook out of a river of mighty water." And here, the order and mode of creation are indicated. The order: because, as a brook springs from a river, so the temporal procession of creatures is derived from the eternal Procession of Persons. Hence, "He spoke, and they were made."** According to the philosopher, that which comes first, is always the cause of that which is second. So that, the first Procession, is the cause, and reason, of all those which follow.†† The mode is signified in two ways: with regard to the Creator, Who, whilst he fills all things, is measured by none:—and this is signified by "mighty." And with regard to the creature, because, as a brook flows out of the bed of the river, so the creature proceeds from God, outside the unity of the essence, in which, as in a bed, the flux of the Persons is contained. And by this, the subject-matter of the second book is indicated.

* Matt. XXVIII, 19.

† Job, XXVIII, 2.

‡ "Venit Filius Dei et inclusa flumina quodammodo effudit, nomen Trinitatis publicando, Matth., ult. 19: *Docete Omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*. Unde Job, XXVIII, 2: *Profunda fluviorum scrutatus est et abscondita producit in lucem*. Et in hoc tangitur materia primi libri."

§ Psalm CIII, 24.

|| Secundum quod pertinet ad Dei sapientiam est creaturarum productio: ipse enim de rebus creatis non tantum speculativam sed etiam operativam sapientiam habet sicut artifex de artificiat; unde in Psalm. 103: *Omnia in sapientia fecisti*. Et ipsa sapientia loquitur, Proverb. VIII, 30: *Cum eo eram cuncta componens*. Hoc etiam specialiter Filio attributum invenitur, inquantum est imago Dei invisibilis, ad cuius formam omnia formata sunt: unde Coloss. I, 15: *Qui est imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus omnis creature quoniam in ipso condita sunt universa: et Joan. I, 3: Omnia per ipsum factu sunt*."

¶ Coloss. I, 15.

** Psalm CXLVIII, 5.

†† Recte ergo dicitur ex persona Filii: *Ego quasi trames aque immense defluo; in quo notatur et ordo creationis et modus*. Ordo, quia sicut trames a fluvio derivatur, ita processus temporalis creaturarum ab aeterno processu personarum: unde in Psalmo CXLVIII, 5, dicitur: *Dixit, et factu sunt*. Verbum genuit, in quo erat ut fierent, secundum Augustinum. (Sup. Genes. ad litteram Lib. I., Cap. II.) Semper enim id quod est primum est causa eorum quæ sunt post, secundum Philosophum (2 Metaph., Text IV.,); unde primus processus est causa et ratio omnis sequentis processionis. Modus autem signatur quantum ad duo: scilicet ex parte creatis, qui cum omnia impleat, nulli tamen se committitur; quod notatur in hoc quod dicitur, *Immense*. Item ex parte creature: quia sicut trames procedit extra alveum fluminis, ita creatura procedit a Deo extra unitatem essentie, in qua sicut in alveo fluxus personarum continetur. Et in hoc notatur materia secundi libri." (Loc. Cit., p. 2.)

The third thing that has to do with the wisdom of God is restoration. For he who made a thing, is the one to repair it; so that, those things that have been formed by wisdom, should be made good by wisdom. Hence, Wisdom says: "For by wisdom they were healed, whosoever have pleased Thee from the beginning."* Now this reparation has been specially effected by the Son, inasmuch as He became man; and, having made good man's estate, in a certain manner, He also made good all things which were created for man's sake, hence: "And through Him, to reconcile all things, both as to the things on earth, and the things that are in heaven."† Fitly, it is therefore said, in the person of the Son: "I, like the river Dorix, and like an aqueduct, came out of Paradise." This paradise is the glory of God the Father, out of which He came forth into the valley of our misery—not that He lost, but that He hid, His glory. Regarding this coming forth, two things are noted, viz: the mode, and the fruit.‡ The Dorix is a most rapid river; and by this is shown how Christ, with a certain impetuosity of love, fulfilled the mystery of our Reparation, hence: "When He shall come as a violent stream, which the spirit of the Lord driveth on."§ The fruit is signified by the words, "like an aqueduct." For, just as an aqueduct, flowing from one fount, brings water which, when divided and spread about, irrigates the earth; so, from Christ flow forth different kinds of graces for the planting of the Church. And this touches upon the subject-matter of the third book, the first part of which treats of the mysteries of our Reparation: the second, of the graces bestowed on us through Christ.||

The fourth thing that belongs to the wisdom of God, is the perfection by which things are maintained in their end.¶ For,

* *Wisdom, IX., 19.*

† *Coloss., I., 20.*

‡ Tertium, quod pertinet ad Dei sapientiam, est operum restauratio. Per idem enim debet res reparari per quod facta est; unde quæ per sapientiam condita sunt, decet ut per sapientiam reparantur: unde dicitur Sapient. IX., 19: *Per sapientiam sanati sunt qui tibi placuerunt ab initio.* Hæc autem reparatio specialiter per Filium facta est, inquantum ipse homo factus est, qui, reparato hominis statu, quodammodo omnia reparavit quæ propter hominem facta sunt; unde Coloss. I., 20: *Per eum reconciliamus omnia, sive quæ in cælis, sive quæ in terris sunt.* Recte ergo ex ipsius Filii persona dicitur: *Ego quasi fluvius Dorix, et sicut aqueductus exivi de paradiso.* Paradisus iste, gloria Dei Patris est, de qua exivit in vallem nostræ miseriæ: non quod eam amitteret, sed quia occultavit: unde Joan. XVI., 28: *Exivi a Patre et veni in mundum.* Et circa hunc exitum duo notantur, scilicet modus et fructus. (*Loc. cit., p. 2.*)

§ *Isaïas LIX., 19.*

|| "Dorix enim fluvius rapidissimus est; unde designat modum quo, quasi impetu quodam amoris nostræ reparationis Christus complevit mysterium; unde Isaïa. LIX., 19. *Cum venerit quasi fluvius violentus, quem spiritus Domini cogit.* Fructus autem designatur ex hoc quod dicitur, *Sicut ad aqueductus*: sicut enim aqueductus ex uno fonte producentur divisim ad fecundandam terram, ita de Christo proflexerunt diversarum gratiarum genera ad plantandam Ecclesiam, secundum quod dicitur Ephes. IV. 11: *Ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem Prophetas alios autem pastores et doctores, ad consummationem sanctorum in opus ministerii in edificationem corporis Christi.* Et in hoc tangitur materia tertii libri: in ejus prima parte agitur de mysteriis nostræ reparationis, in secunda de gratis nobis collatis per Christum." (*Loco. cit., p. 2.*)

¶ "Quantum, quod ad Dei sapientiam pertinet, est perfectio, quæ res conservantur in suo fine. Subtrahit enim fine, relinquitur vanitas, quam sapientia non patitur secum; unde dicitur Sap. VIII., 1, quod sapientia attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suaviter. Suaviter autem unamquodque tunc dispositum est quando in suo fine, quem naturaliter desiderat, collocatum est. Hoc etiam ad Filium specialiter pertinet, quod cum sit verus et naturalis Dei Filius, nos in gloriam paternæ hereditatis induxit; unde Hebr. II., 10: *Decibat eum propter quem et per quem facta sunt omnia qui multos filios in gloriam adduxerat.* Unde recte dicitur: *Dixi; Rigabo*

when the end is withdrawn, nothing but vanity remains, which wisdom does not suffer as her companion; hence, it is said: "She reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly."* A thing is sweetly ordered, when it is possessed of that end which it naturally desires. Now, this ordering, specially belongs to the Son, who, since He is the true Son of God, has brought us into the glory of our Father's inheritance, hence, "For it became Him, for whom are all things, who had brought many children into glory."† Hence, it is well said: "I said, I will water my garden of plants." For this garden is the Church, of which the Canticle speaks thus: "My spouse is a garden enclosed,"‡ in which there are divers plants, according to the different Orders of saints, all of which were planted by the hand of the Omnipotent.§ This garden is watered by Christ, with the streams of the Sacraments; hence, praising the beauty of the Church, it is said: "How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob!"|| and, then, "As watered gardens, near the rivers."¶ And, therefore, those who administer the Sacraments are called "Waterers." "I have planted, Apollo watered."** The leading into glory is denoted by what follows: "And I will water abundantly the fruits of my meadow." The children of Christ are the faithful of the Church, †† whom He brought forth, like a mother, by His labor; concerning which it is written, "Shall not I, that make others to bring forth children, Myself bring forth, saith the Lord?"‡‡ The "fruits" of this bringing forth are the saints who are in glory; concerning which "fruits:"—"Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat the fruit of his apple-trees."§§ He inebriates these with the most abundant fruition of Himself; concerning which fruition and inebriation:—"They shall be inebriated with the plenty of Thy house."||| And it is called inebriation, because

hortum plantationum. Ad consecutionem enim finis exigitur preparatio, per quam omne quod non competit fini, tollatur; ita Christus etiam, ut uos in finem eterne gloriæ induceret, sacramentorum medicamenta preparavit, quibus a nobis peccati vlnus abstergitur. Unde duo notantur in verbis prædictis: scilicet preparatio, quæ est per sacramenta, et inductio in gloriam. Primum per hoc quod dicitur: *Rigabo hortum plantationum.* (Ibid.)

* *Wisdom, VII., 1.*

† *Heb. II., 10.*

‡ *IV., 12.*

§ "Hortus enim iste Ecclesia est de qua Cant., IV., 12: *Hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa*: in quo sunt plantationes diversæ, secundum diversos sanctorum ordines, quos omnes manus omnipotentis plantavit. Iste hortus irrigatur a Christo sacramentorum rivis, qui ex ejus latere profluxerunt: unde in commendationem pulchritudinis Ecclesiæ dicitur in Num., XXIV., 5. *Quam pulchra tabernacula tua, Jacob!* et post sequitur, 6: *Ut horti juxta fluvios irrigui.* Et ideo etiam ministri Ecclesiæ, qui sacramenta dispensant, rigatores dicuntur. I Corinth., III., 6: *Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit.* Inductio autem in gloriam notatur in hoc quod sequitur: *Et inebriabo partum mei fructum.*"

|| *Numbers, XXIV., 5.*

¶ *Numbers, XXIV., 6.*

** *Cor., III., 6.*

‡‡ *Isaias, LXVI., 9.*

§§ "Partus ipsius Christi sunt fideles Ecclesiæ, quos suo labore quasi mater patravit: de quo partu Isa. ult., 9: *Numquid ego, qui alios parere facio, ipse non pariam?* dicit Dominus. Fructus autem istius partus sunt sancti qui sunt in gloria: de quo fructu, Cant. V. 1: *Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum et comedat fructum pomorum suorum.* Istos inebriat abundantissima sui fruitione; de qua fruitione et ebrietate, Psalm, XXXV., 9: *Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tue.* Et dicitur ebrietas, quia omnem mensuram rationis et desiderii excedit: unde Isa. LXIV., 4: *Oculus non vidit, Deus, absque te quæ preparasti expectantibus te.* Et in hoc tangitur materia quarti libri: in cujus prima parte agitur de sacramentis; in secunda de gloria resurrectionis. Et sic patet ex prædictis verbis inductio libri Sententiarum." (*Loco Citato, p. 2.*)

||| *Cant., V., 1.*

||| *Psalm, XXXV., 9.*

it surpasses every measure of reason and desire; hence: "The eye hath not seen, O God, besides Thee, what things Thou hast prepared for them that wait for Thee."* This is the subject-matter of the fourth book, in the first portion of which, the Sacraments are treated of; and in the second, the glory of the Resurrection. "*Et sic patet ex prædictis verbis intentio libri Sententiarum.*"†

These words conclude the Prologue, which has been referred to pretty fully, as it illustrates the Saint's general method, and customary form of thought. His giving Christ so prominent a place, evinces the tenor of his mind. This spirit runs all through his larger writings. The education he received under the Benedictine Rule, in this respect, produced its full effect.

The calmness, breadth, and silent, contemplative spirit, which lived on the mountain, dwelt with him in the city, and spoke by him to men. In fact, Christ, and wisdom—which he spent his life in seeking and teaching, and which was his "spouse"—were connected, as he says, "*quodam speciali modo*;" and thus, the tie was drawn still closer which bound him to his Lord.‡

But to return. The work on the "Sentences" embraces the whole range of theologic truth: God and His inner Life, and His Relations and Processions; His dealings with man and the world; the work of Redemption, and the office of the Holy Spirit; the channels of Divine commiseration and charity; man's return to the Hand out of which he came—the whole circle is completed, regarding the Almighty, and His connexion with His creatures.

The work of the Lombard is a confusion, compared with the lucid style, and admirable arrangement of the Commentary of

* *Isaias*, LXIV., 4.

† That the Commentary on the "Sentences" was one of the first works of the Angelical is clear from Rubius:—"Inter Opera Theologica," he says, "quæ Sanctus Thomas bene multa elencbravit, primum tenent locum, temporis ordine servato, *Commentarii in quatuor Sententiarum libros*. De hoc opere ejusdamque auctore judicium accipe quod proferunt Veteres. Ptolomæus Lucensis, Lib. XXII, Histor. Eccles. Capite. XXI., sic habet: *Post hoc* (post traditas nempe Colonie ubi multo tempore fuit, sacras litteras) *radit Parisios Thomas. Annorum XXV. erat, cum primum venit Parisios, ubi infra trigesimum annum Sententias legit: et Conventum in Theologia, sive Licentiam recepit. Infra autem Magisterium, quatuor libros fecit super Sententias videlicet primum, secundum, tertium, et quartum. Involutum implexumque et obscurum locum, quod attinet ad ipsius Aquinatis ætatem ejusque temporis vices in Academia Parisiensis, inferius declaramus.*" (Vid. *Opp.*, Tom. VII., Pars Altera. *J. Bernardi Mariae De Rubei Ordinis Prædicatorum Dissertationis, in fine: Dissertatio I., n. 1, p. 1261.*)

‡ How beautifully the Angelical shows the connection between peace and wisdom in his *Summa*, between those two gifts so specially his own: "Sed contra est," he says, against an objection "sed contra est quod Augustinus dicit in lib. I., de Serm. Dom. in Monte (Cap. IV., circ. med.) quod sapientia convenit pacificis, in quibus nullus motus est rebellis, sed obtemperans rationi. Respondeo dicendum, quod septima beatitudo congrue adaptatur dono sapientiæ et quantum ad meritum, et quantum ad præmium. Ad meritum quidem pertinet quod dicitur: *Beati pacifici*. Pacifici autem dicuntur, quia pacem facientes vel in seipsis, vel etiam in aliis; quorum utrumque contingit per hoc quod ea in quibus, pax constituitur, ad debitum ordinem rediguntur: nam pax est tranquillitas ordinis, ut Augustinus dicit, 19 de Civitate Dei (Cap. XIII., circ. princ.). Ordinare autem pertinet ad sapientiam, ut patet per Philosophum in principio Metaph., Cap. II. Et ideo esse pacificum convenienter attribuitur sapientiæ. Ad præmium autem pertinet quod dicitur: *Filius Dei vocabatur*. Dicuntur autem aliqui filii Dei, in quantum participant similitudinem Filii unigeniti, et naturalis, secundum illud Rom. VIII., 29: *Quos præscivit conformes fieri imaginibus Filii sui*; qui quidem est sapientia genita. Et ideo participando donum sapientiæ, ad Dei filiationem homo pertingit." (*Secunda Secundæ, Tom. III., q. XLV., art. VI., p. 175.*)

the Angelic Doctor. In place of the crabbed and inverted language of Peter, we have the simple, logical, direct use of words which go straight to the point, and express the entire mind.

A specimen or so of the framework of this Commentary will be of some interest, as manifesting the method of the schools, the influence of Aristotle, and the mind of the Saint.

After the General Prologue, comes the "*Prologus Magistri Sententiarum*"—"The Prologue of the Master of the Sentences," which states the object the Lombard had in view in writing his work, viz.; that of opposing to dominant and rampant errors, the traditionary teaching of the Church.* This Prologue is handled at length. First, the text is divided, and the portions are elucidated. Now, an objection is made, and answered; then, the derivation of a word is attempted, as, e. g., "*Gazophylacium*," or the meaning intended by the author insisted on; for instance, *vipereæ*, which, the Saint declares, means heretical. *Vipereæ*=*hæreticæ*: *hæretici enim pariendo alios in sua hæresi, pereunt sicut vipera*. †

Then the various distinctions of the Lombard are treated. Each distinction is met by certain questions, varying in number; each, in reality, consisting of a series of other questions, which are answered in respective articles. For instance, the first question on the Prologue contains five divisions. These five questions are asked, to bring out, in their answers, the evidence for the Sacred doctrine delivered in the book. (1) Concerning the necessity of sacred doctrine; (2) if necessary, whether one or

* An extract from the Lombard's Prologue will be interesting, as showing how thoroughly in earnest he was: and, also, the style in which he wrote. It begins thus, as has already been seen:—"Cupientes aliquid de penuria ac tennitate nostra cum pauperula in gazophylacium Domini mittere (*Luc. XXI.*), ardua scandere et opus ultra vires nostras agere presumpsimus; consummationis fiduciam, laborisque mercedem in Samaritano statuentes, qui, prolatis in curationem semivivi duobus denariis, supereroganti cuncta reddere professus est (*Luc. X.*). Delectat nos veritas pollicentis, sed terret immensitas laboris: desiderium hortatur proficiendi, sed dehortatur infirmitas deficiendi, quam vincit zelus domus Dei: quo inardescentes, fidem nostram adversus errores carnalium atque animalium bonium, Davidice turris clypeis munire (*Cant. VII.*) vel potius multum ostendere, ut Theologiarum inquisitionem abdita aperire, nec non et sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum pro modulo intelligentiæ nostræ notitiam tradere studiuimus, non valentes studiosorum fratrum votis jure resistere, eorum in christo laudabilibus studiis lingua ac stylo nos servire flagitantium." (*Prolog. Magist. Sententiarum, Tom. VI., p. 2.*)

† The call for some sound theology is evident from the concluding portion of Peter's prologue, which must be given at length. Those against whom he writes—"Hæbent rationem sapientie in superstitione: quia fidei defectionem sequitur hypocrisis mendax, ut sit vel in verbis pietas, quam amisit conscientia: ipsamque simulatam pietatem omnium verborum mendacio impium reddunt, falsæ doctrinæ institutis fidei sanctitatem corrumpere molientes. aurium quo prurigiem sub novo dogmate alii desiderii ingerentes, qui contentioni studentes, contra veritatem sine fœdere bellant. Inter veri namque assertionem et placiti defensionem pertinax pugna est, dum se et veritas tenet et se erroris voluntas tueretur. Horum igitur Deo odibilem ecclesiam evertere atque ora oppilare, ne virus nequitie in alios effunderetur, et lucernam veritatis in candelabro exaltare volentes, in labore multo ac sudore volumus. Deo prestante, compegnimus ex testimoniis veritatis in æternum fundatis, in quatuor libros distinctum: in quo majorem exempla doctrinamque reperies: in quo per dominicæ fidei sinceram professionem vipereæ doctrinæ fraudulentiam prodimus, aditum demonstrande veritatis complexi, nec periculo impiæ professionis inserti, temperato inter utrumque moderamine nentes. Sicuti vero parum vox nostra insonuit, non a paternis discessit limitibus (*August, loc. cit.*). Non igitur debet hic labor cuiquam pigro, vel multum docto, videtur superfluum, cum multis impigris multisque indoctis (inter quos etiam mihi) sit necessarius, brevi volumine complicans patrum sententias, appositis eorum testimoniis, ut non sit necesse querenti librorum numerositatem evolvere, cum brevitatis collecta, quod queritur, offert sine labore. In hoc autem tractatu non solum pium lectorem, sed etiam liberum correctorem desidero, maxime ubi profunda versatur veritatis quæstio; quæ ntiā tot haberet inventores, quot habet contradictores. Ut autem quod queritur facilius occurrat, titulos quibus singularum librorum capitula distinguuntur, præmisimus." (*Opp. S. Thomas Aquin., Tom. VI., p. 3.*)

more; (3) if one, whether practical or speculative—and, if speculative, whether it be called philosophy, deduction, or induction; (4) its subject; and (5) its method.

Any one can see, at a glance, from this, how deeply professors, in those days, probed the subjects they taught. No method could be imagined, more apt for encouraging the development of thought, or for eliciting those conclusions which, when fully stated, and then applied, act with telling effect upon the moral and spiritual condition of mankind.*

It sometimes happens that an article is broken up into a certain number of "*Quæstiunculæ*," which receive their solutions in their proper places. This is the case with the third article, and, therefore, it contains—not one, but three solutions.† The fourth article asks whether God is the subject of this science; and the fifth, whether the method of procedure is after the fashion of an art. All these questions, with their difficulties, solutions, and detailed answers, have to be gone through, before the real subject-matter of the volume is touched upon. This shows what a thorough investigation the scholastics gave to matters of theology.

And, in fact, the question of the position of theology was by no means—as it might seem—an unimportant one. The schools

* And besides this, mediæval theologians had a keen appreciation of the relations of science to sense, and of the methods by which men could best attain to abstract knowledge. What could be more philosophically true or beautiful than this of Albertus Magnus?—"Intellectus noster conjunctus est continuo tempore et ad manifestissimam se habet sicut oculus vespertilionis, qui non comprehendit lumen nisi mixto tenebris; propter quod singlicissima et manifestissima format inagiuabiliter et sensibiliter, ut ex his quasi manufactus et analogice elevatus tandem attingat ad invisibilia et simplicissima, ut de illis secundum modum sibi possibilem accipiat notitiam aliquam. Unde Gregorius super illud Math. 13: simile regnum celorum thesauro, sic dicit: Regnum celorum ideo terrenis simile dicitur, ut ex his, quæ animus novit, surgat ad incognita quæ non novit; et ex his, quæ usa didicit, quasi confortatus incalescat. Et ideo dicit Boëtius, quod difficile est nostro intellectui—aliquid intelligere nisi per modum puncti. Et Dionysius in libr. cœl. hier. c. 1: Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere radium divinum, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum analogice circumvelatum, et his, quæ secundum nos providentia paterna connaturaliter nobis et proprie preparatum. In omnibus enim talibus, ut dicit Augustinus in 12 sup. gen. ad. lit., illud quod figurative et quasi naturaliter pingitur in sensu vel imaginatione, immateriali luce et infigurabili splendet intelligentia. Hinc est quod theologia de incomprehensibili luce agens talibus quasi poeticis utitur proprie secundum suum modum. Aliæ autem scientiæ philosophicæ, quæ de luce nobis proportionali agunt peccant si talibus utantur. Id enim, quod intendunt declarare, obscuratur per talia. Clariora enim sunt in seipsis proposita quam in figuris enigmaticis. In theologia autem non ponuntur talia propter eam quæ declarare intendit, sed propter nostrum materialem intellectum, qui in connaturalibus sibi paulatim lucem colligit et luce collecta fortificatus sic tandem ad confluenda clarissima consurgit." (Albertus Magnus, *Summ. Theolog.*, I., *Tract. I.*, *Qu. V.*, *Memb. I.*)

† For example: "Articulus III. Utrum sit practica vel speculativa [Theologia]. Circa tertium sic proceditur. Videtur quod ista doctrina sit practica. Finis enim practice est opus, secundum Philosophum (in 2 Metaph., text. 3.) Sed ista doctrina, quæ fidei est, principaliter est ad bene operandum: unde Jacob. II., 26: *Fides sine operibus mortua est*: et Psalm. CX., 10: *Intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus eum*. Ergo videtur quod sit practica. Contra (in princip. Metaphys. in provem.) dicit Philosophus, quod nobilissima scientiarum est sui gratia. Practica autem non sunt sui gratia, immo propter opus. Ergo, cum ista nobilissima sit scientiarum, non erit practica. Præterea, practica scientia determinat tantum ea quæ sunt ab opere nostro. Hæc autem doctrina considerat angelos et alias creaturas, quæ non sunt ab opere nostro. Ergo non est practica, sed speculativa." The second "*Quæstiuncula*" is put thus—"1. Utrum queritur, utrum sit scientia; et videtur quod non. Nulla enim scientia est de particularibus, secundum Philosophum. (1 Post., text. 7.) Sed in sacra Scriptura gesta traduntur particularium hominum, sicut Abraham, Isaac, etc. Ergo non est scientia. 2. Præterea, omnis scientia procedit ex principiis per se notis, quæ cuilibet sunt manifesta. Hæc autem scientia procedit ex credibilibus, quæ non ab omnibus conceduntur. Ergo non est scientia. 3. Præterea, in omni scientia acquiritur aliquis habitus per rationes inductas. Sed in hac doctrina non acquiritur, aliquis habitus: quia fides, cui tota doctrina hæc innititur, non est habitus acquisitus, sed infusus. Ergo non est scientia. Contra, secundum Augustinum (de Trinit., lib. XIV. in princip.), 'theologia est scientia de rebus quæ ad salutem hominis pertinent.' Ergo est scientia." (*Comment. in prim. Lib. Sent. Prolog., Quæst. I., Art. III., p. 6, 7.*)

of law had done much to throw the theologic teaching in the shade; men knew that there was a great opening for those, who, by their legal ability, could carry on intellectual war on the side of Guelf or Ghibeline, as the case might be; and that to gain distinction and position, and to realize ambitious hopes, a man should be deeply versed in the powers of kings and popes. Besides, according as theology—which does not rest upon premises of mere human reason—was placed in the first or second place, those principles which formed its life would be despised, or vigorously defended.* If the science of human reason were allowed to usurp the first place, it would, at once, begin to lay down the law to theology, and the queen of sciences would be degraded from her high estate, and man's word would take the place of God's. This would be the case, especially, in the middle ages, when so many arguments—arguments in support of fundamental truths—rested upon the ratio of "*dignitas*." To declare one thing more worthy than another, was to attribute to it a host of attributes, which, at once, would logically give it a pre-eminence over whatever was less worthy: and to such an extent, as to deprive this latter of being heard, even on an equal footing. The stronger man would despoil of his armour, and cast out, the weaker.

Alexander of Hales begins his Commentary with a question similar to the Angelical's—as to whether a sacred science is necessary. S. Augustine does not neglect it; saying that theology is the science treating of what relates to man's Salvation. Albertus Magnus enlarged, and improved upon Alexander, and carried his reasonings some steps in advance. Alexander was of opinion that theology should not be called science, so much as wisdom; Albert said it was wisdom, because it treated of the

* Werner treats well of the views taken by Albert, Alexander, and S. Thomas, of the position of theology. He says:—"Thomas beweist die Nothwendigkeit einer solchen auf den Glauben gegründeten, und alles zeitlich erreichbare Erkennen zuhächst abschliessenden Weisheit, welche im ausgezeichneteren Sinne, als die *philosophia prima* Weisheit, und bereits, wenn auch unvollkommen, Anticipation der ewigen Anschauung ist. Alexander hatte des Object der Theologie in strengsten Sinne auf die Erlösung als *materia de qua* beschränkt, und die zum Verständniss derselben vorausgesetzten Erkenntnisse über die Schöpfung und die Werke Gottes als *materia circa quam* zugelassen. Albert steht auf Alexander's Seite, insofern er den praktischen Zweck der Theologie betont, der in der Erbauung, Heiligung, Tröstung und Erquickung der Seele besteht; aber er fasst alle Objecte der Theologie nach ihrem mittelbaren oder unmittelbaren Verhältniss zum höchsten Ziele des Menschen, dem Genusse Gottes, in's Auge, und findet darin, wenn auch keine *unitas generis*, oder *speciei* der Objecte, so doch eine *unitas principii* welcher gemäss die *res fruendæ* eigentlichst, die *res utendæ* aber nach ihren Verhältnissen zu der vom Menschen begehren *fruitio* in den Bereich der theologischen Wissenschaft fallen."

Thomas anerkennt den praktischen Zweck der Theologie, fasst sie aber nach ihrem höchsten Ziele, welches die Anschauung Gottes ist, als eine vornehmlich speculative Wissenschaft auf. Ihr Gegenstand ist Gott, sowol an sich, als rücksichtlich dessen, was aus ihm ist und zu ihm strebt, so weit alles dieses und er selbst in Kraft göttlicher Erleuchtung erkannt wird. Sie ist nur Eine Wissenschaft und kein Complex aus mehreren; denn sie schaut, wenigstens einigermassen, Alles im göttlichen Lichte, ist also eine höchste Erkenntnisart: je höher aber eine Erkenntnisart steht, desto geeinter und umfassender ist sie, daher sich die Theologie unter allen menschlichen Wissenschaften der vollkommenen geeinten und zugleich vollkommen distincten und allumfassenden Erkenntnis, die Gott besitzt, am meisten annähert." (Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 321.)

highest science, and had the highest end; Alexander contrasted it with the "*Philosophia Prima*;" Albert makes them identical.

S. Thomas founds his view of the grand study of his life—that is, of theology—upon the essentially monastic principle of contemplation.* So fully does he believe in it himself, that he cannot imagine any intelligent man not according to it the high position which he feels obliged to give to it himself. His solution of the first article, on the first question, is this: that all who have thought rightly, have placed the end of human life in the contemplation of God. The contemplation of God is twofold. One, through creatures, which is imperfect, and is the "*felicitas viæ*;" towards which all philosophic knowledge which proceeds from relations to creatures, is ordered.† And there is another contemplation, in which God is seen in His own Essence, immediately; and this is perfect contemplation, and will be practised in heaven; and is possible to man, on the supposition of faith. And since things which refer to the end, must be proportioned to the end, man is drawn to this contemplation, not through knowledge acquired from creatures, but by a knowledge immediately inspired by Divine light—*et hæc est doctrina theologiæ*, and this is the doctrine of theology. From this it follows that this science, being the chief one, commands all the rest, which are subject to it, as vassals to their lord. And to show how, at starting, the Angelic Doctor gives a violent blow to the rationalistic school, which he was raised up to overthrow, let due attention be given to these weighty words: "since the end of all philosophy is contained within the end of theology, and is subservient to it, theology ought to command all other sciences, and

* How beautifully he speaks! "*Ista scientia (Theologia) quamvis sit una, tamen perfecta est et sufficiens ad omnem humanam perfectionem, propter efficaciam divini luminis.*"

Unde perficit hominem et in operatione recta et quantum ad contemplationem veritatis: unde quantum ad quid practica est et etiam speculativa. Sed, quia scientia omnis principaliter pensanda est ex fine, finis autem ultimus istius doctrinæ est contemplatio primæ veritatis in patria, ideo principaliter speculativa est. Et cum habitus speculativi sint tres, secundum Philosophum (6 Ethic., Cap. VII.), scilicet sapientia, scientia et intellectus: dicimus quod est sapientia, eo quod altissimas causas considerat et est sicut caput et principalis et ordinatrix omnium scientiarum; et est etiam magis dicenda sapientia quam metaphysica, quia causas altissimas per modum ipsarum cansarum, quia per inspirationem a Deo immediate acceptam; metaphysica autem considerat causas altissimas per rationes ex creaturis assumptas. Unde ista doctrina magis etiam divina dicenda est, quam, metaphysica; quia est divina quantum ad subiectum et quantum ad modum accipiendi; metaphysica autem quantum ad subiectum tantum. Sed sapientia, ut dicit Philosophus (in 6 Ethic., Cap. VIII., Vel. VII.), considerat conclusiones et principia; et ideo sapientia est scientia et intellectus; cum scientia sit de conclusionibus et intellectus de principiis." (*Loc. Cit. Prologus, Qu. I., Art. III., Questionum, III., p. 7.*)

† "Contemplatio autem Dei est dupliciter. Una per creaturas, quæ imperfecta est, ratione jam dicta, in qua contemplatione Philosophus (10 Ethic., Cap. IX.), felicitatem contemplativam posuit, quæ tamen est felicitas viæ; et ad hanc ordinatur tota cognitio philosophica, quæ ex rationibus creaturarum procedit. Est alia Dei contemplatio, quæ videtur immediate per suam essentiam; et hæc perfecta est, quæ erit in patria et est hominibus possibilis secundum fidei suppositionem. Unde oportet ut ea quæ sunt ad finem proportionentur finis, quatenus nomen introducat ad illam contemplationem in statu viæ per cognitionem non a creaturis sumptam, sed immediate ex divino lumine inspiratam; et hæc est doctrina theologiæ. Ex hoc possumus habere duas conclusiones. Una est, quod ista scientia imperat omnibus aliis scientiis tanquam principalis; alia est quod ipsa utitur in obsequium sui omnibus aliis scientiis quasi vassallis, sicut patet in omnibus artibus ordinatis, quarum finis unus est sub fine alterius, sicut finis pigmentariæ artis, qui est confectio medicinarum, ordinatur ad finem medicinæ qui est sanitas: unde medicus imperat pigmentario et utitur pigmentis ab ipso factis ad suum finem. Ita, cum finis totius philosophiæ sit infra finem theologiæ, et ordinatus ad ipsam, Theologia debet omnibus aliis scientiis imperare et uti finem quæ in eis traduntur." (*Prolog., Quæst. I., Art. I., p. 5.*)

turn to its use those things which they treat of." He shows, very beautifully, how vast is the embrace of theology, on account of its sublimity; for he says, the more sublime knowledge is, so much greater is its unity, and so much wider the circle of its expansion.* The Divine intellect, which is the most sublime of all, by the light, which is God himself, possesses a distinct knowledge of all things. He then demonstrates that it is partly practical; though, on account of its end, it is principally speculative. It is philosophy, for it considers the highest causes. But philosophy considers conclusions, and principles; and, therefore, philosophy is deduction, and induction—since deduction, has to do with conclusions; and induction, with principles.† Articles of faith are the *prima principia* of theology, which proceeds upon them without rejecting the "*communia principia*." The science of reason, depends on the light of the active intellect; the science of theology, upon the infused light of faith. These principles cannot be proved, they can only be defended—just as no artificer can prove his principles.‡ Then, the Angelical shews how the intellect becomes illuminated, when led by faith—illustrating the motto of the monastic school, *nisi credideritis, non intelligetis*:§ and, finally, how || all things treated of in theology, are either God, or creatures—in as far as they proceed from God, and are related to God; and how argument is to be used in the establishment and defence of theologic truth.¶ Having shewn theology

* "Alia cognitio quanto altior est, tanto est magis unica et ad plura se extendit: unde intellectus Dei, qui est altissimus, per lumen quod est ipse Deus omnium rerum cognitionem habet distincte. Ita et cum ista scientia sit altissima et per ipsum lumen inspirationis divina efficaciam habens, ipsa unica manens, non multiplicata, diversarum rerum considerationem habet, non tantum in communi, sicut metaphysica, quæ considerat omnia inquantum sunt entia, non descendens ad propriam cognitionem mortalium, vel naturalium. Ratio enim entis, cum sit diversificata in diversis, non est sufficiens ad specialem rerum cognitionem; ad quarum manifestationem divinum lumen in se unum manens, secundum Beatum Dionysium in principio celestis Hierarchiæ, efficaciam habet." (*Prolog., Qu. I., Art. II., p. 6.*)

† The Angelical here follows Aristotle, and in order to make his meaning clearer, the modern terminology has been adopted. The Stagyrte says:—

"Ἐστὼ δὲ οὗς ἀληθεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν καταφάναι ἢ ἀποφάναι, πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὰντα δεσπὶ τέχνη, ἐπιστήμη, φρονήσις, σοφία, νοῦς· ἔντολῃ ψεῖ γὰρ καὶ δοξῇ ἐνδεχέσθαι διαψευδεσθαι." (*Vid. Ethica Nicomachea, Lib. VI., Cap. III., p. 67. Vol. II., Aristotelis, Opp., Parisiis Didot.*)

‡ "Et quod obijciatur, quod non est certissimus aliquis in ista doctrina, dicimus, quod falsum est: magis etiam fidelis et firmis assentit his quæ sunt fidelis quam etiam primis principis rationis. Et quod dicitur, quod fides est infra scientiam, non loquitur de fide infusa, sed de fide acquisita, quæ est opus fortificata rationibus. Habitus autem istorum principiorum, scilicet articulatorum, dicitur fides et non intellectus, quia ista principia supra rationem sunt, et ideo humana ratio ipsa perfecte capere non valet, et sic fit, quædam defectiva cognitio, non ex defectu certitudinis cognitorum, sed ex defectu cognoscentis. Sed tamen ratio manu ducta per fidem excrecit in hoc ut ipsa credibilia plenius comprehendat, et tunc ipsa quodammodo intelligit: unde dicitur Isa. VII., 9, secundum aliam litteram: *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.*" (*Quæstionculæ III., Solutio Quæst. I., Art. III., p. 7.*)

§ *Isaia, VII., 9.*

|| *Art. V.*

¶ "Subjectum habet ad scientiam ad minus tres comparationes. Prima est, quod quæcumque sunt in scientia debent contineri sub subjecto. Unde considerantes hanc conditionem, posuerunt res et signa esse subjectum hujus scientiæ; quidam autem totum Christum, id est caput et membra; eo quod quicquid in hac scientia traditur, ad hoc reduci videtur. Secunda comparatio est, quod subjecti cognitio principaliter attenditur in scientia. Unde, quia ista scientia principaliter est ad cognitionem Dei, posuerunt Deum esse subjectum ejus. Tertia comparatio est, quod per subjectum distinguitur scientia ab omnibus aliis; quia secantur scientiæ quemadmodum et res, ut dicitur in 3 de Anima (text. XXXVIII., vel. Cap. VIII.); et secundum hanc considerationem, posuerunt quidam credibile esse subjectum hujus scientiæ. Hæc enim scientia in hoc ab omnibus aliis differt, quia per inspirationem fidei procedit. Quidam

to be deduction, philosophy, induction; and the highest and all-embracing system of reaching the contemplation of the Divinity—to which all other sciences and arts stand in the relation of vassals to their liege lord—the Angelical proceeds to treat it in its various parts.

The first book, "*De Mystério Trinitatis*," unfolds, with great fulness, the relations in the inner life of God; and brings out, clearly, the teaching of the Church, and the truths developed in the mysteries of Scripture, or indicated in a vague manner, by the Fathers of the Church.

A better method cannot be conceived, of fixing the truths of religion on students' minds. Probably, one article would suffice for a single lecture—to state clearly, and in logical form, the objections of adversaries, so that there could be little doubt about the real point—then, to expand a general principle, which would elucidate the whole question, and throw light, in all directions, over the subject-matter—and finally, to enter, argument by argument, into the objections thus proposed, and answer them, according to the general principle or solution, could not but act with very useful effect upon the young divine. To learn to state a difficulty, is a great thing; to detect the principle involved in it, is a greater; and, so to meet it, as to show clearly its fallacy, is the greatest: for this implies the other two.*

In displays of this kind, there were grand openings for men of talent. It was not easy for ability long to lie hid in the schools of the middle ages. It was his unparalleled brilliancy, solidity, and creative power, in such occupations as these, that raised up S. Thomas to the height, not only of popularity, but of authority, when comparatively quite a youth.

Nor did he follow, without judging for himself, the renowned

autem opera restaurationis eo quod tota scientia ista ad consequendum effectum ordinatur. Si autem volumus invenire subjectum quod hæc omnia compleheatur, possumus dicere quod ens divinum cognoscibile per inspirationem est subjectum hujus scientiæ. Omnia enim quæ in hac scientia considerantur, sunt aut Deus, aut ea quæ ex Deo et ad Deum sunt, in quantum hujusmodi: sicut etiam medicus considerat signa et causas et multa hujusmodi, in quantum sunt sana, id est ad sanitatem aliquo modo relata. Unde quanto aliquid magis accedit ad veram rationem divinitatis, principaliter consideratur in hac scientia." (*Loco. Cit., Qu. I., Art. IV., p. 8.*)

* It is in his first "Distinctio" that the Lombard touches on his celebrated distinction between "*res*," and "*signa*." These are his words, which are interesting upon many counts:—"Veteris ac novæ legis continentiam diligendi indagare etiam atque etiam considerantibus nobis, prævia Dei gratia. Innotuit sacræ paginæ tractatores circa res vel signa præcipue versari. Ut enim egregius doctor Augustinus ait (in libro de Doctrina Christiana, Cap. II.), omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum: sed res etiam per signa discuntur. Proprie autem hic res appellantur quæ non ad significandum aliquid adhibentur: signa vero quorum usus est in significando. Eorum autem aliqua sunt, quorum omnis usus est in significando, non in justificando; id est, quibus non utimur nisi aliquid significandi gratia, ut aliqua sacramenta legalia: alia quæ non solum significant, sed conferunt quod intus adjuvet, sicut evangelica sacramenta. Ex quo aperte intelligitur, quæ hic appellantur signa; res illæ videlicet quæ ad significandum aliquid adhibentur. Omne ergo signum etiam res aliqua est: quod enim nulla res est, omnino nihil est, ut (in eodem lib. et cap.) Augustinus ait. Non autem e converso omnis res signum est, quia non adhibetur ad aliquid significandum. Cumque his intenderit Theologorum speculatio studiosa ac modesta divinam Scripturam formam prescriptam in doctrina tenere advertet. De his ergo, nobis aditum ad res divinas aliquatenus intelligendas, Deo duce, aperire volentibus, disserendum est: et primo de rebus, postea de signis disseremus." (*Liber Primus De Mystério Trinitatis, Distinct. I., p. 9.*)

Master of the "Sentences" * He was guided by the Fathers, the Scriptures, and tradition; his mind had been sharpened, and set in order, by deep study of Aristotle. His prison-time at San Giovanni, when he mastered reason and faith, in the Bible, and the Stagyrte, was now bringing forth its fruit. The Lombard, though most able in collecting and comparing authorities, had not that keen vision of the reach of principles, which was possessed by the Angelical. When S. Thomas found him swerving, he did not follow. He commented on the text, and came to his own conclusion—and wherever he has differed from the Lombard, posterity has justified his judgment, by adopting his conclusions. Take, as an example, the question of charity, since it well touches upon an interesting point, personal to every one, and shews the method of the young Bachelor, when bringing his text-book to account. It will be interesting, briefly to state the points.

In his seventeenth Distinction, the Lombard says that "the Holy Ghost is the love, or charity, by which we love God and our neighbour." † Now, the Angelical altogether parts company with him here. Nor is it a minor point. It is of great interest and importance—whether the charity that exists in our souls be God, or a creature; the Holy Spirit himself, or something created. The Lombard declares it to be the Holy Spirit; S. Thomas proves, that is a created charity—that it is an "*accidens*;" and increases or diminishes in the soul, as the case may be. In point of fact, the Angelical dedicates what we may almost call a treatise, to prove the reverse of the teaching of the "Sentences," on this important question.

To give one or two of his proofs: whatever is received into anything, is received according to the mode (or nature) of the

* Here is an instance, which will be presently touched upon, as explained by Werner:—"Die Ansicht des Lombarden, dass die im Menschen wirkende Caritas der heilige Geist selber sei, widerlegt Thomas aus den Grundsätzen der Aristotelischen Anthropologie und Moral. Die eingelegene Charitas steht zu der übernatürlichen Güte des Menschen in demselben Verhältnisse, wie die erworbene Tugend zu der natürlichen Güte des Menschen. Die erworbene Tugend macht den Menschen und seine Werke gut; dasselbe muss demnach in ihrer Weise auch die Caritas wirken. Nun aber ist jegliches Sein eines Dinges, mithin auch sein Gutsein aus einer inhärenden Form des Dinges abzuleiten; und eben so lässt sich ein vollkommenes Wirken nur aus einem im Wirkenden selber angebildeten Habitus erklären. Daher muss die Caritas eine Form und ein Habitus des Menschen selber sein. Der heilige Geist ist demnach nicht die *causa formalis*, sondern als die Liebe selber die *causa exemplaris*, und in Vereinigung mit dem Vater und Sohne die *causa efficiens* der übernatürlichen Güte und Verdienstlichkeit des sittlichen Lebens und Wirkens." (Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 331.)

† "Ipse idem Spiritus Sanctus est amor, sive caritas, qua nos diligimus Deum et proximum; quæ caritas cum ita est in nobis ut nos faciat diligere Deum ac proximum, tunc Spiritus Sanctus dicitur mitti ac dari nobis: et qui diligit ipsam dilectionem qua diligit proximum, in eo ipso Deum diligit: quia ipsa dilectio Deus est, idest Spiritus Sanctus." (Dist. XVII., vide Opp. S. T. Vol. VI., Lib. I., p. 133.) The Lombard quotes authorities, especially S. Augustine, in support of this view. For instance, S. Augustine on S. John: "Dilectissimi, diligamus invicem, quia dilectio ex Deo est: et omnis qui diligit, ex Deo natus est, et cognovit Deum: qui non diligit non cognovit Deum, quia Deus dilectio est. Ista contextio satis aperte declarat eandem ipsam fraternam dilectionem (nam fraternam dilectionem est qua diligimus invicem) non solum ex Deo, sed etiam Deum esse, tanta auctoritate, Joannis scilicet, predicari. Cum ergo de dilectione diligimus fratrem, de Deo diligimus fratrem: nec potest fieri ut eandem dilectionem non præcipue diligamus qua fratrem, diligimus, quoniam Deus dilectio est." "Item: 'Qui non diligit fratrem, non est in dilectione; et qui non est in dilectione, non est in Deo, quia Deus dilectio est.' Ecce apertissime dicit fraternam dilectionem Deum esse." (Distinct. XVII., p. 133.)

recipient. But uncreated love, which is the Holy Spirit, is participated in by the creature. But the mode (of the creature) is finite; therefore, some finite love must be received by the creature. Now, whatever is finite, is created; therefore, there is some created charity in a soul having the Holy Ghost.* It may be remarked that the statement which the Angelical sets out with, and which was fruitful of many momentous consequences, was looked upon as a first principle, which, therefore, had not to be proved. Again: Every "*assimilatio*" is effected by some form; but we are made like to God Himself, by charity; which, being lost, the soul is said to be deformed. Therefore, it appears that charity is a certain created form, abiding in the soul.† Again: Whatever can come and go, without the subject corrupting, is an accident: charity is such; therefore, &c.‡ This is the "*solutio*:" Whatever is joined to a thing after it is complete in itself, comes to it by way of accident; unless, perchance, it be assumed into a participation of its substantial being. But this is not enough to make it an accident in itself; for a thing can be a substance in itself, and yet be related to something else as an accident—like clothing: but if it comes after the being is complete, as an inherent form, it is necessarily an accident. And since charity comes to the soul, which is naturally complete, as a form, perfecting it in the order of grace (*in esse gratiæ*), as has been said before; it follows that it must be an accident.§ Once more: against those who say that charity cannot increase in the soul—

* "Omne quod recipitur in aliquo, recipitur in eo per modum recipientis. Sed amor increatus, qui est Spiritus Sanctus, participatur in creatura. Ergo secundum modum ipsius creaturae. Sed modus ejus est finitus. Ergo oportet quod recipiatur in creatura aliquis amor finitus. Sed omne finitum est creatum. Ergo in anima habente Spiritum sanctum, est aliqua caritas creata."

... Again, here is a specimen of the Angelical's subtle mode of reasoning:—"Præterea constat quod Deus aliquo modo est in sanctis quo non est in creaturis. Sed ista diversitas non potest poni ex parte ipsius Dei, qui eodem modo se habet ad omnia. Ergo videtur quod sit ex parte creaturæ, scilicet quod ipsa creatura habeat aliquid quod alia non habet. Aut ergo habet ipsum divinum esse; et sic omnes justè assumerentur a Spiritu Sancto in unitatem personæ, sicut natura humana assumpta est a Christo in unitatem personæ ipsius Filii Dei: quod non potest esse. Aut oportet quod illa creatura, in qua speciali modo Deus esse dicitur, habeat in se aliquem effectum Dei, quem alia non habet. Iste autem effectus non potest esse tantum actus; quia sic in justis dormientibus non esset alio modo quam in aliis creaturis. Ergo oportet quod sit aliquis habitus. Oportet igitur aliquem habitum caritatis creatum esse in anima, secundum quem Spiritus Sanctus ipsam inhabitare dicitur." (*Dist. XVII., Quest. I., Art. I., p. 136.* See also *Art. IV., p. 140*; then *Secunda Secundæ, Quest. XXIII., Art. II., p. 82, Tom. III.*)

† "Omnis assimilatio fit per formam aliquam. Sed per caritatem efficiuntur conformes ipsi Deo; qua amissa, dicitur anima deformari. Ergo videtur quod caritas sit quedam forma creata manens in anima." (*Loco citato.*)

‡ "Quidquid potest adesse et abesse præter subjecti corruptionem, est accidens. Caritas est hujusmodi. Ergo, etc." (*Dist. XVII., Art. II., p. 136.*)

The Lombard's mistake is thus touched upon by Werner: der Lombard übersieht, dass es neben der actuellen Gnade auch eine habituelle gibt; er denkt nur an die Impulse des heiligen Geistes, den er die Liebe nennt. Aus diesem Grunde gibt er auch keine wesentliche Meinung der Liebe zu, die jedoch nicht bestritten werden kann, sobald man die Caritas als etwas Geschaffenes erkennt, hat, und die verschiedenen, zwischen dem Zugeständnisse und der Verneinung einer wesentlichen Meinung der Caritas stehenden mittleren Meinungen sind nicht zu halten, weil sie entweder widersinnig, oder nur aus der Voraussetzung einer wesentlichen Meinung erklärbar sind. (*Fol. I., Cap. IV., p. 330.*)

§ "Omne illud quod advenit alicui post esse completum, advenit sibi accidentaliter; nisi forte assumatur ad participationem ipsius esse substantialis. Sed hoc tamen non sufficit ut dicatur accidens in se: potest enim aliquid in se substantiale esse, et advenire alicui accidentaliter, sicut vestimenta; sed si adveniat post esse completum ut forma inherens, de necessitate est accidens. Et quia post esse naturale anime advenit sibi caritas ut forma perficiens ipsam ad esse gratiæ, prout dictum est . . . ideo oportet quod sit accidens." (*Dist. XVII., Art. II., p. 138.*)

"Solutio:" Some maintained that charity does not increase essentially, and their opinion was fourfold. For some said, "*ut Magister* [the Lombard] *in littera*" that charity *secundum se* does not increase, but is said to be increased in us, inasmuch as we advance in charity—*et hoc quia ponit caritatem esse Spiritum Sanctum, in quem variatio non cadit. Sed hoc non potest stare*, because it cannot be understood that we advance in charity, which is the Holy Ghost, unless something be done in us which had not been done before; and this cannot be merely an act, for every act is *ex virtute aliqua*, and the perfect act by which we are united to the Holy Spirit, proceeds from virtue perfected through habit.*

These extracts suffice to show one thing—that the Angelical had an excessively keen eye. And any one who will take the trouble to read, carefully, the articles under Distinction the Seventeenth, will see the kind of refutation the young Aquinas was capable of giving to the received doctrines of a learned man, upon a delicate and sufficiently abstruse question.† The fact is, the Lombard forgot that there is an habitual grace—besides actual grace, which, of course, he admitted; and he was so carried away—if one can use such an expression of a man so steady—with the impulses of the Holy Spirit, which he called love, that he did not advert to the fact that the Holy spirit is not the *causa formalis* but (as love) the *causa exemplaris*, and (in union with the Father and the Son) the *causa efficiens* of the supernatural operations of the moral man.‡

No doubt, it was this masterly practice of our Saint, which gained him such a name; and which caused those who were the best judges of his work on the "Sentences," to speak of it in such high terms. It was in giving these lectures that, as a beginner—as he had done at Naples—he outshone the most learned and experienced doctors in the then flourishing Paris schools.§

* "Quidam posuerunt caritatem essentialiter non augeri, et horum fuit quadruplex opinio. Quidam enim dixerunt, ut Magister in littera, quod caritas secundum se non augetur, sed dicitur augeri in nobis, inquantum nos in caritate proficimus; et hoc quia ponit caritatem esse Spiritum sanctum, in quem variatio non cadit. Sed hoc non potest stare; quia non est intelligibile, quod nos in caritate, quæ Spiritus Sanctus est, proficiamus, nisi aliquid fiat in nobis quod prius non fuit; et hoc non potest esse tantum actus, cum omnis actus sit ex virtute aliqua, et actus perfectus, qualis Spiritu Sancto unimur, est a virtute perfecta per habitum. Alii dixerunt, quod caritas essentialiter non augetur, sed dicitur augeri, inquantum magis firmatur in subiecto, secundum ipsam radiationem. Sed ex hoc etiam sequitur ipsam augeri essentialiter.

Alii dixerunt quod caritas essentialiter non augetur, sed adveniente majori caritate, minor caritas, quæ inerat destruitur. Hoc etiam non potest stare: quia nulla forma destruitur, nisi vel ex contrario agente, vel per accidens ex corruptione subiecti. . . . Alii dixerunt, quod caritas non augetur nisi quantum ad fervorem. Sed hoc etiam non potest stare: quia fervor caritatis dupliciter accipitur: proprie et metaphorice. . . . Et ideo dicendum, quod caritas essentialiter augetur." (*Dist. XVII., Quæst. II., Art. I., p. 143.*)

† The reader will observe, on reading the articles of S. Thomas, connected with this subject, what great use he made of the anthropological and moral teaching of the Stagyrte.

‡ Another interesting, though not very practical question, in which S. Thomas, if he does not differ with the Magister, certainly does not approve of his statement taken absolutely, is regarding the power of creatures to create. This is the sort of question that the scholastics loved to ventilate. (See Durandus, a *St. Portiano* in *II, Sent. Dist., I., qu. 4.*)

§ Werner says:—"In den Erörterungen über die Creation im Allgemeinen kommt Thomas auf die Ansicht zu sprechen, welche der Lombard gelegentlich (*IV., dist. 5.*) geäußert, dass Gott das Vermögen zu schaffen auch einem Geschöpfe hätte mittheilen können, obwohl es in

All that need be said is that Thomas, in his resolution of the above question, as also in his teaching on the relations of the angels to one another, and on their happiness, with his distinction of *operatio cum motu* and *operatio in ultima perfectione*, shows a far more profound acquaintance with the philosophy of Aristotle, than either Albert or Alexander: while the Lombard, on the point of *præmium*, maintained the strange idea, which S. Thomas repudiates, that the angels can continually go on increasing in merit till the last day; and that, therefore, there is a term of happiness in store for them, at which they have not yet arrived.

It is, of course, impossible, by means of extracts, to show, as one would wish, the great mastery that our Saint attained over theological and philosophical problems. To thoroughly understand the great intellectual gifts of the Angelical, his entire works must be laboriously studied. The principal object of the foregoing remarks and extracts has been, to show, first, the method and mind of the Angelical; and then, to bring before the attention of the reader, the firm and uncompromising stand taken, at the very outset, by S. Thomas, against the pretensions of mere human philosophy. By boldly placing theology as a queen, reigning paramount amidst her vassals—a queen not only holding her own, but with a fearless and uncompromising voice, declaring that all were made to be her ministers—the Angelical sets himself wholly against the encroachments of human reason; and takes up ground, which he never ceased to defend, and to maintain, during the whole of his intellectual career. And, finally, the bold independence of his mind is clearly manifested by the masterly manner in which he puts the Lombard on one side in an important question; and carries with him, in the contrary view which he takes, nearly every theologian who has since written upon the question.

There is also another fact which must be borne in mind, when weighing the influence of the Angelical upon theological thought, viz., that he was not a man to indulge in dangerous originality of thought or theory; nor was he ever seduced by a delusion common to many able thinkers, that man, of himself, is able to give law to the world. He had sufficient greatness and clearness of mind, sufficient intellectual modesty, to assure him that his

Wirklichkeit nicht gethan habe. Thomas erwiedert, dass man diess beziehungsweise bejahen und verneinen könne. Versteht man—*ex parte creantis*—unter Schaffen eine Thätigkeit, die keine andere zu ihrer Voraussetzung hat, so kann einzig das Wirken Gottes oder der *causa prima* schöpferisch sein; in diesem Sinne ist also die Schöpfermacht incommunicabel. Versteht man—*ex parte creati*—unter Schaffen das Hervorbringen von etwas, das nichts anderes zu seiner Grundlage hat, so ist es Hervorbringung des Seins, welches nach dem Buche *de causis* das Erstgeschaffene aller Dinge ist; und ein solches Hervorbringen lässt sich auch als ein in Kraft der *causa prima* gewirkter Act, einer *causa secunda* wenigstens denken. Dieses Denkbare aber als wirklich geschehend anzunehmen, wäre häretisch." (B. I., Cap. IV., p. 333, 334.)

triumph would depend upon adhering to the traditional teaching of the Church ; and that, if his fame and power were to go down to posterity, as a lasting influence, it would be on the condition of his interpreting, not *self*, but the living voice of an infallible Guide according to its truest meaning ; and of enforcing, with arguments which could not be overthrown, the saving revelation of Jesus Christ. He felt that to leave the Church, and to trust to self, would be to rely upon a support that lacks stability ; whilst to adhere to the one Living Voice, and to sink human ingenuity, would be to identify himself with a power which has God for its stay, and everlasting truth for its support. It was because the Angelical was a true interpreter of Church doctrine, that his name has come down to us ; and, because he was the most accurate of interpreters, that his name still holds the foremost place amongst the doctors of Christian theology.

It is impossible, in looking at the position attained by the Angelical in the Church, and at the general bent and tenor of his mind, not to perceive that, in great part, his success was owing to the marvelous stability of his character, and to the extraordinary manner in which the grand monastic principles of love, reverence, purity, and adoration, had taken possession of, and had colored the whole of his intelligence. To see him prostrate before the altar, with all the abandonment of a little child ; to see him lifted up to God, in ecstasy of spirit, in his prayers ; to think on his spotless purity of heart and mind, and then to call to memory his genius, is to account, in part at least, for the depth, balance, and steadiness of his method, and for the singular influence of his mind upon the Catholic religious world. When a perfect Doctor is also a perfect Saint, then the world receives not merely a fading light, but a lasting illumination.

CHAPTER XX.

COMMENTARY ON THE "SENTENCES."

PART II.

THE second book of the Commentary, on "The creation and formation of corporeal and spiritual things," &c.,* is full of matter of the highest importance. For, first, it strikes directly against the theories of the East, and those pantheistic tendencies, which the commentators on Aristotle had brought into the schools: and, secondly, it boldly confronts the cardinal error of rationalism, and, consequently, the principles propagated by Abelard, which proceed from putting the light of the human intelligence in the place of the light of faith. That is to say, the Angelical dedicates this book to considering "Creation"—the creation of angelic life—the creation of the world, and of man. In his treatment of these all-important questions, he combats the teaching of the East, by putting creatures in the place of Divine emanations; makes the Creator, and the creature, essentially distinct; proves, with most cogent reasoning, the principles of Catholic orthodoxy, and the fitness of those results which flow from them. Alexander and Albert had treated "Creation" before him, and had each, in his own way, laboured very earnestly to maintain the true Christian doctrine. The fact of Aristotle holding, as Albert supposed, the eternity of the world, and the connexion of this theory with emanation, made it a matter of great importance to destroy it. Albert, who has so often been accused of being enslaved to Aristotle, shows here the injustice of that accusation. The Stagyrите, contrary to his usual carefulness, declared that he had the consent of all philosophers on his side, to the effect that the movement of the heavenly bodies never had any beginning. Albert not only combats him with his keen philosophy, but oversets him with the arm of history—rather a wonderful thing for Albert—and points to Plato,

* "*De rerum corporalium et spiritualium creatione et formatione, aliisque pluribus eo pertinentibus.*"

the most celebrated of philosophers, as his antagonist.* S. Thomas goes to work somewhat in a different way. His treatise is more careful, more profound, and better reasoned. He seems to have understood the Stagyrte better than his master; and toned Aristotle's meaning down, so as to offer no insuperable barrier to the maintenance of orthodox doctrine.† There were many reasons why S. Thomas would surpass students like Albert and Alexander, in such questions as these. Leaving alone his ability, he had made a deeper study of pagan and Eastern thought, than either of the others. There is, of course, no denying the vast range of reading of Albert and Alexander—it has been, indeed, alluded to; but to almost as wide a range, Thomas added greater accuracy, a quality indispensable for one dealing with philosophic systems—breaking them down, and building up the truth. He carefully studied the systems, not only of Plato and Aristotle: not only of Algazel, Averroës, and Avicenna: but of Anaxagoras, and Empedocles. It was his practice not to mention by name the errors rife in his own day, unless writing specially against them. He seemed to consider that, by upsetting the heresies from which they were derived, he was, in reality, striking all the deeper at their root. Whilst proving them false, he proved them antiquated also; and without deigning to mention them by name, he crushed their life out, by treading on the parent-monster.‡

The whole of his treatment on Creation is evidently worked out with very great care. He will not even let the "Magister" pass with an opinion that possibly might be misunderstood; for instance, as to whether the power of creating could be communicated to a creature.§

* "Die Gründe des Aristoteles für die Ewigkeit der Welt werden von Albert umständlich besprochen, und namentlich auch urgirt, dass Aristoteles, der sich zum Zeugniß für die Anfangslosigkeit der Bewegungen der Himmelskörper auf den einstimmigen Consens aller Philosophen berufen will, gerade den vorzüglichsten (*præcipuus*) unter ihnen, Plato nämlich, übersehen habe. Thomas behauptet, Aristoteles habe die Ewigkeit der Welt nicht apodiktisch hingestellt, seine Meinung sei vielmehr gewesen, dass sich für das Eine und für das Andere, für die anfangslose Ewigkeit und für den zeitlichen Ursprung der Welt nur dialektische Gründe anführen lassen—eine Ansicht, welcher man nur zustimmen könne." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 335.*)

† Saying that the non-eternity of the world cannot be demonstrated, the Angelical remarks:—"Et hoc significant verba philosophi dicentis (*I. Topic. Cap. VII., in fine*) quod sunt quedam problemata de quibus rationem non habemus, utrum mundus sit æternus; unde hoc ipse demonstrare nunquam intendit; quod patet ex suo modo procedendi; quia ubinamque hanc questionem pertractat, semper adjungit aliquam persuasionem vel ex opinione plurimum, vel approbatione rationum, quod nullo modo ad demonstratorem pertinet." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., Lib. II., Vol. VI., p. 392.*)

‡ *L. II., Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. III., p. 388.*

§ Werner thus speaks of S. Thomas's view of the possibility of *proving* the Creation:—"Ein apodiktischer Beweis ist nach Thomas deshalb nicht möglich, weil die Dinge anders sind im Sein, als in ihrem Werden und Entstehen; wie sie als entstehende beschaffen gewesen sein mögen, ist unserem Denken nicht erreichbar. Rabbi Moses erzählt, man habe einen Knaben von aller menschlichen Gesellschaft abgesondert grossgezogen; als er zu den Jahren der Reife kam, fragte er, ob und wie die Menschen entstanden seien: als man ihm sagte, dass der Mensch, bevor er das Licht der Welt erblicke, neun Monate im Mutterchoosse liege, so heilt er diess für eine Unmöglichkeit, da ja der Mensch, wenn er nicht frei athmen, essen u. s. w. könne, nicht einen Tag zu leben im Stande wäre. Die Schlüsse, die man von der Entstehungsart der Dinge in der bereits geschaffenen Welt auf die Entstehungsart der Welt selber macht, sind nicht stichhältig, weil die Bedingungen, die für das jetzige Entstehen der Einzeldinge statt haben, Bewegung,

He admits that "*secundum aliquid*" the Lombard is right; and then shows that, in another sense, his opinion would be heretical.* But article the fifth is the masterpiece of reasoning against pantheistic fallacies; it consists of ten columns of printed matter; it gives fourteen arguments in favour of the heresy, embracing not only ancient error, but also the dominant doctrine related to the eternity of the world held at that day. Most of the arguments are attributed to Aristotle, the Commentator, and Avicenna. To give them would take too long. Having stated the objections of the other side, the Saint then offers nine separate proofs, which, some think, show that the world is not eternal. And, then comes the "*solutio*," in which he makes mention of the various philosophical opinions of Aristotle, and others, and declares them false and heretical.† He, himself, says he agrees with those who follow S. Gregory, and say that it cannot be proved that the world had a beginning, but that it is received and believed through Divine revelation: just as the Trinity cannot be demonstrated, although it is impossible for there to be no Trinity. And, by this means, the Angelical, with that keenness which was quite his own, obtains a *locus standi*, by not seeking to prove too much; and thus shows how those who try to urge their convictions, on either side, simply put forth probable or sophistical opinions, or both. He says that those things which are said to be proved; but which do not really admit of proof, tend rather to the destruction, than to the confirmation, of truth.‡

zeitliche Priorität der bewegenden Ursache und Contrarietäten in dem gestaltenden Stoffe, auf den Hervorgang der Dinge aus Gott nicht zu übertragen sind. Thomas bespricht in seinen verschiedenen Werken mehrmals diese Frage; die meisten Gründe für einen zeitlichen Anfang der Welt hat er in seinem Commentar zu den Sentenzen angeführt, unter diesen auch mehrere, welche Albert als eigentliche Beweisgründe geltend gemacht hatte." (Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 335, 336.)

* The Lombard's view is thrown into this shape:—"2. Præterea, ejuscumque dignitatis creatura est capax, hæc ab eo sibi communicatur qui summe liberalis est. Sed potentia creandi communicabilis est creature, ut infra, in 4, dist. 5, Magister dicit. Ergo videtur quod alieni creature sit communicatum quod creet. Sed contra, Damascenus (lib. 2, de ortho. Fid., Cap. 3, in fine) anathematizat omnes qui dicunt Angelos aliquid creare: de quibus tamen magis videtur quam de aliis. Ergo videtur quod creare solius Dei sit. . . . " Then, as an immediate answer to the Lombard's view:—"Ad secundum dicendum quod quidquid est communicabile creature, de hoc quod est pertinet ad perfectionem naturæ ejus, communicatur sibi: non autem est verum de perfectionibus secundis: sicut non omnis homo qui receptibilis est regni dignitatis, a Deo factus est Rex: et sic etiam est de auctoritate creandi, secundum illos qui dicunt, quod creatio potuit creature communicari." (Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. III., Lib. II., p. 338.)

† Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., p. 392.

‡ For instance, here is an argument of Avicenna's—no doubt freely employed by some of the free-thinking Paris students:—"7. Præterea, creator mundi aut præcedit mundum tantum natura, aut etiam duratione. Si natura tantum, sicut causa effectum: ergo quandoque fuit creator, fuit creatura; et ita mundus ab æterno. Si autem duratione: prius autem et posterius in duratione causat rationem temporis; ergo ante totum mundum fuit tempus, et hoc est impossibile: quia tempus est accidens motus, nec est sine motu. Ergo impossibile est mundum non semper fuisse. Et hæc est ratio Avicennæ in sua Metaph." (Lib. IX., Cap. I.) Here is the argument of the "Commentator" which, no doubt, was used by European thinkers, and had poisoned many a Christian mind:—"Omne illud cujus motus quandoque est et quandoque quiescit, reducitur ad aliquem motum continuum, qui semper est; quia hujus successiones, quæ est ex vicissitudine motus et quietus, non potest esse causa aliquid eodem modo se habens; quia idem eodem modo se habens, semper facit idem. Ergo oportet quod crasa hujus vicissitudinis sit aliquis motus qui non est semper: et sic oportet quod habeat aliquem motum præcedentem: et cum non sit abire in infinitum, oportet devenire ad aliquem motum qui semper est; et sic idem quod prius. Et hæc ratio est Commentatoris in 8 Physic. ((text 9.))" (Lib. II., Dist. I., Art. V., p. 391.)

Such being the case, though the nine arguments *tend* towards proving the Catholic doctrine—lest any one should depend on their *reasoning* as conclusive, and eventually find it fail, and then doubt the truth of the conclusions—the Saint supplies the answers which could be made by philosophers to them; so that no one should be deceived, either by those who attack, or those who defend the truth in an unwise way.

All this points to the steadiness of mind, and of judgment, which made the Angelical such a column in his day. His course is straight—following neither friends nor enemies, but ever pursuing that truth which his mind saw and loved. He cites an example from Rabbi Moses* of the boy who would not believe that he had been born—to show that to judge of things at their beginning, by what they are when grown up, is not a safe way of coming to the truth.†

Nor is that portion of the Commentary which is levelled against the cardinal error of rationalism, of less importance, or treated with less force.

The doctrine of original sin, which was much debated in the middle ages, has ever been the great safeguard in the Church, against the arrogance of the human intellect. Consequently, it has been a doctrine which rationalists have ever impugned with unerring instinct. To lift up the human intelligence to the highest pitch; to make it the sole and supreme judge of all matters; to look upon it as a duty to assert what it asserts, and to reject what it rejects, has ever been combined with a denial of that doctrine which implies a darkening of the intelligence, and a weakening of the will. If the reason of man be capable of those high offices which the rationalist ascribes to it, it never could have been blighted by sin, or have been shorn of its keenness and its glory. The frame of mind which can contemplate the sin of Adam, and its effects, and can look upon man as fallen so low, from so high an estate, with strong passions leading him astray, and pride—which is the deadliest form of error—blinding the power of his vision, is altogether different from that frame of mind which asserts the kingship of reason, and subjects every-

* *Lib. De Per Plexis Veteris Testamenti, Cap. XVIII.*

† "Si quis ex conditionibus hominis nati et perfecti vellet argumentari de conditionibus ejus secundum quod est imperfectus in utero matris existens, deciperetur; sicut narrat Rabbi Moyses (lib. de perplexis veteris Testamenti, Cap. XVIII.), de quodam pnero, qui mortua matre, cum esset paucorum mensium, et nutritus fuisset in quadam insula solitaria, perveniens ad annos discretionis, quæsitit a quodam, an homines essent facti, et quomodo; cui cum exponerent ordinem nativitatæ humane, objecit pner hoc esse impossibile, asserens, quia homo nial respiret et comedat, et superflua expellat, nec per unum diem vivere potest; unde nec in utero matris per novem menses vivere potest. Similiter errant qui ex modo fiendi res in mundo jam perfectæ volunt necessitatem vel impossibilitatem inceptionis mundi ostendere; quia quod nunc incipit esse, incipit per motum; unde oportet quod movens præcedat duratione: oportet etiam quod præcedat natura, et quod sint contrarietates, et hæc omnia non sunt necessaria in progressu universi esse a Deo." (*Dist. I., Quest. I., Art. V., p. 393.*)

thing to its decision, and denies that there is any other court, to which man may appeal. Here, philosophy is placed where S. Thomas took so much trouble to place theology; and the principles and processes of every branch of knowledge become as the vassals of the human mind. Theology, as well as the rest, has to pay its homage; and its *dicta* and *dogmata* are brought before the bar, and are condemned, or acquitted, according as they do, or do not, conform to the supreme canons of man's unassisted reason.

Abelard was the personification of the rationalistic spirit, and S. Bernard combated him in his day, as has been seen; so did the Lombard school fight against this spirit; and now, S. Thomas, in his turn, brings his whole vigour to bear against the pride of human philosophy. What, then, is Abelard's view of original sin? In point of fact, he denies its existence altogether. He admits punishment; he could not help perceiving that mankind had been visited with a dark misfortune. He could not look upon the condition of man, as it presented itself in his day, and maintain that such it had been from the first. He said that men were heirs of Adam's punishment, but that they were not heirs of Adam's guilt. But where there is no guilt, there is no sin: hence, he declared that a newly-born child was altogether without the stain of guilt.* This, of course, was quite in keeping with his whole intellectual system, and naturally sprang from the position of authority in which he placed the human mind.

It was against these views, and such as these—the fruit of overweening love of human intellectual power—that the Angel of the Schools directed some of his most effective reasoning.

Abelard had been singularly bold in his view of original sin. Long before his time, S. Augustine had taught—and all theologians are at one with him—that wherever there is punishment, there must also be guilt. S. Anselm taught that, just as their children would have inherited original justice, if our first parents had remained in the state of grace, so having fallen, their children have inherited their guilt. S. Anselm's view of the essence of original sin, as contracted by the children, is well worthy of consideration. He held its essence to consist in that privation, which

* S. Thomas, without giving any name, mentions this case. "Alius est error eorum qui peccatum originale nomine concedentes secundum rem negabant, dicentes, in puero nato nullam culpam esse, sed solum obligationem ad penam; et hoc manifeste justitiæ divinæ repugnat, ut scilicet aliquis obligatur ad penam qui culpam non habet, cum pena iuste non nisi culpe debeat." (*Dist. XXX., Quest. I., Art. II., p. 658.*) He gives his own view thus:—"Sic ergo dicendum est, quod defectus illius originalis justitiæ quæ homini in sua creatione collata est, ex voluntate hominis accidit: et sicut illud naturæ donum fuit et fuisset in totam naturam propagatum, homine in justitia persistente; ita etiam et privatio illius boni in totam naturam perducitur, quasi privatio et vitium naturæ; ad idem enim genus privatio et habitus referuntur: et in quolibet homine rationem culpe habet ex hoc quod per voluntatem principii naturæ, id est primi hominis, inductus est talis defectus." (*Loco Citato.*)

is consequent on the loss of original justice. All succeeding theologians of the twelfth century, on the other hand, place it in that innate concupiscence with which every man is born into the world. This, Robert Pulleyn taught; so, also, did Hugh of S. Victor's, Peter of Poitiers, Præpositivus, and Peter the Lombard, who says: "Now it remains to be seen what original sin is; which, since it is not actual, is not an act, or motion, of soul or body. For, if it be an act of soul or body, of course, it is an actual sin. But it is not actual. Therefore, it is not an action, or a motion. What is it then? Original sin is called the '*fomes peccati*,' that is concupiscence, or the 'concupiscible,' which is called the law of the members, or the languor of nature, or the tyrant which is in our members, or the law of the flesh.*

It is evident how these theologians went straight against the untheological teaching of the rationalistic Abelard. And though all did not agree as to the precise *ratio* of the habit of original sin, all were at one on the point of its existence in every child of Adam. Alexander of Hales, for instance, takes into consideration three things—punishment, guilt, and corruption. S. Anselm would admit no guilt in the "*semen*." An anonymous writer attacks certain theologians who trace the habit of original sin, "*ad seminis impuritatem*." This attack is supposed to have been directed against Guibert, Abbot of Westminster, one of Anselm's disciples. However, the Abbott's view was maintained by nearly every theologian of any note who came after him—for instance, by Hugh of S. Victor's, by the Lombard, by Peter of Poitiers, Albertus Magnus, and Innocent III.†

But the question was never thoroughly treated till our Angelical gave it his consideration in his greater works. As in the question of the eternity of the world, he set his powerful mind against the errors of the East; so here, he sets it against the fountain of

* "*Quid sit quod dicitur originale peccatum, scilicet fomes peccati, idest concupiscentia.*—Nunc anperest videre, quid sit ipsum originale peccatum: quod enim non sit actuale, non est actus sive motus animæ vel corporis. Si enim actus est animus vel corporis, actuale utique peccatum est. Sed actuale non est. Non est igitur actus vel motus. Quid igitur? Originale peccatum dicitur fomes peccati, scilicet concupiscentia, vel concupiscibilis, quæ dicitur lex membrorum, sive languor naturæ sive tyrannus qui est in membris nostris, sive lex carnis. Unde Augustinus in libro de verbis Domini (*Serm. XII.*): 'Est in nobis concupiscentia, quæ non est permitteunda regnare. Sicut et ejus desideria, quæ sunt actuales concupiscentiæ, quæ sunt arma diaboli, quæ veniunt ex languore naturæ. Languor autem iste tyrannus est, qui movet mala desideria. Si ergo vis esse victor tyranni, atque inermem inimicum invenire, non obediās concupiscentiæ malæ.' His verbis satis ostenditur, fomitem peccati esse concupiscentiam." (*Lib. II., Distinct. XXX., Vol. VI., p. 654.*)

† Werner gives S. Thomas's teaching thus:—"Auch Thomas geht insoweit auf diese Ansicht ein, als er aus der im Samen bereits keimartig enthaltenen Desordination des daraus entstehenden Gebildes die dem Samen eingegossene Seele vitirt werden lässt; die Seele contrahirt die Desordination der Schöpfung in dem Momente, wo sie die Form eines solchen, schon im Keime desordinirten Gebildes wird, indem die Form dem zu formirenden Stoffe proportionirt sein muss. Der Keim oder Same aber muss desordinirt sein, weil die Beschaffenheit des Samens der vitiosen Natur des Zeugnens entsprechen muss. Dass der erbsündlich verdorbene Same die Macht habe, die mit ihm sich verbindende Seele zu vernünftigen, erklärt Thomas analogisch durch Hinweisung auf Fälle, in welchen eine aus particulären Ursachen stammende besondere Art von Corruption des Samens nicht nur liebliche Krankheiten: Anasarz, Rhachitis u.s.w., sondern auch seelische Gebrechen: Blödigkeit u.s.w. des gezeugten Kindes causirt." (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 342; see also p. 341.*)

rationalism, and in favor of that teaching which is not only orthodox, but also one of the greatest safeguards against pride of intellect, and stubbornness of will.*

He begins by proving that the defects that men feel, are the penalty of the sin of the first man. Of course, if they are considered according to their natural principles, then, these defects are not penalties, but natural; just like being made from nothing—or as to require to be kept in life is a natural defect belonging to every creature, but no penalty whatever. But if these defects are compared with human nature, with an eye to the end which had been appointed to it, without doubt, they are a penalty: for a man is said to be punished if something, which has been freely bestowed, is afterwards withdrawn from him. Moreover, man contracts guilt from his very birth: "We were by nature children of wrath."† Here three things are to be considered: "*Defectus*," "*Malum*," and "*Culpa*." "*Defectus*," is simply the negation of some good; "*Malum*," means privation. So that the absence of something that a man was never born to have, can be called a "*defectus*," but not a "*malum*"—e.g., not having life, is a "*defectus*," in a stone, not a "*malum*." But death for a man is both a "*defectus*" and a "*malum*." "*Culpa*" adds, over and above, the idea of something voluntary.‡ Now, there are certain goods that are related to man's nature, others related to his person; and so there is also a "*culpa*" of nature, and a "*culpa*" of a person. Hence, for a "*culpa*" of a person, the will is implicated, as in actual faults, which are committed by the act of a person; but for a "*culpa*" of nature, all that is required is the will, in that nature. Therefore, the defect of original justice happened

* For a man fully to appreciate the immense influence of the doctrine of original sin upon the mind, he must seriously study its bearings. No reasonable being who believed in this doctrine, and in the consequences that flow from it, can be a rationalist. First, the fact of accepting the doctrine, which is, perhaps, the most mysterious of all God's revelations, implies an act of intellectual humility. Secondly, the fact of accepting it with a knowledge that, in so doing, the reason is declared to be injured, weakened, partially eclipsed—in fact, just the reverse of what rationalists would have it to be—brings pride down at once from its pedestal, and forces the unaided spirit to seek some guide less blinded than itself to lead it on to light. And, lastly, the fact of thus putting Divine light before human light—in a word, of putting faith before reason—reverses the order in which rationalistic pride would place God and the creature—for it makes God to be God, and man, what he is, only a creature.

† Ephes. II., 3.

‡ Nothing could be clearer, more concise, or more masterly, than the following:—"Hæc tria, defectus, malum, et culpa, ex superadditione se habent. Defectus enim simplicem negationem alicujus boni importat. Sed malum nomen privationis est: unde carentia alicujus, etiam si non sit natum haberi, defectus potest dici; sed non potest dici malum, nisi sit defectus ejus boni quod natum est haberi: unde carentia vite in lapide potest dici defectus, sed non malum: homini vero mors est et defectus et malum. Culpa autem super hoc addit rationem voluntarii. . . . Sicut autem est quoddam bonum quod respicit naturam, et quoddam quod respicit personam: ita etiam est quedam culpa nature et quedam persone. Unde ad culpam persone, requiritur voluntas persone sicut patet in culpa actuali, que per actum persone committitur; ad culpam vero nature non requiritur nisi voluntas in natura illa. Sic ergo dicendum est, quod defectus illius originalis justitie que homini in sua creatione collata est, ex voluntate hominis accidit: et sicut illud nature donum fuit et fuisset in totum naturam propagatum, homine in justitia persistente: ita etiam et privatio illius boni in totam naturam perducitur, quasi privato et habitus referuntur; et in quolibet homine rationem culpe habet ex hoc quod per voluntatem principii nature; id est primi hominis, inductus est talis defectus." (Vol. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Art. II., p. 658; Cf. Prim. Secunda, Quest. LXXXI., Art. I.; et de Mal., Quest. IV., Art. I.; et Cont. Gent., Cap. L., LI., LII.)

through the will of man; and since it was a gift of nature, and had to be propagated through all nature—supposing man stood firm in original justice—so the privation of that good spread throughout nature loses its ratio of a privation, and can be looked upon in the light of a habit. The *ratio culpæ* in every man comes from this, that by the will of the “principle of nature,” that is, of the first man, the defect was introduced.*

Original sin consists in a deordination of nature. What is “formal” in original sin, is the deviation of the will from that uprightness, or tendency towards his end, which man had at the beginning; which is, in reality, the privation of original justice.

What is “material” in it, is the withdrawal of the bond by which the sensible appetites were kept under the power of the upright will. So, concupiscence, by which we are fitted for desiring what is evil, is called original sin—as affording the matter to original sin.†

And here is a curious opinion, held by Pulleyn and Hugh, and then, by the Master of the “Sentences,” but which S. Thomas did not fear to reject—for reason, to his mind, was superior to authority, when that authority was not based upon anything better than apparent reason.

The Lombard says, “All sinned in Adam, materially (*ut in materia*)—and not alone through his example, as the Pelagians say. For all men were that one man—that is, were in him, materially. It is manifest therefore, that all sinned in Adam—*quasi in massa*. He maintains, moreover, with Pulleyn and Hugh, that a man, in reality, consists of that substance alone which he received from his parents. This substance increases, and is always preserved, because it does not draw to itself extraneous matter; for the whole development takes place by a multiplication

* The reader need hardly be reminded of the intimate relation between original sin and the Incarnation, according to Thomistic teaching. However, the Angelical simply follows the great teachers who preceded him on this question. See S. Irenæus, *Cont. Hæres.*, Lib. V., Cap. XIV., n. 1; also, Lib. III., Cap. XXII., n. 2. Tertullian, *De Resurrect. Carnis*, Cap. VI.; and *De Carne Christi*, Cap. XIV. Origen, *Homil. XXIV.*, in *Numer.*, n. 1, *Tom. II.*, p. 362; also n. 56. S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. XXXVI.*, p. 578. S. Ambrose, *De Incarnat.*, Cap. VI., n. 56. S. John Chrysostom, *Homil. XXX. et XXXI.* in *Matth.*, n. 3, *Tom. VII.*, p. 351. S. Cyril, *Theaur. Assert.*, *XXV.*, *Tom. V.*, pars. I., p. 172, sqq.; also, p. 174. Cf. *Das Dogma von der Menschwerdung Gottes. Im Geiste des hl. Thomas dargestellt von Constantin von Schæzler.* Herder, 1870. *Sechstes kapitel, der Erlösungszweck*, § 36, p. 312.

† “Sicut autem peccatum actuale consistit in deordinatione actus, ita etiam peccatum originale consistit in deordinatione nature. Unde oportet quod ipsæ vires deordinate, vel deordinatio virium sint sicut materiale in peccato originali; et ipsa deordinatio a fine sit ibi sicut formale. Illa autem pars quæ per se nata est, conjungi fini, est ipsa voluntas, quæ habet ordinem finis omnibus aliis partibus imponere; et ideo destitutio ipsius voluntatis ab illa rectitudine ad finem quam habuit in institutione nature in peccato originali formale est: et hoc est privatio originalis iustitiæ. . . . Substractio illius viriuli quo quodammodo sub potestate voluntatis recte definebantur, materiale in peccato est. Ex hac autem substructione sequitur quod unaquæque vis in suum objectum inordinate tendat concupiscendo illud; et ideo concupiscentia quæ habiles sumus ad male concupiscendum, peccatum originale dicitur, quasi materiale in peccato originali existente. Est enim considerare materiale et formale in actibus moralibus sicut in rebus artificialibus, in quibus materia de toto prædicatur; ut possit dici candelis est ferrum; et similiter de peccato prædicari potest illud quod est materiale in ipso, et per hunc modum peccatum originale concupiscentia dicitur.” (*Vol. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Art. III., Solutio*, p. 659.)

of the first matter received from the parents.* And so, in the resurrection, this alone will rise again, and everything else will be rejected as a kind of superfluity. Some went so far as to maintain—indeed, they were forced by their theory to maintain—that food was not taken to increase the substance, or to repair the wear and tear of the body, but simply for the preservation of natural heat.†

The Angelical does not refrain from declaring this position to be irrational, for two reasons: on account of the body, which grows bigger; and on account of the food which ministers to its increase: though he by no means held the doctrine of Tertullian, that "the soul increases with the growth of the body," any more than he held, with some, that the above-mentioned multiplication was produced, in every man, by a miracle—like the multiplication of the loaves spoken of by S. John. The whole of this point is treated at some length, and with great care, by the Angelical, in the first article of the second question. In the following article, he shows how the "Magister" was led to hold that all men were, in Adam, "*in massa*"—because he, and those who thought with him, believed that it was impossible to propagate original sin, unless the matter of which the children are formed had been in the first parents when they sinned. But this is in the face of the teaching of S. Augustine; and the reasons by which the opinion is supported being on a false foundation, the position itself is also false. This the Saint goes on to prove, by means of an exhaustive argument.‡ The propagation of original sin takes place by

* "Materialiter atque cansaliter, non formaliter, dicitur fuisse in primo homine omne quod in humanis corporibus naturaliter est; descenditque a primo parente lege propagationis, et in se auctum et multiplicatum est, nulla exteriori substantia in id transeunte, et ipsum in futuro resurgit. Fomentum quidem habet a cibis, sed non convertuntur cibi in humanam substantiam, quæ secundum propagationem descendit ab Adam. Transiit enim Adam modicum quid de substantia sua in corpora filiorum quando eos procreavit: id est, aliquid modicum de massa substantiæ ejus divisum est, et inde formatum est corpus filii, sui que multiplicatione sine rei extrinsecæ abiectione auctum est, et de illo ita augmentato aliquid inde separatur, unde formantur posteriorum corpora; et ita progreditur procreationis ordo lege propagationis usque ad finem humani generis. Itaque diligenter ac perspicue intelligentibus patet, omnes secundum corpora in Adam fuisse per seminalem rationem, et ex eo descendisse propagationis lege." (Pet. Lomb., *Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Vol. VI., p. 654.*) Agaiu:—"Pner qui statim post ortum moritur, in illa statuta resurgit quam habiturus erat, si viveret usque ad ætatem triginta annorum, nullo vitio corporis impeditus. Unde ergo illa substantia quæ adeo parva fuit in ortu, in resurrectione tam magna erit, nisi sua multiplicatione in se? Unde apparet quod etiam si viveret, non aliunde, sed in se augmentaretur illa substantia; sicut costa de qua facta est mulier, et sicut panes evangelici. Non inficiamur tamen quin cibi et humores in carnem et sanguinem transeant, sed non in veritatem humanæ naturæ, quæ a primis descendit parentibus; quæ sola in resurrectione erit; reliqua vero caro in quam cibi transeunt tanquam superna in resurrectione deponetur; quæ tamen ciborum aliarumque rerum fomentum coalescit." (*Loco Citato.*)

† "Ergo dicendum, quod hunc esse in Adam secundum corpulentam substantiam, potest intelligi dupliciter. Ant ita quod corpus istius fuerit in Adam, sicut prædam corpulenta substantia; et hoc modo est impossibile, nec sic Augustinus intelligit; ant ita quod corpulenta substantia hujus fuerit in Adam aliquo modo; et hoc verum est, quia materia propria ex qua corpus humanum formatum est, fuit in Adam virtute sicut in principio effectivo originaliter. Unde secundum hoc patet qualiter differat esse in Adam secundum corpulentam substantiam tantum et secundum rationem seminalem. Ad hoc enim quod corpus humanum constituitur, oportet duo advenire: scilicet materiam ex qua formatur corpus, quæ dicitur corpulenta substantia, et virtus formans, quæ dicitur ratio seminalis; et utraque originata est ab Adam; et ideo illi qui ex coitu viri et mulieris generantur, dicuntur fuisse in Adam originaliter secundum seminalem rationem, et secundum corpulentam substantiam. Christus autem ejus corpus virtus Spiritus Sancti formavit de materia Virginis administrata, dicitur in Adam fuisse secundum corpulentam substantiam tantum." (*Tom. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXX., Art. Quest. II., Pars. II., p. 666, 667.*)

‡ One of the Saint's reasons for this is the following:—"Ille qui non est peccato obnoxius, redemptione non indiget. Si ergo esset aliquis qui non in peccato originali nasceretur, præter

the act of generation; for a sin of nature has the same relation to an act of nature, that a personal sin has to an act of a person. Now, a personal sin, that is, an actual sin, is caused by an act of a person; therefore, a sin of nature, that is, original sin, is produced in us by an act of nature; but the act of generation is an act of nature, by which the nature itself of the species is preserved; therefore, original sin passes to us by the act of generation; nor can any one be born without original sin. And this sin is principally situated in the essence of the soul; for the soul is the form of the body; hence the soul is immediately united to the body by its essence, so as to form one man; and as original sin is caused in the soul by its conjunction with the body as its form, it follows that it is mainly to be found in the essence of the soul, as in its subject. The powers to which original sin is chiefly ascribed, are those of generation, touch, and concupiscence. Now this sin is expunged by baptism. But, though the vision of God is opened to man, the infection of nature still remains—that is the “*fomes*,” the necessity of death, and the like. Nor is there any inequality in men’s inheritance of the sin of our first parents. Privation has no degrees: though each man, according to his natural complexion, or his habits, is more or less inclined, as the case may be, to evil. And in like manner, the “*fomes*” after baptism is said to diminish, inasmuch as grace checks the impetus of concupiscence, and inclines the soul to contrary acts.

The Angelical then goes on to show that the “*fomes*” is not from God; nor anything that has about it the “*ratio culpe* ;” that it is agreeable to the Divine wisdom to place a soul in a body from which it will contract uncleanness—for it is a better thing that the species should continue imperfect, than that it should cease altogether to exist; that just as there is a difference in men’s bodies, so is there in their souls;* that the actual sins of the parents do not pass to the children, original sin alone being inherited, that if the sin of the parent does not pass to the child, neither does his punishment; that the only penalty of original sin after death is the deprivation of the vision of God, there being no sensible pain due to it—that children who die without baptism,

Christum, inveniretur aliquis qui redemptione facta per Christum non indigeret; et sic Christus non esset caput omnium, quod non est conveniens secundum fidem. Ergo nec ponere quod aliquis sine peccato originali nasci possit.” (*Dist. XXXI., Quest. I., Art. II., p. 672.*) S. Gregory the Great says something like this:—“Et quidem nisi Adam peccaret, redemptorem nostrum carnem suscipere nostram non oporteret.” . . . Si ergo pro peccatoribus venit, si peccata deessent, eum venire non oporteret.” (*In Reg. Exposit., Lib. IV., Cap. I., n. 7.* See the view of Scotus, *Sent., Lib. III., Dist. XIX., Quest. Unica., n. 6.*)

* “Unde etiam in his quæ sunt nini generis, ex hoc contingit diversitas animarum, quod est in corporibus diversitas; et hoc etiam patet ex signo boni intellectus, quod Philosophus in 2 de Anima (*Text. XCIV.*) dat intelligere, dicens, eos qui sunt boni tactus et molles carne, aptos mente esse. Bonitas autem tactus ex æqualitate complexionis contingit:—quia oportet ut instrumentum tactus inter contraria tangibilia sit medium; et quanto magis pervinit ad medium, tanto melior erit tactus. Unde patet quod ex diversitate corporis animarum diversitas resultat.” *Dist. XXXII., Quest. II., Art. II., p. 683.*

do not grieve in the least at being deprived of the Divine vision; but rather rejoice in this, that they will greatly participate in the Divine goodness, and in natural perfections; and with this article, S. Thomas finishes his exposition of the thirty-third distinction of the Lombard.*

Any one coming to look into this portion of the Saint's work, will see how completely he has treated a difficult subject, and with what profound, and yet ingenious arguments, he has shown that the mystery of original sin, and its propagation, is not opposed to the dictates of right reason. The firm establishment of this doctrine in the schools, by so clear and detailed an exposition, did much towards rooting out the rationalism of pride, and warding off those dangers which flow from belief in an unspotted intelligence.

And just as the Saint, in his first two books, treats of going out from God, so in the two last books, he treats of going back to God—or of God as the last end. And as the going back to the end implies an agent who brings it about, and the instruments by which it is effected, so the agent is treated of in the third book of the Commentary; the instruments, in the fourth. The "causes" of this going back may be either "efficient," or "formal;" the "efficient cause," is the Son of God made man.† The "formal causes," are the virtues, and gifts of grace.‡ The first part of the third book considers the Incarnation,§ and its conditions,|| and the consequences of the union of the Divine and human nature in the one Person of the Word, and the effects, on the assumed human nature, of its unity with the Divinity. Then, it is asked whether in Christ there was habitual grace perfecting His soul; whether in Him there was any created knowledge; whether it was necessary for Him to take human nature, with its infirmities and

* "Pueri autem nunquam fuerunt proportionati ad hoc quod vitam æternam haberent; quia nec eis debebatur ex principiis nature, cum omnem facultatem natura excedat, nec actus proprios habere potuerunt quibus tantum bonum consequerentur; et ideo nihil omnino doluerunt de carentia visionis divine; immo magis gaudebunt de hoc quod participabant multum de divina bonitate, et perfectionibus naturalibus. Nec potest dici, quod fuerint proportionati ad vitam æternam consequendam, quamvis non per actionem suam, tamen per actionem aliorum circa eos; quia potuerunt ab aliis baptizari, sicut et multi pueri ejusdem conditionis baptizati, vitam æternam consecuti sunt; hoc enim est superexcedentis gratie ut aliquis sine actu proprio prænietur; unde defectus talis gratiæ non magis tristitiam causat in pueris descendentibus non baptizatis quam in sapientibus hoc quod eis multæ gratiæ non sunt quæ aliis similibus factæ sunt." (Tom. VI., Lib. II., Dist. XXXIII., Quest. II., Art. II., p. 691.)

† Vol. VII., Dist. I.-XXII., p. 1-234.

‡ Dist. XXIII.-XL., p. 234-448.

§ Dist. I.-V., p. 1-73.

|| Dist. Uo.-Xoo., p. 74-133.

Werner puts it thus:—"Die *causæ reducens* können *effective* und *formaliter* verstanden werden; *effective Reducens* ist der fleischgewordene Gott (3 dist. 1-22), die *formaliter reducens causæ* sind die Tugenden und Gnadengaben (dist. 23-40). Die erste Partie zerfällt in die zwei Abtheilungen von der Incarnation (dist. 1-5) und den Bedingungen derselben (dist. 6-22); und zwar in Hinsicht auf das, was Christo zufolge der Vereinigung von Gottheit und Menschheit in Einer Person zukommt (dist. 6-12), und weiters in Hinsicht auf das, was die angenommene menschliche Natur betrifft. Es fragt sich da, was er durch sie annahm (dist. 13-16), was er durch sie wirkte (dist. 17-21) und wie er für uns sich opferte (dist. 22). Die *causæ formales* unserer Erneuerung sind die durch die Gnade in uns bewirkten Tugendstimmungen (dist. 23-33); die theologischen Tugenden (dist. 23-32) Cardinaltugenden (dist. 33) und die uns verliehenen Gnadengaben (dist. 34). In dist. 37-40 wird vom Dekalog oder den Vorschriften gehandelt, durch welche die durch die Gnade in uns gewirkten Habitualitäten geleitet und geregelt werden." (Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 348, 349.)

defects; whether He was under the necessity of death: and finally come questions treating of the work Christ had to do; and of His Death and His Ascension. The "formal causes" of our reparation are the virtues which operate in man through grace—the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, and the gifts of the Spirit. Then the Decalogue is touched upon, which regulates the actions elicited by virtue, under the control of grace.*

The sixth Distinction of the "Sentences" gives S. Thomas a grand opportunity of manifesting his dialectical skill, and his subtlety of judgment. The matter contained in this Distinction of the Lombard was the cause of those heavy accusations of nihilism which were afterwards brought against him.

The Distinction consists of three opinions concerning the way in which the words "God became man, God is man," are to be understood, and the authorities, severally, by which they are supported.

1. Some say that in the Incarnation of the Word, a certain man, made of a rational soul, and human flesh—of which two every true man is made up—began to be God (not in the nature of God, but in the person of the Word), and God began to be this man.

2. There are others, who in part agree with them, but say that this man is not made up of a rational soul and flesh, alone, but of a human and Divine nature, that is, of three substances: Divinity, flesh, and soul; and they declare this to be Jesus Christ—and one person alone—before the Incarnation quite simple, but in the Incarnation, made composite of Divinity and humanity.

3. There are others who, in the Incarnation of the Word, not only deny there is a person composed of natures, but that there is any man or any substance there composed or made of soul and flesh. They say that the soul and flesh are united to the person or nature of the Word, not so that, from these two or three elements, any substance or person is made or composed, but that the Word of God is invested with them, as with a garment; so that He may, in a fitting manner, become visible to mortal eyes.†

* Of course the Angelical did not look upon the Incarnation as a necessary consequence of the fall:—"Ad finem aliquem dicitur aliquid esse necessarium dupliciter. Uno modo, sine quo aliquid esse non potest; sicut cibis est necessarius ad conservationem humane vite; alia modo, per quod melius et convenientius pervenitur ad finem; sicut equus necessarius est ad iter. Primo modo Deum incarnari non fuit necessarium ad reparationem humane nature. Deus enim per suam omnipotentem virtutem poterat humanam naturam multis aliis modis reparare." (*Summa*, Tom. IV., Pars. Tertia, Quæst. I., Art. II., p. 6, 7.) Suarez says on this: "Conclusio est communis et ita certa, ut negari non possit sine temeritate et fidei incommodo." (*In Tert. Part. Disput. IV., q. II., n. 3.* Cf. S. Anthonasius, *Orat. II., Contr. Arian., n. 68; Opp. Tom. I., par. I., p. 424*; also, S. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. IX., p. 157*; S. Augustine, *De Nat. et Grat., Cap. V., De Agon. Christ., Cap. XI.; De Trinit., Lib. XIII., Cap. X., n. 13*; S. Leo, *Serm. XXII., Cap. III.—Serm. XXVIII., Cap. III.* For these references, and for S. Anselm's view, see Schæzler, p. 294.)

† It continues thus:—"Qui ideo dicitur factus verus homo, quia veritatem carnis et anime accepit: quæ duo etiam in singularitatem vel unitatem suæ personæ accepisse legitur, non quia illa duo, vel aliqua res ex illis composita, sit una persona cum Verbo, vel sit Verbum: sed quia illis duobus accidentibus Verbo non est personarum numerus auctus ut fieret quaternitas in Trinitate: et quia ipsa persona Verbi, quæ prius erat sine indumento, assumptione indumenti non est divisa vel mutata, sed una eademque immutata permansit; quia secundum habitum

These three opinions, S. Thomas says, agree in four things: they all place a Divine person in Christ, and so avoid Nestorianism; secondly, they place two natures in Christ, and so avoid Eutychianism; thirdly, they assert the two substances to have been assumed by the Word, and so avoid the Manichean error, which denies the assumption of the flesh; fourthly, teaching that which was assumed did not exist before the Incarnation, they avoid the error, touched upon by the Damascene,* of those who said that Christ first assumed an intellect, and then was a man; and afterwards assumed flesh of the womb of the Virgin: which seems to be the error of Origen, who maintained that souls were created before bodies.†

The Saint first shows in what these opinions differ; and then, what they imply respectively. He next goes on to show that if there were two hypostases, there would be two persons in Christ, which is the error of Nestorius; that if there were two "*supposita*," there could be no union of the Divinity with the flesh; that if there were two "individuals," there would be two persons; that there is not any "*res naturæ*" in Christ besides the Divine person—for it could not be assumed by a Divine person, and therefore, it could not be united to it, and hence, it could not be in Christ. But fully to comprehend the depth of the Angelical, the whole question should be studied in the original.

The second article shows that our Lord did not assume a man; if He did, one thing is certain, viz., that He did not assume universal man. Therefore, he assumed "this" man. But "this" man is a person. Therefore, He assumed a person, which is false; so, therefore, the supposition is false. In the third, the Saint proves that the word "man" is predicated of three substances; for man is he who possesses humanity: but he who possesses humanity is a Divine person. Therefore, the word "man" connotes the Divine person as well as the humanity which contains two substances: and so man is predicated of three substances. The

Deum hominem factum dicunt; accipiendo enim hominem, dictus est Deus factus homo, et propter acceptum hominem dicitur Deus verus esse homo, et propter assumptum Deum dicitur homo esse Deus. Nam si essentialiter, inquit illi, Deus esse homo, vel homo esse Deus intelligeretur; tunc si Deus hominem assumpsisset in sexu muliebri, et mulier essentialiter Deus esset, et e converso. At potuit Deus assumpsisse hominem in sexu muliebri; potuit igitur mulier esse Deus, et e converso." (*Dist. VI., Tom. VII., p. I., p. 76.*)

* Lib. IV., *Fid. Ortho.*, Cap. VI.

† "In quo tres illæ opiniones conveniant. Quantum ad primum sciendum, quod istæ opiniones conveniunt in quatuor: primo, quia quælibet harum ponit unam personam in Christo, scilicet divinam, per quod recedunt ab hæresi Nestorii; secundo ponunt in Christo duas naturas, et tres substantias, scilicet Divinitatem, animam, et corpus, ex quibus duobus dicunt constare naturam humanam, et per hoc recedunt ab errore Eutychetis, qui posuit unam naturam in Christo; tertio has duas substantias in quibus humana natura consistit, dicunt assumptas a Verbo, per quod recedunt ab errore Manichæi, qui negabat carnis assumptionem. Quarto, quod hoc quod assumptum est, non præexistit ante unionem tempore, sed natura solum; per quod evadunt errorem quem tangit Damascenus (*Lib. IV., fid. Ortho.*, Cap. VI.) dicentium, quod primo assumpsit intellectum, et ex tunc finisse hominem; postea autem assumpsisse carnem in utero Virginis: quod videtur esse error Origenis, qui ponebat animas creatas ante corpora." (*Tom. VII., Dist. VI., Div. Text.*, p. 77.)

second question shows that Christ is not "two" (*neutraliter*) but "One;" that He has "one Being;" and explains these words of S. John Damascene: "the two natures are united to the one composite hypostasis of the Son of God." The third treats of the union of soul and body in Christ; and shows that the human nature was not "accidentally" united to the Word.*

Any one comparing the above opinions, and the treatment of them by the Lombard, and the Angelical, respectively, will at once see the difference between the two men, and the immense theological advance of S. Thomas upon the Master of the "Sentences." Whilst the Lombard hardly seems to know which view to choose; whilst he gives as reasonable, what in reality is against reason; and advances, as doctrine which may pass, teachings which in reality are heretical; whilst, in a word, he is groping about, not seeing his way, amongst a host of authorities for different opinions, the Angelical, with his power of analysis, arrives at the truth; measures carefully the various amount of falsehood in each position; and with a science singularly marvellous, gives the true doctrine of the Church—clear, distinct, and intelligible.

It was this mistiness of the Lombard that gave an opening to many and severe attacks upon his teaching on the Incarnation. The three opinions which he stated, and confirmed by authorities, were brought forward by him as doctrine which could be held. He seems himself to put the greatest stress on the second; but while doing so, left it to be understood that the first and third were theologically tenable. Here he afforded an opportunity to his enemies; and, in point of fact, gave just cause for some complaint. Walter of S. Victor's, who so violently attacked him, considered that his appreciation of these doctrines was excessively faulty.† Even if the first proposition were not clearly heretical,

* "Sed contra est Decretalis Alexandri Papæ 'cum (inquit) Christus sit perfectus Deus et perfectus homo; qua temeritate audent quidam dicere, quod Christus, secundum quod homo, non est aliquid?' Sed prædicatum accidentale non prædicat aliquid, sed aliquiditer se habens. Ergo homo non est prædicatum accidentale." (*Tom. III., Concil., Part II., § II., ex Concil. Lateran. III.; Tit. de Hæret., Cap. XXVI., paulo aliter et plenius. L. III., Dist. VI., Quæst. II., Art. II., Vol. VII., Pars. I., p. 86.*) "Si ergo dicatur homo assumptus, oportet quod intelligatur homo antequam intelligatur assumptus. Homo autem particularis (quia universale non assumpsit, cum non habeat esse in rerum natura), est quid subsistens, habens esse completum. Quod autem habet esse completum in quo subsistit, non potest uniri alteri nisi tribus modis: vel accidentali-ter ut tunica homini; et hunc modum unionis ponit tertia opinio; vel per modum aggregationis, sicut lapis lapidi in æervo; vel aliquo accidente, sicut homo unitur Deo per amorem vel gratiam; et neutra harum est uno simpliciter, sed secundum quid; quarum primam posuit Dioscorus, alteram Nestorius hereticus, ut dicit Damascenus, 3 *Cap., 3 libri*. Unde nullo modo concedendum est, quod homo sit assumptus." (*Tom. VII., Dist. VI., Art. II., p. 81.*)

† "Der Victoriner Walter von Montagne zählt den Petrus Lombardus jenen vier Mönchern bei, die er wegen ihrer dem Glauben gefährlichen dialektischen Irrgänge die vier Labyrinth des Frankreichs nannte. Unter diesen meinte er neben Petrus Lombardus noch Abälard, Peter von Poitiers und Gilbert de la Porree, die nach seiner Ansicht hinsichtlich der Trinitätslehre gleicher Irrthümer sich schuldig gemacht hätten. Nebst dem bemängelte er nach dem Vorgange des Johannes von Cornwallis die Christologie des Lombarden, weil derselbe gesagt habe, dass der Sohn Gottes nicht der Substanz nach, sondern *solo habitu* Mensch genannt werden könne. Der Abt Joachim beschuldigte den Petrus Lombardus, dass er an die Stelle der göttlichen Trinität eine Quaternität setze. Das Concil vom Lateran 1215 verdamnte die Schrift, die Joachim gegen den Lombarden gerichtet, und erkannte die Ausdrucksweise des Letzteren als eine kirchlich gültige an: *Pater, Filius et Spiritus S. sunt summa quedam res et illa neque generans, neque genita, neque procedens* . . . Im Jahre 1519 veröffentlichte der Abt des

it certainly could not be held by a right-believing man; whilst the third could not be condemned in too strong language. To call the human in Christ "not anything," is to assert it to be "nothing."

As is generally the case, the disciples of the Master develop his defects. So was it here. What the Lombard stated as a problem, they undertook, some of them, to prove as a thesis. They were bold enough to maintain, for instance, such propositions as these—"God did not become anything, God is not anything." John of Cornwall maintains that Gilbert de la Porrée, and Abelard, were the originators of nihilism. Though his pupils denied it, it was reported that Gilbert had a weakness for the "not anything." The following strange sentence from Abelard's "Theology" breathes the same temper—"Since, therefore, God is Spirit, and since that which is Spirit never becomes corporeal, never is receptive of parts, how can the Word with propriety be said to become flesh, or God to become man, seeing that the Word is also Spirit?"*

However, the shortcomings of the Lombard were soon brought to light. Robert of Melun, and Magister Mauritius, who succeeded Peter in the See of Paris, not only spoke out against this error, but against other flaws in the teaching of the Master of the "Sentences." Alexander III. had the words "Christ is not some man," and "Christ, inasmuch as man, is nothing," discussed in the Council of Tours (1163). But no decision was come to upon the point, as Werner seems to imply, though it was argued at great length.† Nor was a decision given upon it for some time, though Werner again gives us to understand the reverse. It was not till the year 1170 that the question was finally settled. The Pope then addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Sens, begging him to convoke a Synod of his Suffragans, in Paris, in order to condemn the Lombard's proposition: "Christ, inasmuch as man, is nothing," and to command all the Magistri to teach that: "As Christ is perfect God, so is He perfect and true man, consisting of soul and body."‡

Though the Lombard did not hold the condemned doctrine himself, still, his too great facility in admitting unsound propo-

Schottenklosters in Wien, Benedictus Chelidonius ein altes Manuscript, vier Bücher Sentenzen von Bandinus, von dem er behauptete, dass der Lombard ihn ausgeschrieben. B. Pez hingegen (*Thesaur. Anecd. noviss.*, Tom. I., p. XLV. ff.) bemerkte, dass in einer Möncher Handschrift der Summe Bandin's diese ausdrücklich als Auszug aus der Summe des Lombarden bezeichnet werde. Auch protestantische Gelehrte: Schröckh, Neander, theilen diese Ansicht, und anerkennen die Priorität des Lombarden." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, Cap. I., p. 43.)

* "Cum ergo spiritus sit Deus, nec unquam, quod spiritus est, corporeum fiat, aut partes recipiat, quomodo proprie vel Verbum dicitur caro fieri vel Deus homo, cum Terbum etiam nunc sit spiritus?"

† Werner, *Vol. I.*, Cap. IV., p. 355.

‡ "Christum sicut perfectum Deum esse, sic et perfectum hominem, ac verum hominem ex anima et corpore consistentem."

sitions, without guarding the reader respecting them, opened his conduct justly to censure—if not to that condemnation which the Pope, instigated by the repeated attacks of John of Cornwall (*Cornubiensis*), caused the bishops to issue against his (supposed) teachings.*

The uncertainty of the Lombard with regard to the relations of body, soul, and Divinity, led him into a further statement, which the keen, far-seeing eye of the Angelical did not overlook. Just as Peter let pass the doctrine that the flesh of Christ was, as it were, a "garment," so by declaring the soul, when separated from the body, to be a "person," he taught by implication—as the Angelical saw at once—that the union of body and soul is merely an accidental union. According to Werner, there were many theologians who held this doctrine in the twelfth century. Abelard—who was continually getting wrong—Hugh of S. Victor's, Robert Pulleyn, Peter of Poitiers, and Robert of Melun, were amongst the number. Abelard said: "A person is called one of its own nature, as it were;" Hugh said: "For the soul, in the same way as an angel, is a person;" Robert of Melun maintained: "That the marriage of the soul with the body was not a union of parts, but of different natures." Of course, when such teachings as these were applied to the position of our Lord in the Tomb, the consequences were not according to the traditions of the Church.†

But how does the Angelical, following the light of reason, and the tradition of the Church, treat this point?

That the reader may see clearly how he handles a subject, and how difficulties are proposed, solved, and explained in detail—since the article is a short one—it shall be given pretty much as it stands.

Article II. Whether a soul separate from the body is a person? ‡
With regard to the second point this is the way of proceeding:—

* The whole of this question is well treated by Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte Fünfter Band, Zweite Abt.*, p. 545-547.

† "Uebrigens hatte die Ansicht des Lombarden im zwölften Jahrhunderte viele Vertreter; Abälard: *Expositio symboli Apostolici*. Hugo von St. Victor: *Summ. Sent.*, Tract. I., Cap. XV.; *Sacrament. Lib. II.*, P. I., Cap. IX.—XI.; *De Anima. II.*, Cap. VII. Robert Pulleyn: *Sent. II.*, Cap. X. Peter von Poitiers: *Sent. IV.*, Cap. XXII. Robert von Melun bekannten sich zu ihr. Letzterer sagt: *Compositio illa (anima cum corpore) non fuit partium, sed unio quidam naturarum diversarum*. Hugo von St. Victor: *Est namque anima, persona sicut Angelus*. Abälard: *Persona quasi per se una dicitur*. Wir werden später sehen, was Thomas gegen alle diese Auffassungen zu erinnern hat. Hier nur noch sein Urtheil über eins christologische Consequenz derselben. Hugo von St. Victor glaubte sich zufolge seiner Identificirung von Seele und Person berechtigt, zu sagen, dass Christus auch während der Tage zwischen Verscheiden und Auferstehung Mensch gewesen sei: *Sacram. II.*, P. I., Cap. XI. und zwar aus demselben Grunde, aus welchem alle abgeschiedenen Seelen nach seiner Ansicht fortdauern, Menschen zu sein." (Werner, *Vol. I.*, Cap. IV., p. 355.)

‡ "Articulus II. *Utrum anima separata sit persona*. Ad secundum sic proceditur. 1. Videtur quod anima separata sit persona. Persona enim, secundum Boetium (*Loco Citoato*), est rationalis naturae individua substantia. Sed hoc convenit animae separatae. Ergo est persona. 2. Praeterea, propter quod nunquodque tale, et illud magis. Sed homo dicitur persona propter animam: unde quae caret anima, non dicitur persona. Ergo anima separata est persona. 3. Praeterea, conceditur quod anima rationalis est hoc aliquid. Sed hoc aliquid in natura rationali est persona. Ergo anima separata est persona." (*Dist. V., Quaest. III., Art. II.*, p. 73.)

1. It seems that a separate soul is a person. For a person, according to Boethius, is "an individual substance of a rational nature." But this stands good of a separate soul. Therefore, it is a person.

2. Moreover, "*propter quod unumquodque tale, et illud magis.*" But a man is called a person, on account of his soul; and hence, those things that have no souls are not called persons. Therefore, &c.

3. Moreover, it is admitted that the rational soul is "this something." But "this something," in a rational nature, is a person. Therefore, a separate soul is a person.

4. Moreover, an angel and a separate soul do not seem to differ except on this account: that the soul has the capability of being united.* But this capability does not do away with the notion of a person. Therefore, since an angel is a person, a soul apart from the body is also a person. Proof of the middle. That which can be done by Divine power, does not produce any real change in the thing itself, so that because God can assume a certain man, as Peter, the personality of Peter is not in consequence destroyed. But a soul cannot be united to a body, except by the Resurrection, which will not be brought about by nature, but will be effected by Divine power alone. Therefore, the soul, on account of its capability of being united, does not lose its condition of being a person.

5. Moreover, the mere fact that a thing can be united to something more noble, destroys the condition of personality; otherwise, the Word would not have been a person from eternity. But the "capability" which belongs to a separate soul, is not with respect to something more worthy,—but on the contrary, to something less worthy. Therefore, on this account, the soul does not lose the condition of a person.†

But against this I urge, no form is a person; but the soul is a form; therefore, it is not a person. Moreover, a person has the condition of wholeness and completeness. But the soul is a part; therefore, the soul has not the condition of a person.

SOLUTION.—I answer by saying, that the opinion of the ancients, concerning the union of soul and body, was twofold.

* "4. Præterea, angelus et anima separata non videtur differre nisi per hoc quod anima est unibilis. Sed unibilitas non impedit rationem personæ. Ergo cum Angelus sit persona, etiam anima separata erit persona. Probatio mediæ. Id quod potest fieri per divinam virtutem, non immutat aliquid de ratione rei; sicut quod Deus possit assumere aliquem hominem, ut Petrum, non aufert Petro rationem personalitatis. Sed anima separata non potest uniri corpori nisi per resurrectionem, quæ non erit naturalis, sed per divinam virtutem tantum. Ergo anima propter unibilitatem rationem, personæ non amittit." (*Loco Citato.*)

† "5. Præterea, sola unibilitas qua aliquid potest uniri nobiliori, tollit rationem personæ; alias Verbum non haberet ab æterno rationem personæ. Sed unibilitas quæ est in anima separata, non est respectu alienius dignioris, immo minus nobilis. Ergo propter hoc non perdit rationem personæ. Sed contra, nulla forma est persona. Sed anima est forma. Ergo non est persona. Præterea, persona habet rationem completi et totius. Sed anima est pars. Ergo anima non habet rationem personæ." (*Ibid.*)

One was that the soul is united to the body, as one complete being to another complete being; that it was in the body like a sailor in a ship. Hence, as Gregory of Nyssa says,* Plato maintained that man is not something made up of body and soul, but that he is a soul invested with a body: and according to this, the entire personality of a man would consist in the soul, so that a separate soul might be truly called a man, as Hugh of S. Victor's says;† and, according to this opinion, what the Magister [the Lombard] says is true, that the soul is a person when separate. But his view cannot stand: because, the body would thus belong to the soul accidentally. Hence, this word "man," which signifies soul and body, would not signify one *per se*, but *per accidens*; and therefore, would not be in the genus of substance.‡

The other opinion is that of Aristotle,§ which is followed by all the moderns, that the soul is united to the body as form to matter: hence, the soul is a part of human nature, and is not a special nature of itself; and because the characteristics of a part are contrary to those of a person, as has been said; therefore, a separate soul cannot be called a person: because, although it is not actually a part, still it has the nature of a part.||

To the first, therefore, it is to be said, that a separate soul, properly speaking, is not the substance of any nature, but a part of a nature.

To the second, it is to be said that, not alone on account of his soul is a man a person, but on account of the soul, and the body, since he is composed of both.

To the third, it is to be said that, the rational soul is called "this something" in the way in which any subsisting being is "this something," even if it have the nature of a part; but for a person, something beyond this is required, viz., that it be whole and complete.

To the fourth it is to be said that, although the union of a separate soul with the body cannot be accomplished except by super-

* *Lib. de Hom., Cap. I.*

† *Book II., The Sacraments, Part II., Chap. XI.*

‡ "Solutio. Respondeo dicendum, quod de unione animæ ad corpus apud antiquos duplex fuit opinio. Una quod anima unitur corpori sicut eius completum enti completo, ut esset in corpore sicut nauta in navi; unde sicut dicit Gregorius Nyssenus (*Lib. de Homine, Cap. I.*) Plato posuit quod homo non est aliquid constitutum ex corpore et anima, sed est anima corpore induta: et secundum hoc tota personalitas hominis consisteret in anima, adeo quod anima separata posset dici homo vere, ut dicit Hugo de S. Victore (*Lib. II. de Sacram., Part II., Cap. II.*); et secundum hanc opinionem esset verum quod Magister dicit, quod anima est persona quando est separata. Sed hæc opinio non potest stare: quia sic corpus animæ accidentaliter adveniret: unde hoc nomen *homo*, de cuius intellectu est anima et corpus, non significaret unum *per se*, sed *per accidens*; et ita non esset in genere substantiæ." (*Ibid.*)

§ *II. De Anima, Cap. XI.*

|| "Alia est opinio Aristotelis (2 *De Anima, Cap. XI.*), quam omnes moderni sequuntur, quod anima unitur corpori sicut forma materiæ: unde anima est pars humanæ naturæ, et non natura quædam *per se*: et quia ratio partis contrariatur rationi personæ, ut dictum est, ideo anima separata non potest dici persona: quia quamvis separata non sit pars actu, tamen habet naturam ut sit pars. Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod anima separata, proprie loquendo, non est substantia alicujus naturæ, sed est pars naturæ. Ad secundum dicendum, quod non tantum ab anima habet homo quod sit persona, sed ex ea et corpore; cum ex utrisque subsistat. Ad tertium dicendum, quod anima rationalis dicitur hoc aliquid *per modum* quod esse subsistens est hoc aliquid, etiam si habeat naturam partis; sed ad rationem personæ exigitur ulterius quod sit totum et completum." (*Ibid.*)

natural power, still, there is within it a natural aptitude for this union; and that the union cannot be accomplished by natural power, proceeds from the defect of the body, not from the defect of the soul.

To the fifth it is to be said that, although the soul be of greater dignity than the body, still, it is united to the body as part of the whole man, which, in a way, is more dignified than the soul, inasmuch as it is more complete.*

The prologue to the fourth book of the Commentary on the "Sentences," begins with the words: "He sent His word and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction."† The sin of Adam produced two results, death and sickness:‡ death, on account of the separation from the principle of life; sickness, on account of want of grace, which is the health of man. A remedy was necessary—a remedy so efficacious that all might be saved by it. From this universal remedy, other particular remedies proceed, and these are the Sacraments in which the Divine power, under cover of visible things, all the more secretly works our cure. In the above psalm-words, three things are touched upon—the making of the remedy; the cure from sickness; and liberation from death. And these words indicate the matter of the fourth book, because in it, the Sacraments, the resurrection, and the glory of the risen are expounded. It is also a continuation of the third book, because, in the third book, the mission of the Word in the flesh was treated of; whilst in this book, the effects of the Incarnation are the subject of consideration. So the fourth book bears the same relation to the third, that the second does to the first. It is, moreover, divided into two parts—the first, dwells on the Sacraments; the second, on the resurrection, and on the glory of the risen.§ The

* "Ad quantum dicendum, quod quamvis unio animæ separate ad carnem non possit fieri nisi per virtutem supernaturalem, tamen in ea est naturalis aptitudo ad hoc: et quod non potest unio compleri per virtutem naturalem, est ex defectu corporis non ex defectu animæ. Ad quantum dicendum, quod quamvis anima sit dignior corpore, tamen unitur ei ut pars totius hominis, quod quodammodo est dignius animæ, in quantum est completius." (*Loco Citato.*)

† *Psalm CXL, 20.*

‡ *Misit verbum suum, et sanavit eos, et eripuit eos de interitionibus eorum. Psal. CXL, 20.* Ex peccato primi hominis humanum genus duo incurrerat, scilicet mortem, et infirmitatem. Mortem propter separationem a vitæ principio, de quo in *Psalmi XXXV, 10*, dicitur: *Apud te est fons vitæ; et qui separatur ab hoc principio, de necessitate moritur; et hoc factum est per primum hominem.* Unde dicitur *Rom. V, 12*: *Per unum hominem peccatum in mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors.* Infirmitatem vero propter destitutionem gratiæ, quæ est hominis sanitas, quæ petitur *Hierom. XVII, 14*: *Sana me Domine, et sanabor;* et ideo in *Psalmi VI, 3*, dicitur: *Miserere mei Domine, quoniam infirmus sum.* Ad hoc autem sufficiens remedium haberi non poterat, nisi ex Verbo Dei, quod est fons sapientiæ in excelsis, *Ecclesi. I, 1*, et per consequens vitæ: quia sapientia vitam tribuit possessori, *Ecclesi. VII, 12*; unde dicitur *Joan. V, 21*: *Sicut Pater suscitavit mortuos et vivificavit: sic Filius quos vult, vivificat.* Ipsum etiam est virtus Dei, quo omnia portantur; *Hebr. I, 3*: *Portans omnia verbo virtutis suæ;* et ideo est efficax ad infirmitatem tollendam. Unde in *Psalmi XXXII, 6*, dicitur: *Verbo Domini celi firmati sunt;* et *Sap. XVI, 12*: *Neque herba neque malagma sanavit eos, sed sermo tuus, Domine, qui sanat omnia.* Sed quia vivus est sermo Dei et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio accipiti, ut dicitur *Heb. IV, 12*, necessarium fuit ad hoc quod nobis medicina tam violenta proficeret, quod eo carnis nostre infirmitas adungeretur, ut nobis magis congrueret, *Heb. XI, 17*: *Debit per omnia fratribus assimilari, ut misericors fieret.* Et propter hoc, *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis: Joan. I, 14,*" etc. (*Tom. VII, Pars Altera, Comment. in Quartum Librum Sententiarum, p. 1.*)

§ See how, at this early date in his career, the Angelical understandings and strikes at the heresy of Avicenna and the Arabians. The difficulty is whether the soul can understand, when separated from the body. "Dicendum," says the Angelical, "quod ponentibus intellectum a

first part treats of the Sacraments, in general, and then goes on to speak of the Sacraments of the New Law in particular. Having touched, in general, on the requisites of Sacraments—the Sacraments, in detail, are then enlarged upon. First, of those generally necessary. Baptism: Whether the definition given be a good one; * whether the character is in the soul; whether this Sacrament takes away actual sin; † whether Christ, as man, had power to forgive sins; ‡ whether Baptism can be repeated. § Confirmation: which consists of three questions, and one distinction: Is Confirmation a Sacrament? does it impress a character? can one not ordained confirm? The Eucharist: which occupies six distinctions, twelve questions, and many articles. Penance, ¶ Confirmation, ¶ Orders, ** and Matrimony follow in their turn. †† The second portion of the work treats on the future resurrection, ‡‡ and the final reward. §§

This fourth book is full of interesting questions about the methods of Salvation. Here, the Angelical manifests his firm grasp of Catholic theology; and it is evident that he had deeply studied the splendid work of Hugh of S. Victor's on the Sacraments. Here, again, he shows that clear logical vision of truth, which made him not "*jurare in verba magistri*," and rendered him capable of stating his opinion, and holding his own. Nor did he either implicitly follow Hugh of S. Victor's, but kept to his own straight course, guided by those master-lights that God had given him for the service of the Church. For instance, there were many opinions as to whether there could have been Sacraments in the primitive condition of our nature. ||| Alexander of

potentis sensitivis differre, necesse est ponere intellectus substantiam incorruptibilem esse, eo quod necesse est eum immaterialem ponere, nec a materia secundum esse dependentem. Omne autem hujusmodi substantiam oportet incorruptibilem esse; quia materia, in quantum potest esse subiectum privationis et foras, est corruptionis causa in rebus materialibus. . . . Quidam vero hunc intellectum corruptibilem dixerunt non esse partem animæ humanæ, sed esse aliquam substantiam omnino a corpore separatam: animam vero humanam non dici intellectivam nisi secundum quandam participationem intellectualitatis ex refulgentia intellectus separati super ipsam; nam destructo corpore anima humana nec remanebat, nec aliquid intelligere poterat. . . . But Aristotle says, in 12 Metaph. (text. XIX): "Quod anima est talis dispositionis, ut scilicet possit separari non tota, sed intellectus. Ex quo patet quod intellectum, qui est pars animæ, ponit a corpore separari; et ideo oportet animam intellectivam, quæ est anima humana, post corpus remanere, sicut fides ponit: et per consequens necesse est quod intelligat, cum intelligere sit ejus propria operatio." (Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Dist. L., Quest. I., Art. I., p. 124)

* IV. Dist. III., Quest. I.

† Dist. V.

‡ Dist. XIV.–XXII.

§ Dist. XXIV., XXV.

¶ Dist. XLIII., XLIV.

** Dist. XLIII., XLIV.

† Dist. IV.

‡ Dist. VI.

¶ Dist. XXXIII.

†† Dist. XXVI.–XLII.

‡‡ Dist. XLV.–L.

||| The cause of the institution of the Sacraments is given well by the Lombard, and quite in his own style: "Triplici autem de causa sacramenta instituta sunt: propter humiliationem, eruditionem, exercitationem. Propter humiliationem quidem, ut dum homo in sensibilibus rebus, quæ natura infra ipsum sunt, ex præcepto creatoris se reverendo subiecit, ex hoc humilitate et obedientia Deo magis placeat, et ut apud eum mereatur, cujus imperio salutem querit in inferioribus se, etsi non ab illis, sed per illa a Deo. Propter eruditionem etiam instituta sunt, at per id quod foris in specie visibili cernitur, ad invisibilem virtutem, quæ intus est, cognoscendam mens erudiatur. Homo enim qui ante peccatum sine medio Deum videbat, per peccatum a Deo habuit ut nequaquam divina queat capere, nisi humanis exercitiis. Propter exercitationem similiter instituta sunt: quia cum homo otiosus esse non possit, proponitur ei utilis et salubris exercitatio in sacramentis, quæ variam et noxiam declinet occupationem, non enim facile capitur a tentatore qui bono vacat exercitio. Unde Hieronymus (in Epist. ad Rustic.) monet: Semper aliquid boni operis facito, ut te occupatum diabolus inveniat." (Tom. VII., Dist. I. De causa institutionis sacramentorum, p. 453.)

Hales, as has been seen, argued for the affirmative. The Lombard, on his own principles, had to deny it; and, inasmuch as he admitted that the knowledge of our first parents came from Divine illumination, S. Thomas agreed with him. But there is another question, on which the Saint quite parted company with him; and this was with regard to the effects of the Sacraments of the Old Law. He also disagrees, on this subject, with Hugh of S. Victor's. He joins issue with the Lombard, for making too little of them; and with Hugh, for exalting them too much.*

The Angelical explains his meaning thus: with regard to the "*opus operatum*" of the sacraments of the Old Law, there are two opinions. One maintains that the *opus operatum* was a sign of the Sacraments of the New Law, and of the passion of Christ, in which their efficacy lies, and that, indirectly, the Sacraments of the Old Law justified, through the Sacraments of the New, to which the *opus operatum* referred, whilst our Sacraments justify directly and immediately, because they are instituted for that end. Such was the opinion of Hugh of S. Victor's.†

But this opinion does not appear, says the Angelical, to tally with the *dicta* of the saints, who said, that the Law was the occasion of death, inasmuch as it was a token of sin, and did not confer assisting grace.‡ And besides, if this were so, there would not be any, or if any, a very slight pre-eminence of the Sacraments of the New Law over those of the Old. And therefore, others say, and with greater truth, that the Sacraments of the Old Law—that is, the *opus operatum* in them—by no means conferred grace, with the exception of Circumcision, which will be spoken of later.

If the Angelical did not agree with Hugh, on the *opus operatum*; he did not hold with the Lombard, on the *opus operans*.

On this, says the Saint, there are two opinions. Some have said that the use itself of the Sacraments of the Old Law was not meritorious, even if accompanied by faith and charity: and this

* Here are two arguments used by the Angelical to prove that the Sacraments of the Old Law did not confer grace. To those who affirm they did confer grace, he replies:—"Sed contra, Hebr. X., 4: *Impossibile est sanguine hircorum et taurorum auferri peccata. Sed gratia tollit peccatum. Ergo antiqua sacramenta gratiam non conferebant. Præterea, per gratiam est vita animæ. Sed de præceptis veterum sacramentorum dicitur, Ezech. XX., 25: Dedi eis præcepta non bona, et iudicia in quibus non vivent. Ergo gratiam non conferebant.*" (*Dist. I., Quest. I., Art. V., p. 465.*)

† "Omnia enim illa superioris temporis sacramenta, sive sub naturali lege, sive sub scripta; signa quedam fuerunt et figure eorum quæ nunc sub gratia exhibita sunt sacramentorum. Et ideo effectum spirituales quem suo tempore operabantur, posita pro istis: illa virtute et sanctificatione operabantur, quam sumpserunt ab istis." (*vid. Patrol. Tom. CLXXVI.; Hugo de S. Victore, De Sacramentis, Pars. XI., De Naturali, Lege, Cap. I., p. 343.*) Again: "Passio namque Salvatoris, quæ primo loco sacramenta gratiæ ad effectum salutis sanctificat, mediantibus istis etiam illa prioris temporis sacramenta sanctificabat, ut eadem salus esset, et his qui recta fide signa futurorum in illis venerati sunt, et his qui effectum salutis in istis percipiunt." (*Ibid., Cap. II., De Prima differentia precedentium et subsequentium sacramentorum.*)

‡ "Sed hæc opinio non videtur convenire dictis sanctorum: dicunt enim, quod lex erat occasio mortis, inquantum ostendebat peccatum, et gratiam adiutricem non conferebat." (*Dist. I., Quest. I., Art. V., Quæstion. III., p. 466.*)

is what the Master seems to say in the text. But it seems absurd that the use which the holy fathers made of these Sacraments, was not acceptable to God, and that a work of virtue can be without merit. And so it is commonly held that their use, if associated with charity, is meritorious.*

The Lombard held the opinion that, under the Law, a child, who died before his eight days were accomplished, and had not been circumcised, would lose eternal happiness; and that it was allowable in case of danger, to anticipate the circumcision.

Both these opinions were rejected by S. Thomas. He answers thus: Some say that there was no necessity for anticipating the day, for in case of death, children had the advantage of the same means of Salvation that existed before Circumcision was introduced; and this is the opinion of Hugh of S. Victor's. And as to the practice of anticipating the day, the Saint proves, by referring to the custom of the Jews of his day, and to the Gloss on Proverbs IV., that such an idea had never been entertained.

Several questions with regard to Circumcision, its object, and its effects, are also treated by the Angelical, in which he lucidly advances various opinions, and gives reasons for his own; showing where the Lombard states views which are not in keeping with sound logic, or tradition.

One of the greatest slips made by the Lombard, and of which Hugh is also guilty, is when he says: "Those who are excommunicated, or are manifestly stained with heresy, are not able, it seems, to consecrate, although they are priests. . . ." And after giving a quotation, as from S. Augustine—which is to be found in none of his works—he continues: "From this it follows that a heretic, cut off from the Catholic faith, cannot consecrate." †

To this, S. Thomas says distinctly: "On the contrary, a priest has the power of consecrating, from the character he possesses. But the character remains in a heretic, schismatic, and an excommunicated person: therefore, they can consecrate; moreover, the 'quality' of a person is only required in an act proper to the person. But consecration is not a personal act of the priest himself. Therefore, it is not impeded by his personal condition." ‡

* These are the Lombard's words:—"Quæ enim significandi gratia tantum instituta sunt, solum signa sunt, et non sacramenta: sicut fuerunt sacrificia carnalia, et observantia ceremoniales veteris legis, quæ nunquam poterant justos facere offerentes." (*Dist. I., Lib. IV., p. 453.*) On this S. Thomas says:—"Aliqui tamen excusant Magistrum, dicentes, quod ipse intellexerit ipsa opera operata non justificare quantumcumque in caritate fierent, quævis ipsa operatio ex caritate facta possit esse meritoria in eo qui est in statu merendi." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Quæstioncula III., Lib. IV., p. 466.*) "Quidam enim dixerunt, quod usus ipse non erit meritorius, etiamsi in fide et caritate fierent: et hoc videtur Magister in littera dicere. Sed hoc videtur absurdum, quod labores sanctorum patrum in huiusmodi sacramentis Deo accepti non fuerint, et quod opus virtutis possit esse non meritorium." (*Dist. I., Quæst. I., Art. V., Quæstioncula III., Solutio II., p. 466.*)

† *IV. Dist. XII., Quæst. I., Art. I., Quæstioncula III., Vol. VII., p. 670.*

‡ "Ex his colligitur quod hæreticus a catholica fide præcisus nequeat hoc sacramentum

In the same manner, the Angelical steers his independent course through other false doctrines of the Lombard: upon the power of simoniacal bishops with regard to ordinations, with regard to the conditions of bigamy, and other questions relating to marriage.

This treatment of the Commentary may be becomingly concluded by giving his views on a question of special interest in this country—that of heresy.*

He says that heresy is a Greek word, signifying choice, according to S. Isidore †—hence, things divisible are called heretical. And because, by choosing, a division is made of one from another, choice is called *pro-hæresis*, as is evident from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Now, division results from a part receding from the whole. But the first assembly amongst men was based on knowledge from which all others arise; hence, heresy consists in an individual opinion, which differs from the common opinion. Hence, some philosophers, who held certain positions, opposed to the common opinion of others, established sects, or heresies, proper to themselves. And, as he only is called irascible who is easily angry, so, no one is called a heretic, unless he has an unmoved stability in his own opinion. Wherefore, also, the word heresy, in as far as it signifies choice, is applicable to him; because what is done by choice, proceeds, as it were, from a confirmed habit. The word heresy is applicable to him also in its Latin signification of adhering; because he adheres pertinaciously to his opinion; and because the congregation of the mystical body is constituted, primarily, by the unity of the true faith; hence, he is a heretic, according to us, who departs from the common faith, and pertinaciously adheres, through choice, to the contrary opinion.

What sort of sin is heresy? A thing is called evil, because it is

conficere, quia sancti Angeli, qui hujus mysterii celebrationi assistant, tunc non adsuat quando hæreticus et simoniacus hoc mysterium temerarie celebrare præsumit. Non enim dubitari licet ubi corporis dominici et sanguinis mysteria geruntur, supernorum civium adesse conventus. In hujus autem mysterii expletione sicut formam servari, ita ordinem haberi, scilicet ut sit sacerdos, et intentionem adhiberi, oportet, ut illud facere intendat. Si non credit de illo mysterio, sicut veritas habet, nunquid potest intendere illud conficere? Et si non intendit, nunquid conficit? Aliqui dicunt, etiam non recte de illo mysterio sentientem posse intendere, non quidem illud conficere, quod jam esset recte credere; sed id agere quod geritur ab aliis dum conficitur, et sic adhibetur intentio; et si intentio dicatur deesse conficiendi illud mysterium, tamen ex quo intendit ea dicere et agere quæ ab aliis geruntur impletur mysterium." (Tom. VII. Pars Altera, *Distinct.* XIII., *Lomb.*)

* "Nomen *hæresis* græcum est, et electionem importat secundum Isidorum (Lib. 8 *Etymologiarum*, Cap. III.); unde et hæretica divisiva dicitur. Et quia in electione fit divisio nihil ab altero, electio *pro-hæresis* dicitur, ut patet 9 *Metaphys.* (text X.). Divisio autem contingit alieni parti per recessum a toto. Præterea autem congregatio, quæ est in hominibus, est per viam cognitionis, quia ex hac omnes alii oriuntur; unde et hæresis consistit in singulari opinione præter communem opinionem . . . neque hæreticus nominatur nisi qui in singulari opinione firmam habet stabilitatem, unde etiam competit ei nomen *hæresis*, secundum quod in electionem sonat: quia quod in electione fit, quasi ex habitu firmato procedit. Competit ei etiam nomen *hæresis*, secundum quod latinum est, ab hærendo dictum; quia suæ opinioni vehementer inhaeret. Et quia congregatio corporis mystici per unitatem veræ fidei primo constituitur, ideo hæreticus secundum nos dicitur qui a communis fide, quæ catholica dicitur, discedit, contrariis opinioni vehementer inhaerens per electionem." (Tom. VII., Lib. IV., *Dist.* XIII., *Quest.* II., *Art.* II., p. 671.)

† Lib. VIII., *Etymologiarum*, Cap. III.

hurtful. Hence, because heresy is more hurtful than any other sin—because it subverts the foundation of all good, without which nothing good remains—of its own nature it is the greatest of all sins, although, by accident, some other sin might be more grievous.* The third article of this Distinction—whether heretics are to be tolerated, I leave to the consideration of the reader.† And now it is time to pass on to the other labours of the Saint. Great, indeed, was the labour he went through in collecting materials for, and giving, these lectures. Though not so systematic—or rather scientific, as his later works, they show clear signs of his ability to take a large view, and to embrace, in the unity of a master conception, the elements of the noblest of sciences. His ingenuity in the discovery of proofs, the keen edge he brings to cut through a fallacy, and the luminousness of his expositions—all these specialities manifest themselves at every turn. Considerable space has been dedicated to the consideration of this, his first important work, for it contains, as in a quarry, the materials of his other labours, and is nothing but the *Summa* in its undigested form, shorn of the perfections of its scientific unity, and the greater precision of its more matured thought.

But the main aim of this chapter has been to manifest, in as unmistakable a manner as possible, the independence of the Saint's genius; and the extraordinary power that he had of guiding himself securely and steadily—like some great ship—amongst the shoals and quicksands of unsound propositions; and how he was never for a moment beguiled from the straight course of truth, by his undoubted reverence and admiration of Albertus Magnus and the Lombard.

It was such steadiness as this which was particularly wanted in his day. There was no lack of mere talent in the schools; indeed, there was too much talent of one sort, and not enough ballast to keep it in the right direction. The more ability a man is gifted with, the greater his power, and the more swift the *elan* of his mind, so much the more should his moral nature be thoroughly

* "Unumquodque dicitur malum quia nocet. Unde enim hæresis plus noceat quam aliquod aliud peccatum, quia subvertit fundamentum omnium bonorum, sine quo nihil boni remanet: ideo hæresis est ex genere suo maximum peccatorum, quamvis ex accidenti aliquod peccatum possit esse gravius; sicut si multum cresceret contemptus Dei in aliquo quod tamen ex genere suo esset veniale. Sed de eo quod est secundum accidens, non est curandum in arte, ut Philosophus dicit in 5 Ethic., Cap. ult." (*Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Lib. IV., Dist. XIII., Art. II., p. 678.*)

† This is what the Saint says, however:—"Hæresis est infectivum vitium; unde 2 Timoth., II., 16, dicitur, quod multum proficiunt ad impietatem, et sermo eorum ut cancer serpit: et ideo Ecclesia eos a consortio fidelium excludit, et præcipue illos qui alios corrumpunt; ut simplices, qui de facili corrumpi possunt, ab eis sint segregati non solum mente, sed etiam corporaliter; unde per Ecclesiam carcerantur et expelluntur. Si autem alios non corrumpunt, possent etiam celari. Sed illi qui sunt firmi in fide, possunt cum eis corpore conversari, ut eos convertant; non tamen in divinis, quia excommunicati sunt. Sed iudicio seculari possunt licite occidi, et bonis suis spoliari, etsi alios non corrumpant; quia sunt blasphemii in Deum, et fidem falsam observant; unde magis possunt puniri isti quam illi qui sunt rei criminis læsæ maiestatis, et illi qui falsam monetam eudunt." (*Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Lib. IV., Dist. XIII., Quest. II., Art. III., p. 678.*)

well trained, and firmly fixed in the immovable principles of Religion. What is the history of nearly all the heresiarchs? Is it that they went wrong through ignorance, or slowness in comprehending? Is it that they could not see their way on account of the slenderness of their gifts? We know well that it was nothing of the sort. They have been, for the most part, men of exceptional parts—men, naturally, of breadth and depth of mind—men whose very eagerness for knowledge led them on till they were unable to stop themselves, and were finally lost. There was plenty of propelling power in them, but they wanted direction. Their very talents were the instruments of their destruction, and they fell away because, at length, they trusted to human ingenuity, human reason, and creature gifts. The vast influences of supernatural religion withdrew themselves from them; humility, which is the basis of all lasting stability, melted out of their minds; self-distrust no longer was an element in their mental constitution; love, Divine love, gave place to the creature; reverence, as it ever does, fled away from pride, and self-assertion, and carnality; and man was left a play to every gust of folly and of fancy, stranded on the bleak and iron shore of materialism and sensuality. Any one who reads history must be aware that this is no fancy picture, but stern reality. Had the heresiarchs of old the four pillars of the monastic theology—love, reverence, adoration, and purity—firmly fixed within them, serving as the foundation for the superstructure of their speculations, they would have become, in all moral certainty, great lights and ornaments to the Church. The mere mention of these four gifts, in connection with misbelief, creates a jar in the mind, which is but the concussion that takes place in the moral order, when two mutually antagonistic elements are, for the moment, forced into the presence of each other.

Here it was that the Angelical had his great advantage. If his talents of reason and of intellect were of the rarest perfection; if he surpassed all in the natural power of his mind—he also surpassed all in the depth to which his humility sunk; in the intense-ness of his reverential temper; in his masterful power of Divine love; in the simplicity of his adoring spirit; in the touching and spotless purity of his heart and soul; in the depth, width, beauty, strength, and massiveness of the great pillars of the monastic life which upheld the groundwork of his entire man.

It was his keenness and readiness in these Commentaries on the Lombard, joined to his monastic stability of nature, that made him a centre immovable, round which less stable minds were glad to cluster and to rest. In the unsteady state of the Paris schools, as has been seen, such a calming element as this would be beyond

all price. Not merely the moral effect of the man's own stability, but the intellectual effect of instructions proceeding from such a source, must have worked with a mighty influence on minds seriously seeking after truth, and after that peace and rest which flow from truth. It is difficult fully to realize the power that one man can sway, when his talents and acquirements spring from a saintly soil, and when the general tenor of all around is that of uncertainty, instability, and doubt. Brilliancy and versatility of mind, quick flashes, and sudden evidences of superior gifts, count for little, where more solid, lasting qualities are wanting; indeed, amongst the thoughtful, they are absolute causes of distrust: for rapid streams are shallow, and the bright and sparkling cascade speaks of barren rocks, and stunted vegetation. If, in any man, brilliancy and solidity were ever united in perfection; if, in any man, the radiance of the one did not cast a doubt on the reality of the other, it was in the Angelical. In him, if in any one, the student may realize the perfection of his ideal; and whilst he marvels at the bright side of the Saint's character, he will never forget that the other side is to be wondered at still more—that side on which the grand broad virtues of Christianity, the simple, splendid gifts of God, conform man's nature to the image of Christ crucified. Yes! how bright, how strong, how deep, how marvellously gifted in heart and mind, was not the great Angelical!

CHAPTER XXI.

S. THOMAS MADE LICENTIAE.

ACCORDING to the usual custom, S. Thomas would now become Licentiate, and perform the necessary acts which led to the Doctor's cap. But, an impediment, created by one of those University brawls, for which Paris had an unhappy celebrity, stood in the way of his promotion to that distinguished honour.

The facts of the case were these. During the Lent, either of 1250 or 1253—authorities are not in accord—a party of tumultuous University scholars came into collision with the night patrol. The students, no doubt, were noisy and violent, and the patrol was no less determined to perform the duty of its office. Most likely the students—as was often the case in their night carousals—were none the better for drink. Anyhow, they were very unceremoniously attacked, one was killed outright, and three others, after having been heavily mauled, were hurried off to jail.*

The authorities of the University, who were excessively jealous of their rights, were greatly ruffled; they demanded the instant release of the incarcerated youths, and insisted upon those brutal keepers of the peace, who had murdered one student, and misused the others, being visited with condign punishment. The civic authorities let the students free, but did not seem at all inclined to punish the patrol, which according to their notions, had simply been carrying out its orders. But the University authorities thought otherwise, and resolved to abide by their opinion: they swore a solemn oath not to rest till justice had been done; and refused for two whole months, to lecture in the schools. They

* "In der Fastenzeit 1253 waren bei einem nächtlichen Tumulte von der Scharwache vier Studenten aufgegriffen worden; da sie sich widersetzten, so wurde einer derselben getödtet die übrigen schwer verwundet, in Haft gesetzt. Die Lehrer der Universität forderten ihre Freigebung, die auch sofort erfolgte; eine weitere Genugthuung jedoch, die überdiess verlangt wurde, war nicht zu erhalten. Demzufolge verpflichteten sich sämtliche Lehrer durch einen gemeinsamen Eid, nicht abzulassen, bis sie die Bestrafung der Scharwache durchgesetzt hätten, und stellten durch ein paar Monate ihre Vorlesungen ein. Die Lehrer aus den Mendicantenorden nahmen von dem Vorfalle keine Notiz und setzten ihre Vorlesungen fort. Endlich wurde die verlangte Genugthuung gewährt zwei der unglücklichen Häscher wurden zum Tode verurtheilt, die anderen des Landes verwiesen. Nun traten die Lehrer zusammen, und setzten als Beschluss fest, dass in Zukunft Niemand in was immer für einer Facultät als Magister zugelassen werden dürfe, wenn er nicht früher geschworen haben würde, alle Statuten der Universität zu beobachten, insbesondere jenes, welches man nunmehr festsetzte: es sei hinfort jeder Lehrer verpflichtet bei ähnlichen Fällen, wie der eben vorgekommene, die Vorlesungen einzustellen." (Werner, *Vol. I., Drittes Capitel*, p. 117.)

considered it their bounden duty thus, publicly, to protest against a gross infringement of their rights; and against the insult offered to their body by the officials of the town. This stand, made by the professors, brought into flame a fire which had been long smouldering—and which burnt fiercely for forty years, between the Mendicant Orders, and the Secular element of the University.* The explanation of the case is simple. The object of the professors, in shutting up the schools, was, evidently, by force of pressure, to compel the town authorities to bring the patrol to justice. The more effectually the schools were closed, so much the greater probability of the pressure taking effect. Hence, they were excessively mortified to find that the Mendicants by no means took the same view as themselves. For the friars to go on teaching, when the seculars were silent, was to suffer the infliction of a double blow. The professors felt, first, that their protest would lose the greater part of its force; and, secondly, that the friars would be daily gaining in popularity, and drawing crowds of their own students under the influence of S. Francis and S. Dominic.† Whether the astute superiors of S. James's, and other thoughtful men, had any eye to this, of course, one cannot tell. But this much is certain, that while the secular professors were silently waiting for their pressure to take effect, the Dominicans and Franciscans—the sole mouthpieces of learning—were lecturing away in the various chairs of the University. They simply did what they had done some twenty years before, when, during the regency of Blanche, the secular doctors, irritated by a similar provocation, had abandoned Paris altogether, and had settled themselves down to teach at Angers, Rheims, and different towns of Europe.‡

* "Alcuni scolari di quell' Università furono nottetempo assaliti da uomini d'arme; eglino secondo il modo della loro possibilità vollero difendersi ma senza pro, anzi con danno; chè uno di essi in istante fu morto, e gli altri, feriti e rubati, strascinati in carcere. L'Università fortemente se ne richiama; i prigionieri fur liberi, ma gli offensori non puniti; di che i Dottori alzarono la voce chiedendo giustizia. Non essendo di questo loro desiderio incontanente soddisfatti fermarono pressochè tutti di rimanersi dalle lezioni, e per ben due mesi se ne rimasero, dai Dottori regolari in fuori. Da ciò i Dottori secolari, i quali già move cose andavano volgendo fra sé, trassero cagione di volere eselsi della Università i Professori regolari, cioè a dire quelli dell'Ordine di S. Domenico, e dell'Ordine di S. Francesco; e a tutto potere con accorgimenti e sottili trovati si brigavano di venire al loro desiderio." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso D'Aquino*, seconda edizione, Cap. XVII., p. 66, 67.)

† The very lives of the Mendicants, when they were really good, was a power in the city. The following extract from a Sermon of the day shows this:—"Si m'ait Dieu, cil de Christians, cil de Prémonstré cil de Saint Benoît, cil de saint Augustin n'aront mie le pardon de paradis por noient. Certes moult à ennis l'achateriées autrestant comme il font; que sachiés, par bone foi, que dès le jor de la Sainte-Crois dusc'an Jor de Pasques, ne mengeront il jamais que tant jor tantes fois, ne jannis ne mengeront de char, ne jannis ne geront seur couce de plume, ne jannis ne parleront se pas cougé non, por parent ne por ami qui les voise visiter. Et si par aventure avenoit qu'il trespassé un seul point du commandement de lor rielle et avenist que il morent sans ce qu'il n'en eust esté à sainte confession et à repentance et à peueance ge n'en donroie pas une pome poirie." (*Anonyme d'Amiens, MSS. de D. Grenier, Vol. CLVIII., De La Marche, p. 334.*)

‡ "Les docteurs réguliers continnent cependant à puvrir leurs écoles, et ne croient pas devoir adopter pour eux-mêmes une semblable mesure. En cela ils ne faisaient qu'imiter la conduite de leurs prédécesseurs, qui avaient également refusé d'entrer dans cette sorte de conspiration, lorsque, dans une occasion toute pareille, en 1229, sous la minorité du roi et la régence de sa mère, les docteurs abandonnèrent la capitale pour se retirer en diverses villes du royaume." (*Bareille, Chap. XVI., p. 167, 168.*)

But the doctors of the University were not easily discouraged, and stood true to their first resolve. They finally obtained the redress they sought. The beadles had to expiate their rashness by punishment according to the customary law. Two of the patrol, who had been actively instrumental in killing the student, were condemned to death; the others, who had laid violent hands upon the three, were banished from the kingdom.

The doctors, having thus far achieved their end, determined to draw up regulations for future emergencies; and did their uttermost to bring the friars, whose stubbornness had nearly upset their plans, into agreement with their views. They called a meeting, at which they drew up an instrument, declaring that, for the future, no one could be admitted as master who had not sworn to observe all the laws of the University: and that law in particular which met the case in point. The doctors knew well what they were about. They made up their minds either to include the regulars in the oath, or to come to an open rupture. That no scruple should stand in the way of the Dominicans, this clause was inserted in the oath: "Provided there be nothing in these statutes forbidden by the rules of the Friars Preachers, of which I make profession; or contrary to honesty, or the salvation of souls, to human and Divine right, to the public good, or to the Holy Church of God.*"

But the regulars had no idea of taking the law from the authorities, and wished to maintain liberty of action. They felt no inclination to interfere with the views of the secular doctors, and expected the same liberty to be granted to themselves. In a word, they refused to take the oath: some say because they did not wish to compromise themselves; others because they could not, being religious, take any oath at all.†

This brought things to a climax. Since they would not fall in with the oath, the University issued a decree, declaring the friars excluded from its body, and deprived of their chairs.‡

* "Alors les Docteurs firent un Statut portant, qu'à l'avenir aucun ne seroit reçu Maître en quelque Faculté que ce fût, qu'il n'eût jéré d'observer tous les réglemens de l'Université, & en particulier le decret qu'on venoit de faire, pour ordonner la cessation des leçons dans des cas semblables à celui dont on vient de parler. Selon M. Dupin, afin que les Dominicains ne fissent aucune difficulté de prêter ce serment, on y ajouta ces paroles: *Pourvu qu'il n'y ait rien dans ces statuts de défendu par les règles des FF. Prêcheurs, dont je fais profession, ni de deshonnête, ou de contraire au salut des âmes, au droit humain & divin, à l'utilité publique, ou à la sainte Eglise de Dieu.* Cependant les deux Docteurs de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique, & celui des FF. Mineurs, qui professoient actuellement, n'ayant pas cru pouvoir s'engager, par serment à ce que l'on exigeoit d'eux, l'Université fit un autre decret, pour les déclarer exclus de son Corps, & privés de leurs Chaires." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p. 118.*)

† But S. Thomas does not seem to go so far, he says: "Non enim indiget dictum hominis confirmatione, nisi quia de eo dubitatur. Hoc autem derogat dignitati persone ut dubitetur de veritate eorum quæ dicit; et ideo personis magnæ dignitatis non convenit jurare. Propter quod dicitur, 2. Quest. V. Cap.—*Si quis presbyter, quod sacerdotes ex levi causa jurare non debent*; tamen pro aliqua necessitate vel magna utilitate licitum est eis jurare, et præcipue pro spiritualibus negotiis; pro quibus etiam juramenta competit præstare in solemnibus diebus, quibus est Spiritualibus rebus vacandum. Non autem tunc sunt juramenta præstanda pro rebus temporalibus, nisi forte ex magna necessitate." (Tom. III., *Secunda Secundæ, Quest. LXXXIX., Art. X., p. 334.*)

‡ Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p. 118.* Bareille, *Chap. XVI., p. 168.* Gibelli, *Cap. XVII., p. 68.* Werner, *Cap. III., p. 117.*

The regulars appealed, as is natural for regulars to do, to Rome; and did not omit to place their case before the brother of S. Louis, who governed France in the absence of the sovereign. But the viceroy could effect nothing. Pope Innocent sided with the friars, and commissioned the Bishop of Evreux to re-establish them in their chairs, and to visit with ecclesiastical censures any who should presume to oppose such a design. To make things all the more secure, the Holy Father addressed a Brief to Master Luke, Canon of Paris, to the same end; and the Canon, without waiting the issue of a counter appeal to the Holy See, carried out, without delay, the instructions he had received.*

Meanwhile, the University was not idle; it published its decree of exclusion, and addressed a long letter to the French bishops, describing the state of affairs at Paris, and begging for their protection. At this juncture, things were complicated by the death of Innocent IV., at Naples. However, the Cardinals assembled, without delay, for the election of a successor; notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country, in consequence of the victories of Manfred, son of Frederick II. The new Pope took the name of Alexander IV., and, naturally, was desirous to inaugurate his reign by an act of clemency and justice.† Feeling all the charity of a common father towards the contending parties at Paris, and being conscious that, as long as learned ecclesiastics spent their energies in mutual recriminations, the cause of charity and science could not possibly be served, he published a Bull, by which he hoped to bring about a reconciliation. This Bull begins with the words: "As the Tree of Life," and speaks, in glowing terms, of the services rendered by the University of Paris to the Catholic world. He compares it to the Tree of Life, planted in the midst of a terrestrial paradise; to a lamp of brightness in the House of the Lord; and declares that from it, as from a source, flow the waters of wisdom over the face of the sterile earth.‡ Having thus

* "Ceux-ci portèrent leurs plaintes au Pape Innocent IV. & au Comte de Poitiers, Alphonse frere de Saint Louis, qui gouvernoit le Royaume, pendant l'absence de Roi. Ce Prince n'ayant pu porter les parties à un accommodement, le Pape donna commission à l'Evêque d'Evreux, de rétablir les Docteurs Réguliers, avec pouvoir de se servir des censures Ecclesiastiques, contre tous ceux qui feroient opposition à leur rétablissement. Sa Sainteté adressa un autre Bref pour le même sujet, & avec le même pouvoir, à Maître Luc Chanoine de Paris, lequel nonobstant l'appel interjeté au Saint Siège, exécuta ponctuellement les ordres du Pape en faveur des Réguliers. L'Université fit publier en même tems son Decret de séparation, & adressa une longue lettre à tous les Evêques du Royaume, pour les mettre au fait de ce qui se passoit à Paris & pour réclamer leur protection. Cette lettre est de l'année 1254." (Touren, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p. 119.*)

† "Sur ces entrefaites, c'est-à-dire dans l'année 1254. Innocent meurt dans la ville de Naples, emportant au tombeau la réputation d'un pontife aussi grand que pieux, léguant à l'Eglise une liberté désormais consolidée par son courage, au monde, l'exemple d'une justice que la puissance royale elle-même ne fit jamais varier. En presque immédiatement par les cardinaux réunis à Naples, sous la menace incessante des victoires de Manfred, fils et successeur de Frédéric II., Alexandre IV., signala le commencement de son pontificat par une bulle où il s'efforce de ramener la paix dans l'université de Paris, en faisant cesser le scandale de toutes ces querelles." (Bareille, *quatrième édition, Chap. XVI., p. 169.*)

‡ "Quasi lignum vite in Paradiso Dei et quasi lucerna fulgoris in domo Domini est in sancta ecclesia Parisiensis studii disciplina. Hæc quippe velut fecunda eruditiois parens ad irrigandum sterilem orbis faciem fluvius de fontibus sapientiæ salutaris cum impetu foras mittens,

paved the way, he enters into business, and says that, having heard the Procurators of both sides, he judges it expedient to modify the statutes of the University according to a Constitution of Gregory IX. He then prescribes in what way the Chancellor is to give licenses, and leaves him to determine, both with regard to regulars, as well as seculars, the number that it may be advisable to admit. Regarding the main point, he makes use of the usual *mezzo termine*: for whilst he confirms the decree of the doctors, binding all to stop teaching in case of insult—if satisfaction be not afforded; he re-establishes the Dominican and Franciscan professors; revokes all decrees issued against them; commands the secular doctors to receive them, and to live with them in peace.* To ensure the operation of this Bull, the Holy Father commissioned the Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre to see it put in execution; and, above all, to restore to their professorial chairs the two Dominican doctors, Bonus-homo and Elias Brunetus.

It would naturally be imagined that so explicit a pronouncement as that of Pope Alexander would have removed all possibility of mistaking his meaning; but men who have started on a wrong course, especially when it is a course mixed up with pride, and pushed forward by passion, often cannot bring themselves to see the clearest orders of the Holy See, when they militate against their own idea. The celebrated William of S. Amour, who, with his followers, was the originator of this attack upon the Mendicants, made up his conscience that his party, in spite of the Papal order, could still oppose the re-establishment of the friars in their academic rights.† The sophism he and his followers used was this: they withdrew for a time from the colleges in which they

ubique terrarum Dei lætificat civitatem et in refrigerium animarum flagrantium siti justitiæ, aquas doctrinæ dividit publice in plateis. Ibi unum ordinatus est per providentiam conditoris ad opus ad custodiam doctorum ordo precipuus, ut ad vitæ fructum rationabilis creatura deducat affectum, ut in gustum mortis vitæ veteris prævaricationis illecebra seducatur. Ibi humanum genus originalis ignorantie cæcitate deformæ per cognitionem veriluminis, quam scientia pietatis assequitur, reddita visionis specie reformatur. Ibi precipue dat Dominus Sponsæ suæ os et Sapientiam ac linguam mysticis eloquiis eruditam, cui resistere nequit omnis adversitas improborum. Ut igitur consortii vestri communicabile ac commune omnibus bonum omnis pacis custodia servare curemus” (*Bullarium, Ordo. FF. Præd., Tom. I., p. 276, Romæ, 1729.*)

* “Er giebt Weisungen, nach welchen der Kanzler in Zukunft die Lizenzen ertheilen soll, und gestattet ihm, sie an so Viele, als derselbe für erspriesslich hält, zu verwilligen, mögen die Candidaten des Lehrauftrags aus dem Säkular-oder Regularstande sein; er bestätigt den Beschluss der Universität, in Fällen ähnlicher Art, wie der kürzlich vorgekommene, durch Einstellung der Vorlesungen sich Geunthnung zu erzwingen: die Doctoren der beiden Mendicantenorden werden in ihre Rechte wieder eingesetzt und Alles für ungültig erklärt, was gegen sie unternommen worden oder in dieser Angelegenheit noch unternommen werden könnte; die weltlichen Lehrer werden beauftragt, sich mit ihnen in christlichem Frieden zu vertragen.” (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 119.*)

† “Dagegen excipirte nun Wilhelm von St. Amour mit mehreren Anderen, eben jene Partei, die schon bei Innocenz den Dominicanern die zuvor erwähnte Rüge zuwege gebracht hatte. Sie zogen sich auf einige Zeit von den Hörsälen der Universität zurück und antworteten der Aufforderung, den Weisungen des Papstes sich zu fügen, die Bulle gehe sie nichts an, da sie sich nicht mehr zum Universitätskörper rechneten. Die beiden Bischöfe wollten mit Censuren gegen sie vorgehen; sie appellirten aber an den Papst und erklärten, dass sie lieber in ihr Vaterland zurückkehren als einem für sie in keiner Weise befriedigenden Antrage der Sache sich fügen wollten; der Papst möge die Excommunication zurücknehmen und sie in ihre vorigen Rechte wieder einsetzen. Der Papst hörte auf diese Bitten nicht, sondern erliess verschärfte Weisungen.” (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 119.*)

had been accustomed to teach, and then declared that since they had left the University, the Bull of Pope Alexander did not apply to them. The two Bishops had a mind to visit them with censures; but they made an appeal to the Holy See, which, it must be confessed, bore very much the appearance of a threat: they protested that they would either transfer their schools elsewhere, or altogether retire from the responsibilities of teaching, to the liberty and repose afforded by their own country, rather than acquiesce in a measure which met their wishes in no way whatsoever. They begged the Holy Father to remove the excommunication which was upon them, and to restore them to their former position. But Pope Alexander would not hearken to them. He was determined to have the "*Quasi lignum*" put in force, and to that end, issued orders more stringent than those he had given before.

At this juncture, King Louis returned, after six years' absence, from his first expedition against the infidel.* The troubles of the University were quickly brought before him. It pained him excessively to hear of the scandal of priests and religious carrying on uncharitable war. He especially felt it in this instance, since his two favorite Orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, were compromised in the matter. Naturally, he at once set about trying to bring all parties to an accommodation. He stopped the execution of the Papal Briefs. He hoped, without appealing to force, or to his kingly authority, by means of the joint remonstrances of the bishops, to prevail upon the litigating parties to settle their quarrels by arbitration—putting the whole case into the hands of the Archbishops of Bourges, Rheims, Sens, and Rouen.† These four prelates declared themselves willing to carry out the wishes of so holy a prince—of one who, not only had ever shown great esteem for the Episcopate, but had so tender an affection for the Orders of S. Dominic and S. Francis, that he is said to have declared that if he were able to divide himself in two, he would give one half to S. Dominic, and the other to S. Francis.‡ The archbishops, in due course, assembled, and, having heard each of the opposing parties, and having called in the assistance of other distinguished ecclesiastics, brought things, as they imagined,

* "Saint Louis heureusement de retour de la Palestine; pour étouffer ces contestations, & rétablir la paix dans l'Université, arrêta d'abord l'exécution des derniers Brefs; & quoiqu'il pût commander avec autorité, il aima mieux dissent les Historiens, joindre ses remontrances, à celles des Evêques assemblés à Paris, pour engager les uns & les autres, à s'en rapporter au jugement des Archevêques de Bourges, de Reims, de Sens, et de Kolien. Ces quatre Prélatz se prêterent avec joie aux intentions pacifiques d'un si saint Monarque, qui honoroit de ses bontés un des plus illustres Corps de son Royaume; & qui en même tems aimoit si particulièrement les Religieux de saint Dominique." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VI., p. 120.*)

† "Le saint roi nomma comme arbitres les archevêques de Bourges, de Reims, de Sens et de Rouen." (Bareille, *Chap. XVI., p. 171.*)

‡ "Ludwig d. H. wünschte, dass diese Versammlung [*Paris synod*] auch über den Streit zwischen der Pariser Universität und den Mendicanten, deren Zulassung zum Lehramt betreffend, entscheide; aber sie wies die Sache von sich und es wurde dafür eine Commission von vier Erzbischöfen von Sens, Rheims, Bourges und Rouen bestellt." (Hefele, *B. VI., § 673, p. 45.*)

to an amicable arrangement. The conditions which they thought fair were as follows: The Dominicans were to be permitted, by the secular doctors, to possess, *in perpetuum*, their two chairs of theology, but upon three conditions—first, that they should give up the Bulls, which they had obtained from Rome; secondly, that they should not procure any others which were hurtful to the interests of the University; and thirdly, that they should use all their influence with the Pope, to induce him to recall all the edicts which had been issued in their favour by Innocent IV., and by himself, since the beginning of the disturbances.* To these conditions, both the seculars and the regulars agreed. And it is alleged that the Dominicans, in the fullness of their gratitude for the benefits which the University had lavished upon them in the past, did all they could to induce the Holy See to recall the instruments it had published in their favour.†

Whether they knew the character of Alexander IV. sufficiently to read what course he would pursue, it is impossible to know for certain. It is, no doubt, a far easier thing to give way, if one's interests are attacked, when it is pretty certain that a stronger power will be ready to support them, than to give way when there is no prospect of any help at all. The Dominicans could afford to act a graceful part, as long as Alexander was in reserve. Their interests, by such a policy, far from being put in danger, would become infinitely safer than before; and it is hardly imaginable that men, so intimately connected with the Court of Rome, would not have made a pretty shrewd guess, that Pope Alexander would hardly consider himself respectfully treated, when his own business was taken, unasked, out of his hands; his rescripts abolished; and petitions made to him to reverse a method of procedure which, with full deliberation, and in a most formal manner, he had thought it his duty, as father of the faithful, to adopt.

Whatever shrewdness the friars may have possessed, the Holy Father took that course of action which, under the circumstances, alone was open to him.‡ He issued a new Bull (June 17, 1256),

* "Les Archevêques nommés ayant donc entendu les parties, & conféré sur cela avec plusieurs autres Prélats, ils prononcèrent enfin le premier de Mars 1356. & firent convenir les Intéressés d'un accommodement, selon lequel les Docteurs Seculiers consentoient que les Dominicains possédassent à perpétuité les deux Chaires de Théologie, à certaines conditions, dont l'une étoit, qu'ils renonceroient aux Bulles qu'ils avoient obtenues, & qu'ils n'en solliciteroient point d'autres, qui pussent être contraires aux intérêts de l'Université; qu'ils s'emploieroient au contraire, pour obtenir du saint Siège, la révocation de tout ce que les deux Papes, Innocent IV. & Alexandre IV. avoient déjà prononcé en leur faveur, depuis le commencement de ces démêlés." (Tonron, *Lib. III, Chap. VI, p. 120.*)

† Tonron, *Liv. II, Chap. III, p. 121.*

‡ Speaking of those prelates appointed by King Louis to bring the Regulars and the Seculars to a mutual understanding, Barcille says:—"Le jugement de ces prélats, dont les dispositions ménageaient également les intérêts des deux partis, semblait devoir rétablir entre eux la paix et la concorde; mais il blessait trop directement les droits du saint-siège et les décisions qu'il avait rendues à ce sujet. Le pape crut enfin devoir sévir contre les principaux auteurs de la rébellion, par une nouvelle bulle du 18 juin 1256; Guillaume de Saint-Amour, leur véritable chef, Odon de Douai, Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube, et Chrétien de Beauvais, y étaient nommément privés de leurs bénéfices, de leurs dignités et de leurs chaires. Ils demeurèrent ainsi frappés

in which he freely spoke his mind. He declared that the whole matter of the accommodation had been carried through without his having been consulted, and in the teeth of his express decrees. And he declared William of Saint Amour, Odo of Douay, Nicholas of Bar, and Christian, Canon of Beauvais—whom he looked upon as the originators of this disorder—by name, deprived of all their grades and benefices; and he forbade them to teach, and inhibited any one from taking lessons from them. Moreover, he ordered them to be driven out of the kingdom, and instructed the Bishop of Paris to confer their benefices on other subjects; and threatened their adherents with a like penalty, if, within fifteen days of its publication, the Bull were not obeyed.* At the end of the same month, the Holy See issued two other decrees, confirming the action that had already been taken.

These measures of Rome may look to some as bordering on severity; but, in reality, they were acts of the greatest and wisest mercy. It was an assertion of the first principle of order, and a blow at the principle of anarchy. King Louis, in his charity and haste, overstepped the bounds of his authority; and the bishops who fulfilled his behest, trenched upon the prerogatives, and interfered with the right, of the supreme power. Without a bold, unflinching assertion of his position, Pope Alexander might have brought such difficulties upon the government of the Church, as would have hampered its free action, and so have injured the noblest instrument of justice and humanity on earth.†

Meanwhile, the regulars continued their public teachings in Scripture and Theology. Since the beginning of the year 1256, S. Thomas had been lecturing as Licentiate, and his great reputation drew to his schools the most promising intelligences of the day.‡ The way in which he was introduced to his new office,

de ce silence qu'ils avaient suspendu sur la tête du public comme une orgueilleuse menace, auquel ils avient voulu réduire, en effet, les docteurs réguliers." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas D'Aquin*, Chap. XVI., p. 171.)

* "Il demanda qu'ils fussent chassés du Royaume; enjoignit à l'Evêque de Paris, de donner leurs bénéfices; & déclara qu'il puniroit les autres de même peine, s'ils n'obéissoient quinze jours après la publication de ses Bulles. Ces mêmes ordres furent confirmés par deux autres Decrets, qui émanèrent de sa Sainteté sur la fin du même mois. On vit donc disparaître encore une fois les douces espérances de la paix, qu'on avoit commencé de goûter." (Tournon, *Liv. II.*, Chap. VI., p. 121.)

† The organization of the Church—her Divine polity being constructed by Divine wisdom—is the only system in the world which has been saved from the jars and contentions of restless and clever minds. Men may try and improve upon the systems of secular government; they may one day prefer one form, another day, another; and may, and will, continue thus vacillating to the end; for man is not more than man, he is, that is to say, a frail, changeable creature; and his creations bear upon them the stamp of his own frailty. But one organism he must leave alone: one power he must look up to and not meddle with; and that one power—the one stable centre amongst men—is the universal Church of God, established by Christ, and filled with His Holy Spirit.

‡ "Cependant les Docteurs Réguliers continuoient toujours les leçons publiques; & la réputation de saint Thomas augmentoit tous les jours, avec le nombre des Ecoliers, qui profitoient de ses instructions. Déjà depuis le commencement de cette année 1256, il enseignoit comme Licentié: ce qui paroît par le Bref, que le Pape venoit d'adresser au Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris, pour lui marquer sa satisfaction, de ce qu'il avoit prévenu ses lettres Apostoliques, & rempli ses desirs, en accordant la Licence à cet excellent Religieux, si recommandable par son illustre naissance, par l'innocence de sa vie, & par le trésor de science, & de doctrine, que le Seigneur avoit mis en lui." (Tournon, *Liv. II.*, Chap. VI., p. 122.)

speaks for the high esteem in which he was held, both at Paris and at Rome—not only by the Chancellor, but by the Pope. Without waiting for the Papal Rescript, the Chancellor appointed him to lecture in the schools; upon which, the Holy Father addresses a letter to that dignitary expressing his satisfaction that he has anticipated the Apostolic wishes by bestowing the Licentiate upon “Brother Thomas of Aquino, of the Order of Preachers, a man eminent for his birth, and for his virtues, and for the treasure of science with which God has enriched him.”* The Saint took no notice of the contests raging around him. Not that he was callous to what was going on; not that he did not pray, and inflict penance upon himself, to the end that all might co-operate to the advantage of religion; but he never entered into strife, without being forced to it by obedience and necessity. His only reply to William of S. Amour, and his associates, and to the violent onslaughts that were made upon the Order, and upon himself, was that of modest silence and humility. He lived in a region far more serene than that of ecclesiastical jealousies; and treated with disregard the bitter and perseverant assaults made upon his character. As long as he was permitted to occupy his professorial chair, to preach, and to use his pen, he suffered little from the most vehement denunciations of passion and unreason.†

In fact, whilst others were wasting their energies in mutual recriminations, he was enjoying the sweetest and deepest of human gifts, the friendship of one, if not as able, at least as full of love as himself. Born at the foot of the beautiful mountains of Tuscany and Calabria, S. Bonaventure, like S. Thomas, was an Italian saint.‡ They were both about the same age—Bonaventure not being more than a twelvemonth older than his companion—and they both had dedicated their lives to God in the same year; the one joining

* “Delectabile nobis est audita percipere, quod te in his promptum reddis, et vigilem, quæ pietatem continent, vel sapientem honestatem, prout patenter agnosciunt, quod fratri Thomæ de Aquino, Ordinis Predicatorum, viro utique nobilitate generis, ac morum honestate conspicuo, ac thesaurum literalis scientiæ per Dei gratiam assecuto, dedisti licentiam in facultate Theologica docendi, priusquam illic nostra literæ pervenirent, quas tibi super hoc specialiter mittebamus. Quia vero condescensum est, ut huiusmodi negotium, a te laudabiliter inchoatum, festinum habeat exitum, et felicem, devotionem tuam attente rogandum duximus, et monendum, per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatenus eundem fratrem Thomam in predicta facultate cito facias regimini habere principium.” (Vide *Bullarium Ord. FF. Predic.*, Tom. I., p. 298.)

† “Nel Tempo della controversia, sebbene il nostro Santo fosse fatto segno agli strali della più sottile malizia, pure tenne sempre que' modi mansueti e soavissimi ch'erano da lui. Guglielmo da Sant' Amore dottore di Teologia nell'Università di Parigi, uomo di arditissimo e perverso ingegno, levosegli contra e trascorse ad accessi: ed egli fu tutto pazienza e lenità.” (Gibelli, *Cap. XVII.*, p. 55.)

‡ “San Bonaventura nacque in Bagnarea nell' anno 1221: entrò nell'Ordine di S. Francesco del 1243; ebbe a Maestro Alessandro di Ales; fu professore dell' Università di Parigi, e Generale dell' Ordine suo. I Cardinali si rimisero in lui, quanto all' eleggere un successore a Clemente IV.; e' propose Tibaldo arcidiacono di Liegi, il quale fu poi Gregorio X. S. Bonaventura fu da questo Pontefice creato Cardinale e Vescovo d'Alba; intervenne al secondo Concilio generale di Lione, e morì nel 1274. Fu chiarissimo di scienza e santità; Alessandro di Ales era usato di dire: *in fratre Bonaventura Adam pecasse non videtur*; da Lutero era chiamato *præstantissimus vir*. Scrisse molte opere, che sono Commenti sopra la Sacra Scrittura, e sopra il Maestro delle Sentenze, Sermoni, la Vita di S. Francesco, e preziose operette pertinenti a teologia morale e mistica. V. *San. Bonav. Opera, Maguntiae*—Molti filosofi moderni si son fatti belli di ciò che e' dice nella preziosa operetta: *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*.” (Gibelli, *Cap. XVII.*, p. 69, 70.)

the chivalrous S. Dominic, the other, that flame of love, S. Francis of Assisi. Both, at this period, were engaged in a similar pursuit: S. Thomas lecturing under a Dominican professor, and S. Bonaventure, under the Franciscan, John of Rochelle. Both men exhibited, in a striking manner, the fundamental quality of the Order to which they respectively belonged. They were eminently representative men. In them, dogma, in its purest, and mysticism, in its best, met, and embraced, with something like that transport which draws natures, as nearly as possible, into one. Whilst both were founded on the same Catholic principles; whilst both had the same aim—earnest, utter love of the One Supreme—each was different from the other, and each found in the other that which was wanting in himself; and in that sweet discovery, experienced the full harmony of his entire being.* Bonaventure loved to look into the placid, earnest soul of Thomas, as into a deep glassy sea, with its marvellous transparency, and awful stillness; whilst Thomas was roused and brightened by the ardent, outpouring nature of his friend. S. Thomas was Angelical, S. Bonaventure was Seraphic—the one, the deep thinker; the other, the tender poet.† Thomas was famous in the schools for the keenness of his thought, and for his depth and clearness; Bonaventure, for his eloquence and vivacity in exposition. Thomas, abandoning a high position, and bright prospects, hid himself in solitude, and sought an humble life; Bonaventure was born among the poor, and was elevated to the highest dignities of the Church. Thomas was, essentially, a child of contemplation; Bonaventure, of activity. Two characteristic and beautiful traits are related of these men: S. Thomas was in the habit of visiting, from time to time, his friend Bonaventure, and of discussing with him various religious questions of the day. On one occasion, as he entered Bonaventure's cell, with his *socius*, he perceived the Saint, deeply engrossed writing at his table. S. Thomas knew at once that he was com-

* Dante fully appreciated the relations of S. Thomas with S. Bonaventure.—“Entre ces deux hommes illustres,” says Ozanam, “se partageaient toutes les sympathies du philosophe poète. Ils avaient assez régné pour le laisser témoin du deuil qui accompagna leur mort. Il rencontrait dans le monde savant leur mémoire toute récente et toute-puissante, leurs enseignements et leurs vertus confondus encore en un même et vivant souvenir, et par conséquent le respect qu'ils inspiraient encore plein d'amour. Aussi traitait-il quelquefois avec eux comme avec de nobles mais bienveillants amis, citant à l'appui de ses opinions, avec une familiarité sublime, le bon frère Thomas . . . il plaçait dans une des plus belles sphères de son Paradis les deux anges de l'école; il les représentait dominant dans une souveraineté fraternelle la multitude bienheureuse des docteurs de l'Eglise.” (Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au XIII. e Siècle* (Ed. 2), *Partie III., Chap. III., p. 288, 289.*)

† Werner's appreciation of the Saints is worth recalling here:—“Thomas und Bonaventura waren jeder in ihrer Weise treue Repräsentanten des Geistes, welcher die Gründer der beiden Orden besetzt hatte; in ihrem heiligen Freundschaftsbunde umarmten sich die Genien der beiden unsterblichen Ordensstifter. In dem gemeinsamen Streben nach dem Einen Höchsten sich findend und verstehend, von gleicher Liebe zur Wissenschaft, von gleicher Sehnsucht nach den ewigen Dingen des Himmels besetzt, unterschieden sich dennoch beide von einander in solcher Art, dass jeder in dem anderen etwas fand, was ihn als ergänzender Gegensatz seines eigenen Wesens anzog und fesselte. In Thomas lebte der gedankentiefe Ernst der strengen methodischen Wissenschaft, in Bonaventura loderten die rasch entzündeten Flammen eines sinnigen, beweglichen Geistes, welcher durch seine Lebhaftigkeit anzog, während Thomas stille Achtung erweckte.” (*Vol. I., Cap. IV., p. 121, 122.*)

posing the life of S. Francis, so, turning to those present, he said to them: "Come away; let us not disturb a Saint, writing the life of a Saint."* On another occasion, S. Thomas called upon S. Bonaventure, and, during conversation, said to him: "Show me, my brother, the books out of which you get those sublime thoughts in your writings." "There is the book,"† replied S. Bonaventure, pointing to a figure of the Crucified, which hung before him. Then S. Bonaventure, on returning the visit of S. Thomas, perceived what none of his companions were privileged to see—viz., an angel actively assisting the Angelical in the composition of his treatise on the Blessed Sacrament. Rejoiced at beholding so beautiful and touching a picture, in order to attract his attention, S. Bonaventure said to the great Dominican: "Are you writing, my brother Thomas?" "Yes," replied the Angelical, "and I am writing about the Most Holy Body of Christ;" and from this answer, Bonaventure got to know that S. Thomas, besides being gifted with great natural talents, was illuminated also by a supernatural light.‡

Just as both Saints received their doctor's diploma on the same day, so both, after twenty years' labour for the Church, died in the same year; each giving his last energies in furtherance of that Council over which Bonaventure presided in the flesh, and over which, no doubt, S. Thomas presided in the spirit. If S. Thomas was called Angelical—in the words of Alexander of Hales: "Adam does not seem to have sinned in Bonaventure." Doubtless, Staudenmaier had such men as these before his mind, when he said that: "The acute and deep scholastics were, at the same time, high moral characters, pure, and in harmony with nature—exhibiting the wonderful phenomena of an interior Christian life."§

Nor was S. Thomas idle with his pen during the contests which were being waged by the University authorities. The Exposition of the Symbol of the Apostles, the Exposition of the Lord's

* "Andò un'altra volta Tomaso per visitar S. Bonaventura, e gli fu detto, ch'egli era attualmente occupato in iscrivere la vita del sno Padre S. Francesco. Onde Tomaso non volendolo disturbare, disse a' padri del Convento, che l'accompagnavano: *Sinamus Sanctum pro Sancto laborare.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 31.*)

† "Entrando un giorno nella cella di S. Bonaventura, pregollo a mostrargli que' libri, sopra de' quali studiava. Mostroglie alcuni pochi. c'haveva alle mani, ma non appagato Tomaso, gli fe muova istanza di poter leggere altri più segreti e rari, ond'ei ricoglieva sì esquisiti concetti e sì maravigliose sentenze. Allhora l'innuìl' e divoto Dottore additandogli un Crocifisso in pittura, che gli stava dirimpetto, con ogni candore soggiunse: *Habbiate per certo, Padre, ch'io studiando sn questo libro, traggo tutto quello, che leggo, predico, o scrivo, e che maggior lumen riceve l'anima mia a piè di questo Crocifisso, e in udire e servire alle Messe, ch'in tutti gli altri esercitj letterali.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 30.*)

‡ "Un'altra fiata occorre, che'l medesimo Santo restituendo la visita a Tomaso, mentreche questi presentualmente scriveva sopra il Santissimo Sagramento dell'Altare, vide un Angelo tuttoche a gli altri invisibile, che con la sna presenza il favoriva, e cou l'opera in questo altissimo suo componimento l'aiutava. Di sì lieto spettacolo maravigliandosi S. Bonaventura, per via d'interrogatione gli disse: *Fra Tomaso mio scrivete voi?* A cui egli soggiunse: *Sì, e scrivo del Corpo santissimo di Christo.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 31.*)

§ "S. Thomas d'Aquin et S. Bonaventura, qu'il faut rappeler ici comme deux gloires italiennes. *Moralistes profonds. Ils firent encore poétiquement inspirés, l'un quand il composa les hymnes qui, devaient un jour désespérer Sautenil; l'autre, lorsqu'il écrivit le cantique traduit par Cornille.*" (Ozanam's *Dante, Partie I., Chap. III., p. 99, 100.*)

Prayer, and the Angelical Salutation; one Opusculum, on the Ten Commandments, and the Law of Love; and another, on the Articles of Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church, fall within this period. Then there is a Commentary on Isaiah and Jeremias, on the work of Boethius, "*De Hebdomadibus*," and on the Pseudo-Dionysian work, "*De Divinis Nominibus*."* These five theological tractates, in reality, form a logical unity, which is expressed by the author himself, when, in his tract on the Precepts of Charity, he affirms that three things are necessary for man's salvation: a knowledge of what has to be believed, to be desired, and to be done. The first is taught in the symbol; the second, in the Lord's Prayer; the third, in the Law—that is to say, in the Commandments, and in the two precepts of charity.

There are some few points which it will be interesting to dwell upon, and some few expressions of the Saint full of depth and brilliancy, which will require no apology for their introduction. As a general critique upon these instructive portions of his writings it may be said that they touch upon fundamental Catholic thought, and that the individuality of the writer is carefully kept out of sight. All flows from the Gospel, from the Fathers, and from the traditionary teaching of the Church, and there is no appearance of any other effort except that of placing orthodox doctrine upon a firm basis, and making its truth and utility apparent, by lucidity of style, logical division, and apt illustration. To those who have the cure of souls: who have, Sunday after Sunday, to instruct half-educated people, and sometimes, the learned too, in the first principles of Catholicity, these tractates would be of value. It is a misfortune that the teaching of the Angelical, on these matters, should have been so much neglected. Perhaps it may be partially accounted for, by a growing tendency to preach long, elaborate, and "fine" sermons, instead of breaking the bread of simple, homely, and familiar instruction to the people.

In the exposition of the first article of the Creed, the Saint draws from his store-house some telling and deep thoughts. The first thing necessary for a Christian, he says, is faith. Faith produces four good effects. First, by faith the soul is joined to God. S. Augustine, on these words of S. Paul: "Whatever is not of faith is sin," says: "where there is no recognition of the Eternal and Immutable Truth, virtue is counterfeit even in the best men."

* According to the Parma edition, they stand thus:—"Expositio super Symbolum Apostolorum (Opusc. VII., Vol. XVI., p. 133-151). Expositio orationis Dominicæ (Opusc. V., p. 123-132). Salutationis Angelicæ Expositio (Opusc. VI., p. 133, 134). De duobus præceptis charitatis et decem legis præceptis (Opusc. III., p. 97-114). In Articulis Fidei et sacramenta ecclesiæ expositio (Opusc. IV., p. 115-122). Expositio in Isaiam et Jeremiam (Vol. XIV., p. 427-667). Commentaria in Libros sancti Dionysii de Divinis Nominibus (Vol. XV., p. 259-405). Expositio in librum Boetii de Hebdomadibus (Vol. XVII., p. 339-348)."

The second effect of faith is, the beginning of eternal life in us; for eternal life is nothing else than to know God: "This is eternal life to know Thee, the only true God."* The third effect is, that faith directs us in our present life. No philosopher, with all his efforts, could discover, before the coming of Christ, as much about God, and the conditions of Salvation, as a poor old woman knows, by means of faith, now that our Lord has come. Hence, Isaias: "The earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord."† The fourth effect, is, that by faith we overcome temptations: "The Saints through faith conquered kingdoms."‡ And this is evident, because all temptations proceed from the devil, the world, or the flesh; and faith offers arguments which are more powerful than any these can bring forward. §

Some people affirm that it is foolish to believe what cannot be seen. But, not so, if the imperfection of the human mind be considered. The mind is so weak that no philosopher was ever able perfectly to investigate the nature of the merest fly. But, if this be so, is it not foolish to believe only that concerning God, which the human mind is able to elicit of itself? In the second place, it may be replied, if a countryman denied the truth of a proposition stated by an expert in science, on the grounds that he did not understand it, would not the countryman be considered a fool? But it is certain that the intellect of an angel surpasses the intellect of the greatest philosopher, in a higher degree than the intellect of the scientific man surpasses that of the rustic. Therefore, that philosopher is a fool who rejects what angels say:

* "Primum quod est necessarium Christiano, est fides, sine qua nullus dicitur fidelis christianus. Fides autem facit quatuor bona. Primum est quod per fidem anima coniungitur Deo: nam per fidem anima christiana facit quasi quoddam matrimonium cum Deo: Osee, II, 20: 'Sponsabo te mihi in fide.' Et inde est quod quando homo baptizatur, primo confitetur fidem, cum dicitur ei, 'credis in Deum?' quia baptismus est primum sacramentum fidei. Et ideo sciendum est, quod nullus est acceptus Deo sine fide: Hebr., XI, 6: 'Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo.' Et ideo dicit Augustinus super illud, Rom., XIV, 23: 'Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est.' 'Ubi non est agerius et incommutabilis veritas agnitio, falsa est virtus etiam in optimis moribus.' Secundo quia per fidem inchoatur in nobis vita aeterna: nam vita aeterna nihil aliud est quam cognoscere Deum; unde dicit Dominus, Joan., XVII, 3: 'Hæc est vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum.' Hæc autem cognitio Dei incipit hic per fidem, sed perficitur in vita futura in qua cognoscemus eum sicuti est: et ideo dicitur Hebr., II, 1: 'Fides est substantia sperandarum rerum.' Nullus ergo potest pervenire ad beatitudinem, quæ est vera cognitio Dei, nisi primo cognoscat per fidem, Joan., XX, 29. 'Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p. 135.*)

† Isai., XI, 9.

‡ Heb., XI, 33.

§ "Tertio quia fides dirigit vitam præsentem: nam de hoc quod homo bene vivat, oportet quod sciat necessaria ad bene vivendum. Ipsa enim docet quod est unus Deus, qui est remunerator bonorum et punitor malorum: et quod est alia vita, et huiusmodi: quibus satis allicimur ad bonum, et vitamus malum. Habac., II, 4: 'Iustus meus ex fide vivit.' Et hoc patet, quia nullus philosophorum ante adventum Christi cum toto conatu suo potuit tantum scire de Deo et de necessariis ad vitam æternam, quantum post adventum Christi scit una vetula per fidem: et ideo dicitur Isa., XI, 9: 'Repleta est terra scientia Domini.' Quarto, quia fides est qua vincimus tentationes: Heb., XI, 33: 'Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna.' Et hoc patet, quia omnis tentatio vel est a diabolo, vel a mundo, vel a carne. Diabolus enim tentat ut non obedias Deo nec subijcearis ei. Et hoc per fidem removetur: nam per fidem cognoscimus quid ipse est Dominus omnium, et ideo sibi esse obediendum. I Pet., V, 8: 'Adversarius vester diabolus circumquærens quem devoret: cui resistite fortes in fide.' Mundus autem tentat vel alliciendo prosperis, vel terrendo adversis. Sed hæc vincimus per fidem. . . . Caro vero tentat inducendo nos ad delectationes vite præsentis momentaneas. Sed fides ostendit nobis quod per has, si eis indebitè adhaeremus, æternas delectationes ammittimus. Ephes., IV., 16. 'In omnibus sumentes sentum fidei.' Sic ergo patet quod multum est utile habere fidem." (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p. 135.*)

and far more so, if he refuse to believe the Word of God.* Just as a king puts his seal to an instrument, and thus it is known to be the king's, so all that has been handed down to us by the saints, is stamped with the seal of God. This seal is formed of those miracles by which Christ confirmed the works and words of his Apostles.

The Saint goes on to treat of the first article of the Creed. "I believe in one God."† He says there are four causes why men have been drawn into adoring many Gods. The first is the weakness of the human mind, which has never pierced beyond visible things; the second arises from that spirit of adulation, by which kings and potentates have been turned into gods; the third, from overweening affection for children and relations—men having first erected statutes of them, and then, in course of time, having fallen down and adored them; and the fourth comes from the malice of the devil. S. Thomas likens the feeling of a man looking on the beautiful order of the Creation, to one entering a house with a fire in the centre. He feels different degrees of warmth, and though he may not see the fire, he knows that different degrees of heat proceed from it. So man recognizes God in his works, and perceives them to be more beautiful, the nearer they approach to Him.‡ He compares the Manicheans, who said that visible things

* "Sed dicit aliquis: Stultum est credere quod non videtur, nec sunt credenda quæ non videntur. Respondeo dicendum, quod hoc dubium primo tollit imperfectio intellectus nostri; nunc si homo posset perfecte per se cognoscere omnia visibilia et invisibilia, stultum esset credere quæ non videntur; sed cognitio nostra est adeo debilis quod nullus philosophus potuit nunquam perfecte investigare naturam minus muscæ; unde legitur, quod unus philosophus fuit triginta annis in solitudine, ut cognosceret naturam apis. Si ergo intellectus noster est ita debilis, nonne stultum est nolle credere de Deo, nisi illa tantum quæ homo potest cognoscere per se? Et ideo contra hoc dicitur, Job, XXXVI., 26: 'Ecce Deus magnus, vincens scientiam nostram.' Secundo potest responderi, quia dato quod aliquis magister aliquid diceret in sua scientia, et aliquis rusticus diceret non esse sicut magister doceret, eo quod ipse non intelligeret, multum reputaretur stultus ille rusticus. Constat autem quod intellectus Angelii excedit intellectum optimi philosophi, quam intellectus optimi philosophi intellectum rusticum. Et ideo stultus est philosophus si nolit credere ea quæ Angeli dicunt: et multo magis si nolit credere ea quæ Deus dicit." (*In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I. Vol. XVI., p. 136.*)

† "Credo in unum Deum." Inter omnia quæ debent credere fideles, hoc est primum quod debent credere, scilicet quod sit unus Deus. Considerandum autem quid significet hoc nomen 'Deus': quod quidem nihil est aliud quam gubernari et providi rebus omnium. Ille igitur credit Deum esse qui credit omnes res mundi hujus gubernari et providi ab illo. Qui autem credit quod omnia proveniunt a causa, hic non credit Deum esse. Nullus autem invenitur adeo stultus qui non credat quod res naturales gubernentur, et provideantur, et disponantur; cum in quodam ordine et certis temporibus procedant. Videmus enim solem et lunam et stellas, et alias res naturales omnes servare determinatum cursum; quod non contingeret, si a casu essent; unde si aliquis esset qui non crederet Deum esse, stultus esset. Psalm. XLIII., 1: 'Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus.' Sicut autem aliqui qui licet credant Deum gubernare et disponere res naturales, non tamen credunt Deum esse humanorum actuum providorem; qui scilicet credunt actus humanos non dari a Deo. Cujus ratio est, quia vident in mundo isto bonos affligi, et malos prosperari: quod videtur tollere providentiam divinam circa homines: unde in persona eorum dicitur, Job, XXII., 14: 'Circa cardines cæli perambulatur nec nostra considerat.' Hoc autem est valde stultum." (*In Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I. Vol. XVI., p. 136.*)

‡ "Sicut dictum est, primum quod credere debemus, est quod sit unus solus Deus: secundum est quod iste Deus sit creator et factor cæli et terre, visibilium et invisibilium. Et ut rationes subtiles dimittantur ad præsens: quodam rudi exemplo manifestatur propositum, quod scilicet omnia sunt a Deo creata et facta. Constat enim quod si aliquis intraret domum aliquam, et in ipsius domus introitu sentiret calorem, et postmodum vadens interius sentiret majorem calorem, et sic deinceps, crederent ignem esse interius, etiam si ipsum ignem non videret qui causaret dictos calores: sic quoque continget consideranti res hujus mundi. Nam ipse invenit res omnes secundum diversos gradus pulchritudinis et nobilitatis esse dispositas; et quanto magis appropinquant Deo, tanto pulchriora et meliora invenit. Unde corpora cælestia pulchriora et nobiliora sunt quam corpora inferiora, et invisibilia visibilibus; et ideo credendum est quod omnia hæc sunt ab uno Deo, qui dat suum esse singulis rebus, et nobilitatem. Sapient., XIII., 1: 'Vani sunt autem omnes homines in quibus non subest scientia Dei, et de his

were created by the devil, to a man going into a carpenters shop, and, in his stupidity, wounding himself with one of the tools, and then crying out against the carpenter. He likens those who declare the world to be eternal, to that boy spoken of by Rabbi Moses, who was born on a solitary island, and left by his mother, and, after he had grown up, would not believe that man begins by being conceived, is carried in the womb, and is born of a mother. It was impossible, he said, that man could dwell in his mother's womb. So, these men, looking upon the world in its present stage, cannot believe that it ever did begin.* The Saint then combats the error that God did not make the world out of nothing, and concludes the article by pointing out five moral consequences, most consoling to the Christian, which flow from such considerations. In the second article, he manifests his acquaintance with the master-heresies of the past; and indicates how this second article bears on Photinus, who denied Christ's divinity; on Sabelius, who declared the Eternal Father became flesh; on Arius, who denied the divinity and the eternity of the Son, and His oneness of nature with the Father. He then proceeds to explain the difference between the Divine and human word, and states somewhat the same principles which he had laid down in his special treatise.† In the third article, he shows how the words: "He was conceived of the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary," strike down the heresies of Photinus, Manes, Ebion, Valentine, Arius, Apollinaris, and Nestorius, and then finishes with useful, practical reflections.‡ In the fourth article, he speaks of the guilt

quæ videntur bona, non potuerunt intelligere eum qui est, neque operibus attendentes, agnovit quis esset artifex; et infra 5: 'A magnitudine enim speciei et creaturæ cognoscibiliter poterit creatorem horum videri.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p. 137.*)

* "Contra hoc ponit Augustinus tale exemplum. Si aliquis intraret domum fabri, et inveniret instrumenta ad quæ lupingeret, et laderent eum, et ex hoc reputaret illum fabrum malum, quia tenet talia instrumenta, stultus esset, cum faber ea teneat ad opus suum; ita stultum est dicere, quod per hoc creaturæ sint male, quia sunt in aliquo nocivæ; nam qui nni est nocivum, alteri est utile. Hic autem error est contra fidem Ecclesiæ: et ideo ad hunc removendum, dicitur: 'Visibillum omnium et invisibillum.' Genes., I., 1: 'In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram.' Joan., I., 3: 'Omnia per ipsum facta sunt.' Secundus est error presentium mundum ab æterno unde, sicut Rabbi Moyses dicit, istis contingit sicut puero, qui si statim cum nascitur, poneretur in insula, et numquam videret mulierum prægnantem, nec puerum nasci; et diceretur isti puero, quando magnus esset, qualiter homo concepitur, portatur utero, et nascitur; nulli crederet sibi dicenti, quia impossibile sibi videretur quod homo posset esse in utero matris. Sic ista considerantes statum mundi presentem, non credunt quod inceperit. Est etiam hoc contra fidem Ecclesiæ; et ideo ad hoc removendum dicitur: 'Factorem cœli et terræ.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p. 137.*)

† "Non solum est necesse Christianis unum Deum credere, et hunc esse creatorem cœli et terræ et omnium; sed etiam necesse est ut credant quod Deus est Pater, et quod Christus sit verus Filius Dei. Hoc autem, sicut dicit beatus Petrus in Canonica sua, II. Cap. 1, non est fabulosum, sed certum et probatum per verbum Dei in monte: unde dicit ibidem 16: 'Non enim doctas fabulas secuti, notam facimus vobis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtutem et presentiam: sed speculatores facti illius magnitudinis. Accipiens enim a Deo Patre honorem et gloriam, voce de lapsa ad eum hujuscemodi a magnifica gloria: 'Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui, ipsum audite.' (Ibid., p. 138.)

‡ "Non solum est necessarium credere Christiano Filium Dei, ut ostensum est: sed etiam oportet credere incarnationem ejus. Et ideo beatus Joannes postquam dixerat multa subtilia et ardua, consequenter insinuat nobis ejus incarnationem, cum dicit (Joan., I., 14): 'Et verbum caro factum est.' Et ut de hoc aliquid capere possimus, duo exempla ponam in medium. Constat quod Filio Dei nihil est ita simile sicut verbum in corde nostro conceptum, non prolatum aliud exemplum est, quia licet verbum prolatum cognoscatur per auditum, tamen non videtur nec tangitur; sed cum scribitur in charta, tunc videtur et tangitur.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. I., Vol. XVI., p. 140.*)

of the Jews, saying, that the Son of God is the Word of God; and the Word of God became incarnate, just as the word of a king is written down upon paper. If any one should tear up the royal document, it would be equivalent to tearing to pieces the royal word. And so the sin of the Jews was as great as if they had murdered the Word of God.* Before the Passion of Christ, few lived out of mortal sin; but since His Passion, many have lived, and continue to live, in a state of grace. He who would live a perfect life, let him only condemn what Christ condemned whilst on the Cross, and desire what Christ desired. There is no example of virtue which is not given us by the Cross.†

If you seek an example of patience, you will find a most excellent one in the Cross. Patience is shown in two ways: when heavy trials are borne with resignation, or when those things are suffered, and are not avoided, which can be avoided. And Christ did both these. "If thou seekest an example of humility, look on the Crucified."‡ He was, moreover, an example of obedience, and an example of contempt of earthly things.§ The fifth article is full of beautiful and profound instruction. It touches on praying for the dead. S. Augustine says they can be helped principally in three ways: by masses, prayers, and alms-deeds; S. Gregory adds a fourth, namely, fasting: "Nor is it strange, for in this world also, one friend can satisfy for another." S. Thomas then speaks of the Resurrection, of the pious belief that our Lady, as well as S. John the Evangelist, rose from the dead. Then come four practical points, with a quotation from Venerable Bede, regarding the difficulty of shaking off the devil after he has had long possession: "The longer the devil has hold of a man, the

* "Sed si Judæi non occiderunt Divinitatem, videtur quod non magis peccaverint quam si occidissent unum alium hominem. Ad hoc est dicendum, quod dato quod rex esset indutus una veste, si quis inquinalet vestem illam, tantum reatum incurreret ac si ipsum regem inquinasset. Ideo Judæi licet non possent Deum interficere, tamen humanam naturam a Christo assumptam occiderunt sicut tantum puniti ac si ipsum Divinitatem occidissent. Item, sicut dictum est superius, Filius Dei est Verbum Dei, et Verbum Dei incarnatum est sicut verbum regis scriptum in charta. Si igitur aliquis dilaniaret chartam regis, pro tanto haberetur ac si dilaniaret verbum regis. Et ideo tanto habetur peccatum Judæorum ac si occidissent Verbum Dei." (*Ibid.*, p. 141.)

† "Homo semel peccando credit postmodum a peccato posse continere; sed totum contrarium accidit; quia per primum peccatum debilitatur, et fit prerior ad peccandum; et peccatum magis domitur homini, et homo, quantum de se est, ponit se in tali statu ut non surgat, sicut qui in putrem se projicit, nisi ex divina virtute. Unde postquam homo peccavit, natura nostra fuit debilitata et corrupta; et tunc homo fuit prerior ad peccandum. Sed Christus hanc infirmitatem et debilitatem dimittit, licet non totam deleverit." (*In Symb. Apost.*, *Opusc. VII.*, *Art. I.*, *Vol. XVI.*, p. 141.)

‡ "Sed non minor est utilitas quam ad exemplum. Nam, sicut dicit beatus Augustinus, passio Christi sufficit ad informandum totaliter vitam nostram. Quicunque enim vult perfecte vivere, nihil aliud faciat nisi quod contemnat quæ Christus in cruce contempsit, et appetat quæ Christus in cruce appetiit. Nullum enim exemplum virtutis abest a cruce. Si enim quæras exemplum caritatis, 'majorem caritatem nemo habet ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.' . . . Si quæris exemplum patientiæ, excellentissima in cruce invenitur. Patientia enim ex duobus magna ostenditur: aut cum quis magna patienter suffert, aut cum ea suffert quæ vitare posset, et non vitat. Christus autem magna in cruce pertulit. Thren., I., 12: 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus.' et patienter, quia, 'cum pateretur, non comminabatur.' . . . Si quæris exemplum humilitatis, respice crucifixum: nam Deus judicari voluit sub Pontio Pilato, et mori. Joh., XXXVI., 17: 'Causa tua quasi impii iudicata est.' Vere impii: quia, 'morte turpissima condemnemur enim.' . . . Si quæris exemplum obedientiæ, sequere eum qui factus est obediens Patri usque ad mortem. Rom., V., 19: 'Sicut per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi: ita per unius obedientiam, iusti constituentur multi.' (*Ibid.*, p. 142.)

more difficult he is to get rid of." The sixth article is short, and consists of three heads, with their subdivisions.* The seventh would be a useful study for those who are in the habit of giving Spiritual Exercises, as it treats, with great power, on the Last Accounting Day. The Divinity will appear, on that day, in the form of a man; because not even the damned could look upon the Godhead without being seized with joy. The Judgment is to be feared for four reasons: on account of the wisdom of the Judge; on account of His power; on account of His inflexible justice; and, fourthly, on account of His anger—"How straight are the ways of Judgment for sinners," says Origen. Against this fear, there are three remedies: good works, confession, and alms-deeds, which make all things clean. The eighth article, on the Holy Ghost, is full of Scripture quotation. The ninth, on the Church, contains matter worthy of remark. As in one man there is one soul and one body, and yet there are many members; so in the Church there is one body, but it has divers members. The soul animating this body is the Holy Spirit. The Church of God has four conditions: it is one, holy, catholic—that is, universal; and it is strong and firm. In this Church alone, man can be saved; just as outside the ark of Noah, nobody could help perishing. The Church of Peter, alone, was always steadfast in faith; and whilst elsewhere there is no faith, or little faith mixed with many errors, the Church of Peter is strong in faith, and is clean of errors. Nor is this astonishing, since our Lord said to Peter: "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not."† The tenth

* "Post Christi resurrectionem oportet credere ascensionem, quia in cælum ascendit die quadragesima: et ideo dicit: 'Ascendit ad cœles.' Circa quod debes notare tria. Primo scilicet quod fuit sublimis, rationalis, et utilis. Sublimis quidem fuit, quia ascendit ad cœlos. Et hoc tripliciter exponitur Primo super omnes cœlos corporeos. (Eph. IV., 10) . . . Secundo ascendit super omnes cœlos spirituales, scilicet naturas spirituales. (Eph. I., 20). . . Tercio ascendit usque ad sedem Patris. (Dan. VII., 13. . . . Marc. ult. 13; Isai. XIV., 13; Psal. CIX., 1.) . . . Secundo Christi ascensio fuit rationalis, quia ad cœlos; et hoc propter tria. Primo quia cœlum ex sua victoria Christo ex sua natura (Joan. XVI., 23): . . . Secundo debebatur Christo cœlum ex sua victoria (Apoc. III., 21). Tercio ex sua humilitate. Nulla enim humilitas est ita magna sicut humilitas Christi, qui cum esset Deus, voluit fieri homo, et cum esset Dominus, voluit formam servi accipere, factus obediens usque ad mortem. . . . Tercio Christi ascensio fuit utilis: et hoc quantum ad tria. Primo quantum ad duem: nam ad hoc ascendit ut nos doceret: vos enim uesciebatis viam, sed ipse ostendit. . . . Secundo quantum ad securitatem: ad hoc enim ascendit ut interpellaret pro nobis. . . . Tercio ut ad se cordo nostra traheret. (Matth. VI., 21.): 'Ubi est thesaurus tuus ibi est et cor tuum.'" (*In Symb. Apost., Opus. VII., Art. VI., Vol. XVI., p. 144, 145.*)

† "Circa quantum sciendum est, quod Ecclesia est firma. Domus autem dicitur firma, primo si habet bona fundamenta. Fundamentum autem Ecclesiæ principale est Christus. Apostolus I. Corinth., III., 11: 'Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus.' Secundarium vero fundamentum sunt Apostoli, et eorum doctrina; et ideo firma est: nuda in Apoc., XXI., dicitur, quod civitas habebat duodecim fundamenta, et erant ibi scripta nomina duodecim Apostolorum. Et inde est quod dicitur Ecclesia apostolica. Exinde etiam est quod ad significandum firmitatem huius Ecclesiæ B. Petrus dicitur esse vertex. Secundo apparet firmitas domus, si conquistata non potest destrui. Ecclesia autem nunquam potuit destrui, nec a persecutoribus; immo persecutionibus durantis magis crevit, et qui eam persequerentur, et quos ipsa persequeretur, deficiebant: Matth., XXI., 44: 'Qui acciderit super lapidem istum, confringetur: super quem vero ceciderit, conteretur cum: nec ab erroribus; immo quanto magis errores supervenerunt, tanto magis veritas manifestata est: 2 Tim., III., 8: 'Homines uicte corrupti, reprobi circa fidem; sed ultra non proficiunt: nec a tentationibus demouuntur; Ecclesia enim est sicut turris, ad quam fugit quicumque pugnat contra diabolum: Proverb., XVIII., 10: 'Turris fortissima uocem Domini.' Et ideo diabolus principaliter conatur ad destructionem ejus; sed non prevalet, quia Dominus dixit, Matth., XVI., 18: 'Et porte inferi non prevaletur adversus eam,' quasi dicat: Bellabunt adversum te, sed non prevaletur. Et inde est quod solo Ecclesia Petri (in cujus partem venit tota Italia, dum discipuli mitterentur ad prædicandum) semper fuit firma in fide; et cum in aliis partibus vel nulla fides sit, vel

article, on the Communion of Saints, and the Remission of Sins, draws out a striking and well-known analogy between the effects of the Sacraments, and the requirements, wants, and necessities of the soul, and of the body; illustrating the spiritual by means of the material.* Regarding the state of grace, we are told, that not only the virtue of the Passion of Christ is communicated to us, but also the merits of the life of Christ. Whatever good the saints have done, is participated in by those who dwell in charity, "because we are all one." And, hence, he who abides in charity, is partaker in all the good that is done throughout the world. So, the merits of Christ are communicated to all, and the virtue of one man has its effect upon his neighbour; thus, those under excommunication, being out of the Church, lose a share of all the good that is done, which is a greater misfortune than the loss of any temporal possession. And there is this other consideration, namely: by these suffrages, the devil is prevented from tempting us; whilst, on the contrary, when a man is excluded from them, Satan easily overcomes him. Hence, when in the early Church, a man was excommunicated, the devil immediately began worrying him in the body. In the eleventh article, on the Resurrection of the Dead, we are assured that all will rise at the mature age of about thirty-two or thirty-three; nor will those who had been blind, or halt, rise with their defects.† In the twelfth article, on

sit commixta multis erroribus, Ecclesia tamen Petri et fide viget, et ab erroribus munda est. Nec mirum; quia Dominus dixit Petro, Luc., XXII., 32: 'Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. IX., Vol. XVI., p. 148.*)

* "Sicut in corpore naturali operatio unius membri cedit in bonum totius corporis, ita in corpore spirituali, scilicet Ecclesia. Et quia omnes fideles sunt unum corpus, bonum unius alteri communicatur. . . . Bonum ergo Christi communicatur omnibus Christianis, sicut virtus capitis omnibus membris; et hæc communicatio fit per sacramenta Ecclesie, in quibus operatur virtus passionis Christi, quæ operatur ad conferendam gratiam in remissionem peccatorum. Hujusmodi autem sacramenta Ecclesia sunt septem. Primum est baptismus, qui est regeneratio quadam spiritualis. . . . Generatio (spiritualis) fit per baptismum.

Secundum sacramentum est confirmatio. Sicut enim in illis qui corporaliter nascuntur, necessariae sunt vires ad operandum: ita spiritualiter renatis necessarium est robur Spiritus Sancti. . . . Tertium sacramentum est Eucharistia. Sicut enim in vita corporali, postquam homo natus est et vires sumpsit, necessarius est ei cibus, ut conservetur et sustentetur; ita in vita spirituali post habitum robur necessarius est ei cibus spiritualis, qui est corpus Christi. . . . Quartum sacramentum est poenitentia. Contingit enim in vita corporali quod quandoque quis infirmatur, et nisi habeat medicum, moritur: et ita in vita spirituali quis infirmatur per peccatum; unde necessaria est medicina ad recuperandum sanitatem et hæc est gratia quæ confertur in poenitentia sacramento. . . . Quintum sacramentum est extrema unctio. Quia nullus potest intrare vitam æternam nisi sit bene purgatus, necessarium fuit aliud sacramentum quo homo purgaretur a peccatis, et liberaretur ab infirmitate, et prepararetur ad introitum regni cælestis; et hoc est sacramentum extreme unctionis. . . . Sic ergo patet quod per quinque sacramenta quæ predicta sunt habetur perfectio vitæ. Sed quia necessarium est quod infirmos sacramenta conferantur per determinatos ministros, ideo fuit necessarium sacramentum ordinis. . . . Septimum sacramentum est matrimonium. . . . Per hæc autem septem sacramenta consequimur peccatorum remissionem: et ideo hic statim subditur, 'Remissionem peccatorum.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. X., Vol. XVI., p. 148, 149.*)

† "Quadruplex conditio attendi potest in resurrectione. Prima est quantum ad identitatem corporum resurgentium; quia idem corpus quod nunc est, et quantum ad carnem et quantum ad ossa resuget. . . . Secunda conditio erit quantum ad qualitatem, quia corpora resurgentia erunt alterius qualitatis quam nunc sunt; quia et quantum ad beatos et quantum ad malos corpora erunt incorruptibilia, quia boni erunt semper in gloria, et mali semper in pena eorum. . . . Tertia conditio est quantum ad integritatem, quia omnes et boni et mali resurgent cum omni integritate quæ ad perfectionem hominis pertinet; non enim erit ibi cæcus vel claudus, nec aliquis defectus. Apostolus I Corinth., XV., 52: 'Mortui resurgent incorrupti,' id est impassibiles quantum ad corruptiones presentes. Quarta conditio est quantum ad ætatem, quia omnes resurgent in ætate perfecta, id est triginta trium vel duorum annorum. Cujus ratio est, quia qui nondum pervenerunt ad hoc, non habent ætatem perfectam, et senes hanc jam amisissent: et ideo juvenibus et pueris addetur quod deest, senibus vero restituetur. Ephes., IV., 15: 'Donec occurramus omnes in virum perfectum, in mensuram unitatis plenitudinis Christi.' (In *Symb. Apost., Opusc. VII., Art. XI., Vol. XVI., p. 150.*)

"Life Everlasting," these beautiful words of S. Augustine's are quoted: "All joy will not enter into those who rejoice, but all those who rejoice will enter into all joy."

One or two points may be mentioned in the treatise on the Lord's Prayer. The "Our Father" has five excellencies which belong to prayer: for prayer should be confident, becoming, well-ordered, devout, and humble. These qualities, in a special manner, are found in the "Our Father." Nobody recites this prayer without fruit; for by means of it, says S. Augustine, venial sins are forgiven. It is a most difficult thing to know what to ask in prayer, because it is most difficult to know what we ought to desire. Here, Christ is our Teacher, and we are safe. Nor is prayer to be long, for too great prolixity interferes with devotion; hence, our Lord says: "When you are praying, speak not much;" and S. Augustine: "Let there be few words, but much earnestness, in prayer, if the object be ardently desired."* In the first petition, a touching anecdote is told of S. Ignatius, who, when Trajan ordered him to deny the name of Christ, said, that it could not be driven from his mouth; and when threatened with death, if he should persevere in using the Holy Name, said: "If you take it out of my mouth, you will never be able to draw it from my breast; for I have that Name engraved upon my heart, and hence, I cannot cease calling upon it:" and it was found by Trajan, written in letters of gold, on the martyr's heart, after his death.† Holy, means firm: the Blessed are called holy, because they are fixed in eternal felicity.‡ On earth, there can be no perfect holiness, for all is in continual motion, hence, S. Augustine: "I have turned away from Thee, O Lord, and have erred exceedingly; I have wandered from Thy stability." Under the second petition, we read, that man will

* "Inter alias orationes oratio dominica principalior invenitur. Habet enim quinque excellentia, quæ in oratione requiruntur. Debet enim esse oratio secunda, recta, ordinata, devota et humilis. Secunda quidem, ut cum fiducia adeamus ad thronum gratiæ. . . . Debet etiam esse oratio nostra recta, ut petat orans a Deo quæ sibi conveniunt. Nam Damascenus dicit: 'Oratio est petitio decentium Deo.' . . . Debet etiam esse oratio ordinata sicut desiderium, cum oratio sit desiderii interpret. Est autem hic debitus ordo, ut spiritualia carnalibus, celestia terrenis desiderando et orando præferamus, secundum illud Matth. VI, 33: . . . Debet etiam oratio esse devota, quia pinguetudo devotionis facit sacrificium orationis esse Deo acceptum. . . . Devotio autem plerumque propter prolixitatem orationis obtunditur: unde Dominus superfluum orationis prolixitatem docuit vitare, dicens Matth. VI, 7: 'Orantes autem nolite multum loqui.' Et Augustinus dicit ad Probam: 'Absit ab oratione multa locutio; sed non desit multa provocatio, si fervens perseveret intentio.' . . . Debet etiam oratio esse humilis, secundum illud Psalm. CL, 18: 'Respexit in orationem humilium:' et Luc. XVIII, de phariseo et publicano: et Judith, IX, 16: 'Humilium et mansuetorum semper tibi placuit deprecatio.'" (*Opusc. V. In Orat. Dominicam Exposit.* p. 123.)

† "Exemplum de Beato Ignatio, qui intantum nomen Christi dilexit, quod cum Trajanus requireret ab eo ut nomen Christi negaret, respondit quod de ore ejus removeri non posset; et cum ille minaretur sibi caput abscondere, et Christum de ejus ore remove dicit: 'Et si de ore abstuleris, nunquam tamen de corde eripere poteris: hoc enim nomen cordi meo inscriptum habeo, et ideo ab ejus invocatione cessare non valeo.' Quod audiens Trajanus, et probari cupiens, servi Dei abscisso capite, cor ejus extrahi jussit, et inventum est habens nomen Christi in se scriptum litteris aureis. Posnerat enim super cor suum hoc nomen quasi signaculum." (*Opusc. V., Vol. XVI. In Orat. Dominicæ. Exposit., Petitio Prima.* p. 125.)

‡ "Sanctum autem tripliciter dicitur. Sanctum enim idem est quod firmum: unde omnes beati qui in cælo sunt, sancti dicuntur, quia sunt in æterna felicitate firmati. In mundo non possunt esse sancti, quia sunt continue mobiles. Augustinus: 'Defluxi, Domine, a te, et erravi nimis: devius factus sum a stabilitate tua.' Secundo sanctum idem est quod non terrenum. . . . Tercio dicitur sanctum, id est sanguine tinctum." (*Petitio, I., p. 125, 126.*)

find all he seeks from the world in God; but in a more perfect, and more excellent manner. If you desire pleasure, you will discover its perfection in God; if riches, in Him you will find all fulness; hence, S. Augustine: "The soul, when it departs from Thee, seeks out of Thee those things which it does not find pure and spotless, save when it returns to Thee." In the third petition, our Lord did not say "Do," nor "Let us do;" but He said, "Thy will be done," because two things are necessary for eternal life; the grace of God, and the will of man; and though God made man without man, He does not justify him without his concurrence. Presume not then of thyself, but trust in the grace of God; and be not negligent, but perform thy share. For He did not say: "Let us do," lest it should seem that the grace of God achieved nothing; nor did He say "Do," lest it might appear that our will and endeavour were wholly idle; but he said: "Let it be done," expressing the grace of God, and the co-operation of the human will.* In the fourth petition, there is nothing very striking. In the fifth: "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," the Saint says that we owe to God that which we receive from Him, and which is His possession by right. His right, is that we should do His will, and prefer it to our own. We therefore take away His right, when we prefer our own will to His will, and this is sin. Sins, therefore, are "our trespasses." It is, hence, a counsel of the Holy Spirit, that we should beg God's pardon for our sins; therefore we pray, "Forgive us our trespasses." Two consequences follow from this petition: first, that man should be ever humble, and should fear. Some so far presumed as to say that, of himself, man could avoid sin. But this grace has been given to none but Christ, who had the Spirit, not according to measure; and to the Blessed Virgin, who was "full of grace," in whom no sin was found; as S. Augustine says: "Concerning whom (*viz.*, the Blessed Virgin), I do not wish to speak, when there is question of sin."† The other consequence is, that we

* "Notandum autem, quod ex modo loquendi datur nobis doctrina. Non enim dicit, *Fac*, non etiam *Faciamus*; sed dicit, *'Fiat voluntas tua:'* quia ad vitam eternam duo sunt necessaria; scilicet gratia Dei et voluntas hominis; et licet Deus fecerit hominem sine homine, non tamen justificat eum sine eo. Augustinus super Joan.: *'Qui eravit te sine te, non justificabit te sine te:'* et quia vult quod homo cooperetur. Zach., II, 3: *'Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos.'* Apostolus I Corinth., XV., 10: *'Gratia Dei sum id quod sum et gratia ejus in me vacua non fuit.'* Non ergo presumas de te, sed confidas de gratia Dei: nec negligas, sed adhibeas studium tuum: et ideo non dicit, *Faciamus*, ne videretur quod nihil faceret gratia Dei: nec dicit, *Fac*, ne videatur quod nihil faceret voluntas et conatus noster sed dicit, *'Fiat'* per gratiam Dei, adhibito studio et conatu nostro." (*Petitio, III., p. 127.*)

† "Possumus autem in his verbis tria considerare. Primum est quare fit hæc petitio: secundum quando impleatur; tertium est quid requiratur ex parte nostra ut impleatur. Circa primum sciendum, quod ex hac petitione possumus duo colligere, quæ necessaria sunt hominibus in vita ista. Unum est quod homo semper sit in timore et humilitate. Aliqui enim fuerunt ita presumptuosi quod dicerent quod homo poterat vivere in mundo isto ita quod ex se poterat vitare peccata. Sed nulli datum est, nisi soli Christo, quia habuit spiritum non ad mensuram, et Beate Virgini, quæ fuit plena gratia, in qua nullum peccatum fuit, sicut dicit Augustinus: *'De qua (scilicet Virgine) cum de peccatis agitur, nullam volo fieri mentionem.'* Sed de aliis sanctis nulli concessum est quin ad minus veniale peccatum incurrerent. I Joan., I, 8: *'Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est:'* et hoc

should always live in hope. The Novatians sinned against this hope, because they taught that whoever fell, after Baptism, would never rise again. The sixth petition gives a definition of temptation: "To tempt a man is to test his virtue." A man's virtue is proved in two ways: by avoiding evil, and by doing good. The seventh petition: "But deliver us from evil," is a general petition against evils of all kinds—sins, infirmities, and afflictions, according to the teaching of S. Augustine. At the conclusion of this treatise, there is added a short Exposition of the entire prayer.*

The Tractate on the "Angelical Salutation" has some points of interest. For instance, in the Blessed Virgin's case, we have the first example of an angel doing reverence to man. Men used to show angels reverence, and for three reasons: on account of their dignity, their familiarity with God, and on account of the plenitude of their splendour, and of their grace: for the angels participate in the Divine light in the completest fulness. Hence, as the act of reverence was reversed in our Blessed Lady's case, it follows that she surpassed the angels in these three gifts. This, the Saint goes on to prove, by many texts of Holy Scripture. Hugh of S. Victor's is quoted in testimony to her intense love of the Almighty: "Because the love of the Holy Spirit," he says, "burned in a special manner in her heart, wonderful things were done in her flesh, things so wonderful, that of her was born God and man." In all danger, safety can be found in this glorious Virgin. She exceeds the angels in plenitude of grace; hence, she is called "Mary"—which is interpreted to mean, illuminated with interior light.† She is called "The royal dwelling-place of the Blessed Trinity." The word "Mary," also signifies "Star of the Sea," because, as those at sea are directed into port by a star, so,

etiam probatur per petitionem istam. Constat enim quod omnibus sanctis etiam hominibus, convenit dicere 'Pater noster,' in quo dicitur: 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.' Ergo omnes recognoscunt et confitentur se peccatores vel debitores. Si ergo peccatores, debes timere et humiliari. Aliud est quod semper vivamus in spe: quia licet simus peccatores, non debemus desperare." (*Petitio, V., p. 129.*)

* "Ut in summa exponatur, sciendum est, quod in oratione dominica continentur omnia que desiderantur, et omnia que fugiuntur. Inter omnia autem desiderabilia illud plus desideratur quod plus amatur, et hoc est Deus: et ideo primo petis gloriam Dei, cum dicis: 'Sanctificetur nomen tuum.' A Deo autem desideranda sunt tria, que pertinent ad te. Primum est quod pervenias ad vitam eternam; et hoc petis cum dicis: 'Adveniat regnum tuum.' Secundum est quod facias voluntatem Dei et iustitiam; et hoc petis cum dicis: 'Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.' Tertium est ut habeas necessaria ad vitam; et hoc petis cum dicis: 'Pauem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.' Et de his tribus dicit Dominus, Matth., VI., 33: 'Primum querite regnum Dei, quantum ad primum; et iustitiam eius, quantum ad secundum; et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis, quantum ad tertium. Illa autem que vitanda sunt et fugienda, sunt illa que contrariantur bono. Bonum autem quod primo desiderabile est, est quadruplex: primum est gloria Dei. Secundum est vita eterna. . . . tertium est iustitia et bona opera. Quartum sunt bona necessaria: et huic contrariantur adversitates et tribulationes: et ad hoc removendum petimus, 'sed libera nos a malo. Amen.'" (*Compendiosa Expositio Totius Orationis, p. 132.*)

† "Antiquitus erat valde magnum quod Angeli apparerent hominibus; vel quod homines facerent eis reverentiam, habebant pro maxima laude. . . . Quod autem Angelus faceret homini reverentiam, nunquam fuit auditum, nisi postquam salutavit Beatam Virginem, reverenter dicens: 'Ave.' Quod autem antiquitus non reverebatur hominem Angelus, sed homo angelum, ratio est, quia Angelus erat major homine; et hoc quantum ad tria. . . . Beata Virgo excessit Angelos in tribus: et primo in plenitudine gratie. . . . Secundo excellit Angelos in familiaritate Divina. . . . Tertio excedit Angelos quantum ad puritatem: quia Beata Virgo non solum erat pura in se, sed etiam procuravit puritatem aliis." (*Opusc. VI. In Salut. Angelicæ. Exposit., p. 133.*)

Christians are led to glory by Mary.* The Blessed Virgin, in the Fruit of her womb, found all that Eve expected to find in the apple of sin; for she hoped to be as a god; to have pleasure; and to look upon beauty. All this, our Lady experienced, in possessing the Fruit of her womb, Jesus.

Under the heading of the two precepts of charity, and the ten Commandments of the Law, there are some noteworthy thoughts; in fact, the whole of these *Opuscula* of the Angelical are so studied with noble ideas, and so interwoven with Scripture, that it is difficult, by a few extracts, to give an adequate idea of them—let us look at his theory on the Law:† “The Law” teaches us how to act, and it is fourfold; the Law of Nature, which is nothing else than the light of the intellect placed in us by God; by it, we know what to do, and what to avoid. God gave man this light, and this Law, when He created him. The Law of Concupiscence destroyed the Law of Nature; so there was given to man the Written Law. Then came the Law of Charity and Grace, which is the Law of Christ. But since all men cannot be learned, Christ has instituted a short Law, which all may know, and from which no one can be held excusable on account of ignorance: and this is the Law of Divine Love, “A short word shall the Lord make upon the earth.”‡ This Law should be the rule of all human acts, and, as the Angelical teaches, it produces four effects: first, it causes spiritual life—as S. Augustine says: “For as the soul is the life of the body, so, God is the life of the soul.” As a corpse, dressed up with gold and precious stones, would not be living; so, the soul, had it all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, to the exclusion of charity, would be dead. S. Gregory says: “The love of God is

* Some have tried to prove that S. Thomas held the doctrine of the “Immaculate Conception.” It is to be feared that their arguments are rather proofs of their great love of the Saint and of the Dogma, than of the general laws of logic;—“Sed Christus,” says the Angelical, “excellit Beata Virginem, in hoc quod sine originali [peccato] conceptus et natus est. Beata autem Virgo in originali est concepta, sed non nata. Ipsa etiam omnium virtutum opera exercuit, alii autem sancti specialia quedam.” (*Opusc. VI. In Salut. Angelic. Exposit.*, p. 133.)

† “Tria sunt homini necessaria ad salutem: scilicet scientia credendorum, scientia desiderandorum, et scientia operandorum. Primum docetur in symbolo, ubi traditur scientia de articulis fidei, secundum in oratione Dominice; tertium in lege. Nunc autem de scientia operandorum intendimus; ad quam tractandam quadruplex lex invenitur. Prima dicitur lex naturæ; et hæc nihil aliud est nisi humani intellectus insitum nobis a Deo per quod cognoscimus quid agendum et quid vitandum. Hoc humani et hanc legem dedit Deus homini in creatione sed multi credunt excusari per ignorantiam, si hanc legem non observant: sed contra eos dicit Propheta in Psalm., XLVI. . . . Sed licet Deus in creatione dederit homini hanc legem, scilicet naturæ, diabolus tamen in homine supereminuit aliam legem, scilicet concupiscentiam.

Quia lex naturæ per legem concupiscentiæ destructa erat, oportebat quod homo rediret ad opera virtutis, et retraheretur a vitiis; ad quæ necessaria erat lex scripturæ. Sed sciendum, quod homo retrahitur a malo et inducitur ad bonum ex duobus. Primo timore . . . per legem Moysi. . . . Sed quia modus iste iussu fuit . . . ideo est alia modus retrahendi a malo et inducendi ad bonum, modus scilicet amoris; et hoc modo fuit data lex Christi, scilicet lex evangelica, quæ est lex amoris.” (*Opusc. III. In duo Præcept. Carit. et in Decem Legis Præcept. Exposit.*, Vol. XVI., p. 97.)

‡ “Sicut ergo jam prædictum est quadruplex lex invenitur; et prima quidem lex naturæ, quam Deus in creatione infundit; secunda lex concupiscentiæ; tertia lex scripturæ; quarta est lex caritatis et gratiæ, quæ est lex Christi. Sed manifestum est quod non omnes possunt scientiæ insudare; et propterea a Christo data est lex brevis, ut ab omnibus posset scire, et nullus propter ignorantiam possit ab ejus observantia excusari; et hæc est lex divini amoris, Apostolus, Rom., IX., 28: ‘Verbum brevium faciet Dominus super terram.’” (*Opusc. III. In duo Præcept. Carit. et in Decem Legis Præcept. Exposit.*, Vol. XVI., p. 97.)

never idle; if it really exists, it works great things; what does not work, cannot be love."* The second effect of love is the observance of the Divine Commandments; the third, is that it guards us against assault; and the fourth, that it leads to happiness. Love is the measure of bliss. Then comes the explanation, development, and illustration of the first great Commandment, in which man has to give to God his heart, soul, mind, and strength. The "heart" which is given to God, is the good intention with which a man acts. Frequently, however, men act with a good intention, but without fruit, because an upright will is lacking. For instance, were a man to commit a robbery to feed a beggar, he would have a good intention; but the rectitude of a right will would evidently be wanting. A good intention is no excuse for doing evil: "Who say let us do evil that good may come; whose damnation is just."† A good will is joined to the intention when the will of man is in harmony with the will of God.‡ The Saint then shows that the other conditions which make up the full rendering of the whole being to the Almighty, should so combine, as to tend towards that one consummation. There are four influences which urge us to practise charity towards man, viz.: the Divine love, the Divine precept, and the communication of nature: "Every animal loves its like;" and finally, the utility that follows from such a course. Two things tend to the consolidation of friendship: patience, and humility, from which patience springs.§ He who thinks much of himself, and lowly of another, cannot bear with the defects of that other. God loves and hates—loves man's nature, but hates his vice. Blessed Stephen, in praying for his enemies, did a great service to the Church—he converted Paul.¶

* "Si quis habet omnia dona Spiritus sancti absque caritate, non habet vitam. Sive enim sit gratia linguarum, sive sit donum fidei, vel quicquid sit aliud, sine caritate vitam non tribunt. Si enim corpus mortuum induatur auro et lapidibus pretiosis; nihilominus mortuum manet. Hoc est ergo primum quod efficit caritas. Secundum quod facit caritas, est divinatorum mandatorum observantia. Gregorius: 'Nunquam est Dei amor otiosus: operatur enim magna si est; si vero operari renuit, amor non est.' Unde manifestum signum caritatis est promptitudo implendi divina precepta. Videmus enim amantem propter amatum magna et difficilia operari." (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 98.)

† *Rom.*, III., 8.

‡ "Interrogatus Christus ante passionem, a legisperitis, quod esset maximum et primum mandatum, dixit, *Matth.*, XXII., 37: 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua: et hoc est maximum et primum mandatum.' Et vere istud est majus et nobilius et utilius inter omnia mandata, sicut satis manifestum est: in hoc enim omnia mandata implentur. Sed ad hoc quod istud præceptum dilectionis possit perfecte impleri, quatuor requiruntur. Primum est divinatorum beneficiorum rememoratio. . . . Secundum est divinis excellentie consideratio. . . . Tertium est mundanorum et terrenorum abdicatio magnam enim injuriam Deo facit qui aliquid ei adequat. *Isa.*, XL., 18: 'Cui similem fecistis Deum.' Tunc autem alia Deo adæquamus, quando res temporales et corruptibiles simul cum Deo diligimus. Sed hoc est omnino impossibile: propterea dicitur, *Isa.*, XXVIII., 20: 'Coangustatum est stratum, ita ut alter decadat: et pallium breve utrumque operire non potest.' Ubi cor hominis assimilatur strato arcto et pallio brevi. Cor enim humanum arcum est in respectu ad Deum; unde quando alia ab eo in corde tuo recipis, ipsam expellis; ipse enim non patitur consortem in anima, sicut nec vir in uxore." (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 99, 100.)

§ "Sciendum, quod duo sunt quæ jurant ad amicitiam conservandam. Primum est patientia: 'vir enim iracundus suscitatur rixas,' ut dicitur *Prov.* XXVI., 21. Secundum est humilitas, quæ causat iracundiam, scilicet patientiam: *Prov.*, XIII., 10: 'Inter superbos semper jurgia sunt:' qui enim considerat magna de se, et despiciat alium, non potest defectus illius pati." (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 101.)

¶ "Dictum est, quod tu peccas, si non parcis veniam postulanti; et quod perfectionis est, si tu cum ad te revocas, licet non tenearis. Sed ad hoc ut cum trahas ad te, multæ rationes in-

Now, just to touch upon the ten precepts of the Law, simply culling out, here and there, some striking thoughts:—

1. The Law of Moses is founded on the two precepts. They were engraven upon two stone tablets. On the first, three of the Commandments, are inscribed—these belong to the precept of loving God: on the second, the seven remaining ones are written, and they are included in the second precept, of loving our neighbour. The greatest, and most horrible of all sins is the worship of devils. There are five reasons why we should adore one only God: on account of His dignity, His generosity, the stability of His promises, the slavery of diabolical domination, and the immensity of the reward: “They will be like the angels of God in heaven.”*

2. Swearing is like medicine, only to be made use of in case of necessity. Our Lord insists upon this teaching, on account of a man's tongue being his most unruly member; for nobody has thoroughly mastered it. The name of God can be used under six circumstances: in confirmation of what has been said, as in an oath; unto sanctification, as in Baptism; for the expulsion of adversaries, like the devil; in confession of the Name itself; as a defence: “The name of the Lord is a strong tower;” and in the completion of any work.†

3. In the first Commandment, we venerate God with our heart; in the second, with our mouth; in the third, with our work: “Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath Day.” There are five

ducunt. Prima est propriæ dignitatis conservatio . . . Secunda est victoriæ acquisitio . . . Tertia est multiplicis utilitatis consecutio . . . quarta est, quia ex hoc preces tue facillius exaudiuntur: unde super illud Jerem., XV. ‘Si averterint Moyses et Samuel coram me,’ dicit Gregorius, quod fecit potius de istis mentionem, quia rogaverunt pro iniiciis. Similiter Christus ait Luca, XXIII., 34: ‘Pater, dimitte illis.’ Item beatus Stephanus orando pro iniiciis magnam utilitatem fecit Ecclesie, quia Paulum convertit. Quinta est peccati evasio, quam maxime desiderare debemus.” (*Ibid.*, p. 102.)

* “Sicut jam dictum est, tota lex Christi dependet a caritate. Caritas autem pendet ex duobus præceptis; quorum unum est de dilectione Dei, reliquum de dilectione proximi: et de istis duobus jam dictum est; unum autem sciendum, quod Deus dando legem Moysi, dedit decem præcepta in duobus tabulis lapideis scripta; quorum tria in prima tabula scripta pertinent ad amorem Dei septem vero scripta in secunda tabula pertinent ad amorem proximi; et ideo tota lex fundata in duobus præceptis. Primum autem quod pertinet ad amorem Dei est, ‘Non habete deos alienos:’ et ad hujus intellectum sciendum est, quod antiqui multipliciter hoc præceptum transgrediebantur. Quidam enim colebant demoula: Psalm., XCV., 5: ‘Omnes dii gentium demoula.’ Hoc autem est maximum omnium peccatorum et horribile. . . . Contra hoc præceptum peccant Astrologi, qui dicunt lucē esse animarum rectores: erat tamen propter hominem facta sint, cuius solus Deus rector est. . . . In quorum errore incidit homines qui inferioribus male utuntur, nimis ea diligentes. . . . Alii errantes colebant homines, vel aves, vel alios, vel seipsos; quod quidem contingit ex tribus. Primo carnalitate. . . . Secundo ex adulatione. . . . Tercio ex presumptione; quidam enim ex presumptione fecerunt se vocari deos, sicut patet Judith, III., de Nabuchodonosor.” (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 102.)

† “Sicut non est nisi Deus quem debemus colere, ita non est nisi unusquem debemus maxime venerari: et primo quantum ad nomen: unde ‘non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum.’ Sciendum, quod vanum dicitur tripliciter. Aliquando enim dicitur falsum. Ps. XI., 3. Assumes ergo nomen Dei in vanum, quando assumis illud ad confirmationis falsitatis. Zach., VIII., 17: *Ibid.*, XIII., 3: ‘Non vives, quia locutus es mendacium in nomine Domini.’ Talis autem facti injuriam Deo, sibi ipsi, et omnibus hominibus. Deo quidem, quia cum jurare per Deum utilit aliud sit nisi invocare ejus testimonium: cum juras falsum, aut credis Deum nescire verum, et sic ponis ignoratiam in Deo, cum tamen omnia nuda et aperta sint oculis ejus, ut dicitur ad Hebr. IV., aut quod diligit mendacium, cum tamen optat ipsam: Psal. V., 7: ‘Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium:’ aut derogas potentie, quasi non possit de eo punire. Et nota, quod juramentum est sicut medicina, quæ non semper accipitur, sed in necessitate: et ideo, ut dicitur Matth. V., 37, ‘quod his amplius est, a malo est.’ Eccl. XXIII., 9: ‘Jurationi non assuescat os tuum: multi enim casus in illa. Nominatio vero Dei non sit assida in ore tuo, et nominibus sanctorum ne admiscearis: quoniam non eris immunis ab eis.’” (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 104.)

reasons for this: first, the destruction of the error of those who would teach the eternity of the world. The Sabbath was kept by the Jews in memory of the Creation. Christians keep Sunday in memory of the New Creation by Christ, who rose gloriously from the dead. Then, secondly, as a testimony of faith in the Redeemer, for the flesh of Christ did not corrupt in the tomb; thirdly, as a confirmation and figure of the truth of the Promise. We expect rest from three things: from the labour of the present life; from the temptations of concupiscence; and from the servitude of the devil. Fourthly, the precept was given to inflame love:—"For the corruptible body is a load upon the soul:" fifthly, that those who are subject, might have an opportunity for works of piety. Work may be done on the Sabbath under four circumstances: through necessity; for the benefit of the Church—as the priests did all that was necessary in the temple on the Sabbath; in rendering a service to one's neighbor, and, finally, by the authority of a superior.* S. Jerome tells Rusticus to be ever occupied with some good work, so that the devil may always find him busy. There are three things which we ought to do on the Sabbath: to offer sacrifices of our soul, our body, and our goods; to study the Word of God; and to perform spiritual exercises. But, before the soul can really rest, three kinds of repose must precede: repose from the unrest of sin, from the passions of the flesh, and from the occupations of the world, and after this has been done, the soul can rest freely in God.

4. Now commence the seven precepts of the second tablet of stone. Man must fly evil, and do good. So in the precepts, some of them lead to good, and others prohibit evil. Above all, we ought to do good to those who are our relations. "First, we should love God," says S. Ambrose; "and then our father and mother." For, from our parents, we receive three things: our being, our food and support, and our education.† Five desirable promises

* "Hoc est tertium mandatum legis, et convenienter. Primo enim debemus Deum venerari corde: unde præcipitur quod non colatur nisi unus Deus: nude 'non habebis deos alienos coram me.' Secundo ore: nude 'non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum.' Tertio opere: et hoc est 'Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices.' Voluit enim ut esset certus dies in quo intenderent homines ad servitium Dei. Habetur autem hoc præceptum quinque rationibus. Primo enim datum fuit ad destructionem erroris. . . . Secundo datum fuit ad instructionem fidei Redemptoris. . . . Tertio datum fuit ad roborandum sive figurandum veritatem promissionis. . . . Quarto datum fuit hoc præceptum ad inflammationem amoris. . . . Quinto datum fuit ad opera pietatis respectu subjectorum. . . . Sciendum quod opera corporalia possunt fieri in sabbato propter quatuor. Primo propter necessitatem. . . . Secundo propter Ecclesie utilitatem. . . . Tertio propter proximi utilitatem: unde Dominus curavit in die sabbati habentem manum aridam, et confortavit Judæos reprehendentes eum, ponens exemplum de ove. Quarto propter superioris auctoritatem: unde Dominus præcepit Judæis ut circumciderent in die sabbati, ut dicitur Joan., VII. . . . Homo diem festum debet sanctificare . . . primo in faciendis sacrificiis . . . secundo in verborum Dei studiis." (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 105. 106.)

† "Perfectio hominis consistit in dilectione Dei et proximi: et ad dilectionem Dei pertinent tria præcepta quæ scripta fuerunt in prima tabula; ad dilectionem vero proximi septem quæ sunt in secunda tabula. Sed, sicut dicitur I. Joan., 3 non debemus diligere verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate. Homo enim sic diligens debet duo facere: scilicet fugere malum, et facere bonum: unde quedam sunt in præceptis inducentia ad bonum, alia autem sunt prohibentia facere malum. Et sciendum, quod cavere a malo faciendum est in potentia nostrâ; sed facere cullibet bonum non possumus: et ideo dicit beatus Augustinus, quod nos omnes debemus

are made to those who honour their parents: that they shall have, first, grace in the present life: and, secondly, glory in the future: "He that honoureth his father shall enjoy a long life."* But, bear this in mind, that a life is long, when it is full; and fulness, according to the philosopher, is not measured by time, but by action; and a life is full, when it is virtuous. But they that injure their parents shall die: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and that despiseth the labour of his mother in bearing him, let the ravens of the brooks pick it out, and the young eagles eat it."† The third promise is, that they shall have grateful and acceptable children; the fourth, that they shall have a praiseworthy fame; and the fifth, that they shall possess riches:‡ "The father's blessing establisheth the houses of the children; but the mother's curse rooteth up the foundation."§

5. We have not only to do good, but to avoid evil. One of the greatest evils we can inflict upon our neighbour, is to kill him. Regarding this fifth precept, there is a three-fold error. Some have said that it is not lawful to kill even brute animals. But this is not so; all animals are subject to man. And the philosopher says, in his Politics, that "hunting is like a just war." "Whatever is sold in the shambles, eat, asking no questions for conscience sake."|| Others have declared it to be unlawful, under any pretext, to put a man to death; so that, according to them, judges, and others, are murderers. But S. Augustine is against this, when he declares that "God does not deprive Himself, by this precept, of the power of putting to death." What is lawful to God, is lawful to His ministers, when He orders them to execute His law: "I will kill, and I will make to live."¶ Others have said that this precept does not include suicide; and therefore, that suicide

diligere, sed non omnibus tenemur benefacere. Sed inter omnes debemus benefacere, conjunctis nobis . . . Inter omnes autem propinquos sunt nobis propinquiores pater et mater; et ideo dicit Ambrosius: 'Primo debemus diligere Deum, secundo patrem et matrem.' . . . Et injustum rationem reddit Philosophus, qui dicit, quod ex magno beneficio recepto ab eis non possumus eis respondere ex equali: et ideo bene potest pater offensam expellere filium, sed non e converso. Dant autem parentes filio tria. Primo stabilimentum quo ad esse. . . . Secundo nutrimentum sive fulcrumentum quod ad necessaria vita. Tertio documentum. Hebr., XII., 9: Patres quidem carnis vestre eruditores habuimus." (*In Precept. Legis*, p. 106, 107.)

* Eccl., III., 7.

† Prov., XXX., 17.

‡ Eccl., III., 11.

§ "Sclendum est quod honorantibus parentes quinque desiderabilia promittuntur. Et primum est gratia in presenti, et gloria in futuro, quae maxime desiderantur. . . . Contrarium debetur maledicentibus, et etiam in lege maledicuntur a Deo, ut dicitur Dent., XXVII. . . . Sed vita naturalis quasi nihil est in comparatione ad vitam gratiae. Si ergo non recognoscias beneficium vitae naturalis quam habes a parentibus, indignus es vita gratiae quae major est, et per consequens vita gloriae, quae maxima est. . . . Secundum desiderabile est vita; unde 'ut sis longevus super terram.' Dicitur Eccl., III., 7: 'Qui honorat patrem suum, vita vivet longiore.' Et nota, quod vita longa est quando est plena; quae non mensuratur tempore, sed actione, secundum Philosophum. Tuus plena est vita quando est virtuosa: et ideo virinosus et sanctus diu vivit, quamvis cito moriatur corporaliter. . . . Praemium est vita corporalis. Sed contrarium, scilicet mortem, acquirit illi qui injuriatur parentibus. . . . Prov., XXX., 17: 'Oculum qui subsannat patrem, et qui despiciit partum matris suae, suffodiant eum corvi de torrentibus et comedant eum filii aquilae.' Per filios aquilae intelliguntur reges et principes, per corvos, officiales. Tertium est habere filios sibi gratos et acceptos. . . . Quartum est habere famam laudabilem. . . . Quintum est habere divitias." (*In Precept. Legis*, p. 107, 108.)

|| 1 Cor., X., 25.

¶ Deut., XXXII., 39.

is lawful. But S. Augustine answers them, when he says: "He who kills himself, without doubt, kills a man."*

Is all anger contrary to virtue? There are two opinions. The Stoics taught that true virtue consisted in peace of mind: the Peripatetics held that a wise man might be moderately angry—and this seems nearer the truth, and is evident, from the Gospel, from the example of Christ, and from reason; for the irascible power would have been given in vain, were no anger ever permitted. So anger is sometimes a virtue, and sometimes not a virtue. Anger may be considered in three ways: when it resides only in the judgment of the reason, without any disturbance of mind, and then it is not, in reality, "anger," but "judgment;" and it is in this way that God is affected, when He punishes the wicked. Next, it may be considered as a passion, and then it resides in the sensitive appetite, and is twofold—for sometimes it is regulated by the dictates of reason; when, for instance, a man is angry when he should be, and as much as he should be, and no more—and then, anger is a virtue. At other times, man's anger gets the better of his reason, and then, it is sinful.† The difference between anger and hatred is this, that the former is soon over, whilst the latter is abiding; and, therefore, a mortal sin. "He who hates his brother, is a murderer."‡ S. Augustine says in his Rule: "Have no contentions; or, if you have any, end them as soon as possible; lest anger develop into hatred, and the mote be turned into a beam; and the soul become guilty of murder." In all our doings, we should observe two things: justice, and mercy. Anger prevents us from so doing. Hence, a philosopher said to one who

* "In lege Divina, per quam ordinatur ad dilectionem Dei et proximi, præcipitur non solum facere bonum, sed etiam declinare a malo. Inter alius autem majus malum quod possit fieri proximo, est occidere eum; et hoc prohibetur cum dicitur 'Non occides.' Circa quod præceptum tripliciter est erratum. Quidam enim dixerunt, quod non licet occidere etiam bruta animalia . . . quidam dixerunt prohibitum esse homicidium hominis omnino: unde homicidas dicunt esse judices sæculares, qui condemnant secundum leges aliquos: contra quos dicit Augustinus, quod Deus per hoc præceptum non abstulit sibi potestatem occidendi. . . . Id enim quod licitum est Deo, licitum est et ministris ejus, per inaudatum ipsius. . . . Est ergo sensus; 'Non occides' propria auctoritate. Alii vero dixerunt, quod per hoc quod dicitur, 'Non occides' prohibetur non occidere alium: unde dicebant, quod licitum erat occidere seipsum. Sic enim invenitur de Samsone Judic. XVI., et de Catone, et de quibusdam virginibus que se in flammis iniecerunt, sicut recitat Augustinus I. de Civitate Dei. Sed ad hoc respondet Augustinus ibidem, dicens: 'qui se occidit, hominem utique occidit.' Si ergo hominem non licet occidere, nisi auctoritate Dei: ergo nec seipsum, nisi vel auctoritate Dei, vel instinctu Spiritus sancti, sicut dicitur de Samsone, ergo 'Non occides.'" (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 108.)

† "Sed numquid omnis ira est contraria virtuti? Circa hoc duplex est opinio. Stoici enim dixerunt, quod nulla passio cadit in sapientem: immo volebant quod vera virtus esset in quiete mentis. Peripatetici autem dixerunt, quod ira cadit in sapientem, sed moderata: et est opinio verior. Et patet primo auctoritate, quia in Evangeliiis invenimus istas passiones Christo attributas, in quo fuit fontalis plenitudo sapientiæ. Secundo patet ratione: nam si omnes passionis virtuti contrariarentur, essent aliqua potentie animæ quæ essent frustra, immo quæ essent homini in nocumentum, quia irascibilis et concupiscibilis frustra daretur homini. Et ideo dicendum est, quod aliquando ira est virtus, aliquando non. Accipitur enim ira tripliciter. Primo prout est in solo judicio rationis absque commotione animi; et ista non dicitur proprie ira, sed judicium. Sic enim Dominus puniens malos, iratus dicitur Mich., VII., 9: 'Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei.' Secundo accipitur prout est passio: et ista est in appetitu sensitivo; et est duplex: quia aliquando ordinatur ratione et continetur sub terminis rationis, quando scilicet quis irascitur quando debet et quantum debet et pro quo debet, et hujusmodi: et tunc est actus virtutis, et dicitur ira per zelum. . . . Est et tertia ira quæ refugit iudicium rationis, et ista semper est peccatum: sed aliquando veniale, aliquando est mortale." (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 109.)

‡ 1 John, III., 15.

had offended him: "Were I not angry, I would punish you." Christ wishes us to abstain from the beginnings of evil; anger is the beginning of homicide; therefore our Lord warns us against anger.*

6. Adultery is forbidden after murder, and fitly, for man and wife are, as it were, one body: "They shall be two in one flesh." † A wife seems to be guilty of a greater sin in committing adultery than a husband. She commits three grave sins. The first, is incredulity, because she misbelieves the Law; she sins against the ordination of God, and also against the Statutes, or Sacrament, of the Church. The second, treachery, for she abandons her husband. The third consists in the commission of a theft; and it is the greatest theft, for she gives the whole inheritance to the children of another. The woman, therefore, who is an adulteress, commits sacrilege, and is a traitor, and a robber. Nor do husbands sin less than their wives, and this, on three accounts: because of the equality they enjoy; on account of the superior strength of the man; and on account of his authority—for man is the head and the teacher of the woman. But the sin of a priest is greater than that of a layman, and that of a bishop greater than that of a priest. Similarly, a husband committing adultery is guilty of a breach of faith. ‡ But let wives attend to that which Christ says: "All things, therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do ye not, for they say, and do not." § S. Gregory says that carnal sins, though less culpable,

* "Homicidium videtur esse actus peccati mortalis ex suo genere, quia directe ordinatur contra preceptum divinum: et ideo consensus in homicidium est peccatum mortale ex genere: quia si actus est mortalis, et consensus erit mortalis. Aliquando autem peccatum mortale est ex genere, sed tamen motus non est peccatum mortale, quia est sine consensu; sicut si ascendit motus concupiscentie ad fornicandum, et non consentitur, non est peccatum mortale; similiter ira: est enim motus ad injuriam illatam vindicandam: hæc enim est proprie ira. . . . Secunda ratio quare debemus non provocari cito ad iram, est, quia omnia homo diligit libertatem et odit servitutem. . . . Secundo cavere debet ne diu in ira permaneat. . . . Tertio cavere debet ne in ira procedat. Primo in corde, quod fit quando pervenit ad odium. Est enim differentia inter iram et odium, quia ira subita est, odium vero diuturnum; et ideo est mortale peccatum: I Joan. III., 15: 'qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est;' et ratio hujus est, quia et se interficit spolians se caritate, et alium. Augustinus in Regula: 'Lites aut nullas habeatis, aut quam celerissime finiatas, ne ira crescat in odium, et trabem faciat de festinea, et animam faciat homicidam.' Genes., XLIX., 7: 'Maledictus furor eorum quia peritæ, et indignatio eorum, quia dura.' (In *Precept. Legis*, p. 109.)

† Gen., II., 24.

‡ "Post prohibitionem homicidii prohibetur adulterium; et congrue, quia vir et uxor sunt quasi unum corpus. . . . Et ideo post injuriam que infertur personæ, nulla major est quam illa que infertur conjunctæ. Prohibetur autem adulterium uxori et viro. Sed prius dicitur est de uxoris adulterio, quia majus peccatum videtur committere. Committit autem ista peccata gravia uxor mœchando. . . . Primo ergo peccat per incredulitatem, quia legi incredulitas fit. . . . Item facit contra Dei ordinationem. . . . Item contra Ecclesiæ statuta, vel sacramentum: fit enim matrimonium in facie Ecclesiæ; et ideo adducitur Deus quasi in testem et fidei-juramentum de servanda fide. . . . Secundo peccat per perditionem, quia derelinquit virum. . . . Tertio per furti communionem quia ex alieno viro constituit sibi filius; et hoc maximum furtum est, quia totam hereditatem dat alienis filiis. Et nota, quod ista debet audere quod filii intrarent religionem, vel aliquid aliud facerent, ita quod in bonis viri non succederent. Est ergo mulier mœchans, sacrilega, proditrix, furatrix. Viri vero peccant non minus quam uxores, licet sibi quandoque blandiantur: quod patet ex tribus. Primo ex æqualitate quam habet. . . . Secundo ex viri fortitudine. . . . Tertio ex ejus victoriatate; quia vir est caput mulieris: unde mulieres non debent loqui in Ecclesia; nec domi viros interrogare, ut dicitur, I Corinth., XIV. Est ergo vir doctor mulieris: et ideo Deus preceptum dedit viro." (In *Precept. Legis*, p. 110.)

§ *Matth., XXIII., 3.*

are more infamous than spiritual offences; and the reason is, because they render a man like to a beast.

7. The Law forbids injury, first, to persons: "Thou shalt not kill;" secondly, to the married: "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" and thirdly, in respect of goods: "Thou shalt not steal;" S. Augustine says that: "All unlawful possession is a theft." This precept forbids all unjust taking away. And there are many reasons to induce us to avoid this sin. First, on account of its gravity, for it is likened to the crime of murder: "He that sheddeth blood, and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire, are brothers."* Secondly, on account of the ruinous danger it implies.† For no sin is so ensnaring; since it cannot be remitted without satisfaction and penance. A man may quickly repent; just as a man's anger subsides after a murder; or his passion ceases after his sin. But here, though a man may repent, he does not so easily make satisfaction, since he not only has to restore the goods, but to repair the damage done; and, besides all this, he has to do penance for his sin: "Woe to him that heapeth together that which is not his own; how long also doth he load himself with thick clay?"‡ Thirdly, on account of the inutility of such a sin; and, fourthly, on account of the singular harm which results from it, for it brings destruction along with it, like fire when thrown upon straw:§ "Fire shall devour their tabernacles who love to take bribes."||

8. We have seen that God forbids man to injure his neighbour, by deed; now, he commands that he should not injure him, by word:¶ "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neigh-

* *Eccli., XXXIV., 27.*

† "Dominus prohibuit principaliter in lege sua injuriam proximi: et primo injuriam in propria personam, ibi, 'Non occides;' secundo in persona conjuncta, ibi, 'Non mœchaberis;' tertio in rebus, hic, 'Non furtum facies.' Et sciendum, quod in hoc præcepto prohibetur omne male abatum. Committitur enim furtum multis modis. Primo occulte accipiendo. . . . Secundo violenter auferendo: et hæc est major injuria. . . . Tertio mercedem non solvendo. . . . Quarto fraudem in mercationibus committendo. . . . Debent nos inducere multe rationes ad hoc [furtum] cavendum. Prima sumitur ex gravitate: assimilatur enim hoc peccatum homicidio. . . . Secunda ex periculi qualitate: nullum enim peccatum est ita periculosum. Nullum enim peccatum remittitur sine satisfactione et penitentia. . . . Tertio ex talium inutilitate: non enim sunt utilia, neque spiritualiter prosunt ad eleemosynas et sacrificia. Prov., XII., 8: 'Redemptio animæ viri divitiæ suæ:' sed de non propriis dicitur. Isai., LXI., 8: 'Ego Dominus diligens judicium, et odio habens rapinam in holocaustum.' Eccli., XXXIV., 24: 'Qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperum, quasi qui victimam filium in conspectu patris sui: nec temporaliter, quia parum durat. Habac., II., 9: 'Vae qui congregat avaritiam in malum domui suæ. . . . et liberari se putat de manu mali.'" (*In Præcept. Legis, p. 111, 112.*)

‡ *Habac., II., 6.*

§ "Prov., XXVIII., 8: 'Qui conservat divitias usuris, et fenore liberali in pauperis congregat eas.' Prov., XIII., 22: 'Custoditur justo substantia peccatoris.' Quarto ex nocivitate singularitate: faciunt enim perdere alia: sunt enim ignis paleis commixtus. Job, XV., 34: 'Iguis devoravit tabernacula eorum qui munera libenter accipiunt.' Scias insuper, quod talis non solum suam amittet animam, sed etiam filiorum, quia illi teneantur reddere." (*In Præcept. Legis, p. 112.*)

|| *Job, XV., 24.*

¶ "Prohibuit jam Dominus, quod nullus injuriaret proximo suo opere; nunc autem præcipit, quod non injuriaret verbo; et hoc est: 'Non loquaris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.' Hoc autem potest esse dupliciter: vel in judicio, vel in communi locutione. In judicio autem tribus modis, secundum quod tres persone possunt facere contra hoc præceptum. Prima persona, scilicet accusantis falsa. . . . Item persona testificantis mentiendo. . . . Item persona judicis male sententiando. . . . In communi locutione peccant aliquando contra hoc præceptum quinque genera hominum. Scilicet detractores. . . . Item qui detractores libenter audit. . . . Item susurratores, qui scilicet recitant quidquid audiunt.

bour." This may be done in two ways: in giving judgment, or in common conversation. In judgment, three sins may be committed: by accusing falsely—and, remember, that as you cannot say what is false, so you must not conceal what is true; then, by witnessing to a lie; and, finally, by an unjust sentence. In common conversation, five kinds of persons sin against this command: detractors, who are hateful to God; those who freely listen to them; gossips, who relate all they hear; flatterers, that is, adulators; and murmurers. By this Commandment, all lies are forbidden, and for four reasons: because lies render men similar to the devil—a liar is the devil's son: "For thy speech doth discover thee;"* on account of inveracity tending to bring about the dissolution of society—for men could not live together, if the truth were not told; because lies destroy a man's reputation; and, finally, because they work the perdition of the soul: "The mouth that beliieth, killeth the soul."† The Saint then gives some of the principal causes which lead men to tell lies, ending with the case of those who tell lies in fun. And of this we must be careful, lest, through custom, we be led on to mortal sin: "For the bewitching of vanity obscureth good things."‡

9. This is the difference between the Divine and the civil law, viz.: the civil law only judges words and actions; the Divine law judges thoughts also; and the reason is, because the former is made by man, who judges things from the outside; the latter is from God, who sees both within and without: "Man seeth those things that appear, but the Lord beholdeth the heart."§ With God, the "will" is equivalent to the action; not only are we not to steal the property of another, but we are not even to covet it. And there are many reasons for this: first, on account of the infiniteness of concupiscence. And the reason why covetousness is never satiated is, because the heart of man was made for God; ||

. . . Item blanditores, idest adulatores. . . . Item murmuratores; et hoc maxime abundat in subtilitate. 1 Corin. II, 10: 'Neque murmuraveritis.' Sapient., I, 11: 'Custodite vos a murmuracione, quae nihil prodest.' (In *Præcept. Legis*, p. 112.)

* "Eccl., VII, 14: 'Noli velle mentiri omne mendacium; assidulus enim illius non est bonus'; et hoc propter quatuor. Primo propter diaboli assimulationem: talis enim efficitur diaboli filius. Item homines quidam sunt de genere diaboli. Secundo propter societatis dissolutionem. Homines enim simul vivunt: quod esse non posset si simul verum non dicerent. Tertio propter famæ amissionem: qui enim assuescit mendacii, non creditur alibi, etiam si verum dicat. Quarto propter animæ perditionem: occidit enim homo mendax animam suam. Sapient., I, 11: 'Os quod mentitur, occidit animam.' Psalm. V., 7: 'Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium.' Unde patet quod est peccatum mortale. Unde advertas, quia ipsorum mendaciorum quoddam est mortale, quoddam veniale. Mortale autem est mentiri in his quæ sunt fidei; quod pertinet ad præclaros magistros et prædicatores: et hoc est gravius omnibus aliis speciebus mendacii: 2 Petr., II, 1: 'In vobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perditionis.' Et aliqui aliquando talia dicunt, ut videantur scire. Isa., XLVII, 4: 'Super quem lusisti, super quem dilatasti os, et ejecisti linguam? Numquid non vos filii aeclesi, semen mendax?' Item aliquando mentuntur aliqui in damnum proximi. Coloss., III, 9: 'Nolite mentiri invicem.' Et hæc duo mendacia mortalia sunt. Aliqui autem mentiuntur pro seipsis; et hoc multipliciter. Aliquando ex humilitate. . . . Aliqui ex verecundia levitate. . . . Aliqui ex utilitate. . . . Aliqui propter alterius commodum. . . . Aliqui propter ludum." (In *Præcept. Legis*, p. 112—113.)

† Wisdom, I, 11.

‡ Wisdom, IV, 12.

§ Reg., XVI, 7.

|| "Hæc est differentia inter legem divinam et mundanam: quia lex mundana judicat facta et dicta: divina autem non hæc tantum, sed etiam cogitata. Et ratio hujus est, quia illa est

hence, S. Augustine: "Thou hast made us, O Lord, for Thyself, and our heart is not at rest till it rests in Thee." What is less than God cannot fill the heart. Secondly, because it disturbs repose, which is very pleasant; for the covetous are eager to obtain what they do not possess, and to preserve what they have got hold of. And on this account, Christ likened riches to thorns, as S. Gregory tells us. Thirdly, because it makes riches useless, to the owner, as well as to others, for all he does is to hoard them up. Fourthly, because it does away with the equity of justice. Fifthly, because it destroys charity; for, according to Augustine, "the more charitable a man is, the less covetous he is, and conversely." Sixthly, because it brings forth all iniquity, and is the root of all evils.

10. On account of the corruption consequent on sin, Christ and the glorious Virgin alone escaped concupiscence.* Sin reigns in the flesh, first, when concupiscence, by consent, domineers in the heart. Secondly, when it rules in the mouth, by giving expression to the concept of the mind—so, even according to the philosophers, they are not without sin who compose wanton songs; for poets who wrote love-songs were driven out of the cities. Thirdly, when it is put into act—and these are the three degrees of concupiscence. Much labour must be expended in conquering this sin, for it is intrinsic to us, and a domestic enemy is conquered with difficulty. But there are four ways of overcoming it: by flying external occasions—"Can a man hide fire in his bosom, and his garments not burn?"† Secondly, by not giving admittance to thoughts which are an occasion of exciting concupiscence; and

per homines, qui iudicant ea quæ apparent exterius; sed divinus est a Deo, qui exterius interiusque conspicit: Psalm., LXXII., 25: 'Dens cordis mei.' 1 Reg., XVI., 7: 'Homo videt quæ foris sunt, Dens autem intuetur cor.' Dictum est autem de præceptis quæ pertinent ad dicta et facta; nunc ergo dicendum est de cogitatis. Nam apud Deum voluntas pro facto reputatur: unde 'non concupiscēs;' id est, non solum non auferas facto, sed nec etiam 'reum proximi tui concupiscēs;' et hoc propter multa. Primo propter concupiscentiæ infinitatem: concupiscentia enim quid infinitum est. . . . Et quod concupiscentia nunquam satiatur, ratio est, quia cor hominis factum est ad recipiendum Deum. . . . Secundo quia auferit quietem, quæ multum est delectabilis: semper enim cupidi solliciti sunt acquirere non habita, et habita custodire. . . . Tertio quia causat in divitis inutilitatem: facit enim divitias esse non utiles nec sibi nec aliis. . . . Quarto, quia tollit iustitiæ æquitatem. Quinto quia nequit caritatem proximi: 'quia secundum Augustinum, quanto magis habet quis de caritate, tanto minus de cupiditate, et e converso:' Eccl., VII., 20: 'Neque fratrem carissimum auro spreveris.' (In *Præcept. Legis*, p. 113.)

* "Beatus Joannes in 1 Canonica sua, II. Capite, vers. 16, dicit, quod 'omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ:' unde omne desiderabile in his tribus consistit; sed duo ex istis intelliguntur prohibita per hoc præceptum. 'Non concupiscēs domum proximi tui.' In domo enim intelligitur et altitudo, per quam avaritia designatur: Psalm III., 3: 'Gloria et divitiæ in domo ejus.' Qui ergo desiderat domum, desiderat dignitates. Et ideo post hoc præceptum. 'Non concupiscēs domum proximi tui,' ponitur aliud, per quod prohibetur carnis concupiscentia. 'Non,' inquit 'desiderabis uxorem proximi tui.' Et est sciendum, quod post peccatum, propter corruptionem unius evadit concupiscentiam præter Christum et Virgineu gloriosam. Et quandoquidem concupiscentia, adest, adest vel cum veniali, vel cum mortali, quando scilicet dominatur. . . . Regnat peccatum in carne, quando primo in corde regnat concupiscentia, consentiendo. . . . Voluntas apud Deum pro facto reputatur. Secundo quando dominatur in ore, conceptum exprimeudo. . . . Ephes., IV., 29: 'Omnis sermo malus ex ore vestro non procedat.' Et ideo non est sine peccato componere cautions vanas etiam secundum Philosophos; quia et Poetæ fingentes carmina amatoriam debebant expelli ex civitatibus. Tertio, quando egreditur in opere. . . . Isti ergo sunt gradus concupiscentiæ." (In *Præcept. Legis*, p. 114.)

† Prov., VI., 27.

this is done by punishing the flesh: "I chastise my body, and bring it under subjection."* Thirdly, by being constant in prayer.† If two men are fighting, and you wish the one to conquer, and not the other, you must strengthen the one, and weaken the other: hence, if you want the spirit to be victorious, you must assist it; and this is done by prayer. And you must reduce the flesh, and that is done by fasting—for by fasting, the body is weakened. Fourthly, by persevering in lawful occupations: "Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister—pride, fulness of bread, and abundance, and the idleness of her and of her daughters."‡ Amongst all occupations, the best is the study of the Holy Scriptures. S. Jerome writes to Paulinus: "Love the study of the Scriptures, and thou wilt not love the vices of the flesh."§

The reader must now be left to form his own judgment upon the minor works of the Angelical, written at this period. Some of the most telling thoughts have been selected, and the general tone and method of the Saint's mind have been displayed. But, it stands to reason, that, fully to appreciate the depth and solidity of his mind, and the consecutive chain of his reasoning, the works themselves must be studied in their relation of part to part. What, perhaps, is more striking than anything else in these *Expositions*, is this: that, in the entire handling of each subject, the profoundest theological science is made manifest, and an acquaintance with Holy Scripture is evinced, which shows at once what a deep knowledge, and what a complete grasp, the Angelical had of the Sacred Text. It is difficult to say which is the most extra-

* 1 Cor., IX. 27.

† "Et sciendum quod in fugiendo istud peccatum oportet multum laborare, cum sit intrinsecum: difficilium enim vincitur iululens familiaria. Vincitur autem quatuor modis. Primo occasione exterioris fugiendo, ut puta malam societatem, et omnia inducentia occasionaliter ad hoc peccatum. Eccli., IX. 5: 'Virginem ne conspicias, ne forte scandalizeris in decore illius Noli circumspicere in vicis civitatis, nec observeris in plateis illius. Averte faciem tuam a muliere corrupta, et ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt, et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit.' Prov., VI. 27: 'Nunquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, ut vestimenta illius non ardeant?' Et ideo preceptum fuit Lot ut fugeret ab omni circa regione. Gen. XIX. Secundo cogitationibus aditum non prebendo, quia occasio sunt excitanda concupiscentie: et hoc faciendum est per carnis afflictionem. 1 Cor., IX. 27: 'Castigo corpus meum et in servitutum redigo.' Tertio orationibus insistendo quia 'nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.' Psalm., CXXVI. l. Sapient., VIII. 21: 'Sci vi quoniam aliter non possum esse continens, nisi Deus det.' Matth., XVII. 20: 'Hoc genus demoniorum non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium.' Si enim duo pugnant: et velles unum juvare, alterum vero non: oportet primo auxilium dare, secundo vero subtrahere.' (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 114.)

‡ Ezech. XVI. 49.

§ "Inter spiritum autem et carnem est pælium continuum: unde oportet quod si vis quod spiritus vincat, quod des ei auxilium, et hoc fit per orationem: carni vero subtrahas, et hoc fit per jejunium: nam caro per jejunium debilitatur. Quarta licitis occupationibus insistendo: Eccli., XXXIII. 29: 'Multam multitudinem docuit otiositas.' Ezech., XVI. 49: 'Hæc fuit iniquitas Sodomæ, superbia, saturitas panis, et abundantia, et otium.' Hieronymus: 'Semper aliquid boni facito, ut te diabolus inveniat occupatum.' Inter omnes autem occupationes nullæ est studium Scripturarum. Hieronymus ad Paulinum: 'Ania studia Scripturarum, et carnis vita non amabis. Hæc ergo sunt decem verba, de quibus dicit Dominus. Matth., XIX. 17: 'Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata.' Due enim sunt radices principales omnium mandatorum, scilicet directio Dei et proximi. Diligenti autem Deum tria necesse est facere: Scilicet quod non habeat alium Deum, et quantum ad hoc dicit: 'Non coles deos alienos.' Secundo quod honoret eum, et quantum ad hoc dicit: 'Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum.' Tertio quod libenter quiescat in eo; et quantum ad hoc dicit: 'Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices.' Diligentem autem proximum oportet quod primo faciat ei honorem debitum. . . . Secundo quod absteineat a faciendo ei malum vel facto. . . . vel corde.' (*In Præcept. Legis*, p. 114.)

ordinary—the ingenuity with which he illustrates the minutest point of morals with passages of Holy Writ, or the memory which he displays in the number of his quotations, or the readiness of his resource in bringing them to bear, or, finally, the vividness with which he appears to perceive an association of ideas where less elastic minds would never have discovered any at all. Then, again, what is particularly valuable in these Expositions is, that the analysis of the various virtues, and vices, and passions, which come under discussion, is made with extreme care, and with undoubted success. The Saint's appreciation of the human heart, his singular clearness of mind, his logical directness of expression, and his thorough mastery of the moral theory of the Stagyrice, fitted him, in a remarkable degree, for such undertakings. Then, once more, his great purity of life, his intense power of prayer, his associations with the unseen world, his intimate relations with his Maker and his Master, and the calmness of his intellectual vision, which was never disturbed by prejudice or by passion, by narrowness or by feeling, but was always fixed, gently, yet steadily, on Truth, gave him a steadiness and a force, a brilliancy and a depth, which has made him the light of the Church, as well as the Angel of the Schools.

Many more points of great interest might, of course, be touched upon, in the writings of our Saint, at this period; but there are other events, of a less peaceful nature than the learned disquisitions and tracts of the theologian, which must not be passed over. In times of tranquility, the Angelical manifested high and splendid virtue; but, after all, it was in days of contest, and amidst the jarring of contending parties, that his greatest nobleness was shown; for this simple reason, that such occasions offer the most favorable opportunities for the practice of distinguished virtue, and for the display of true heroism of soul.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WILLIAM OF SAINT-AMOUR.

WHILST S. Thomas was busily engaged in teaching, preaching, and writing, those antagonistic elements, which can be traced in the history of every thinking race, were fermenting, and preparing for a great explosion. The condition of the Paris University has already been dwelt upon—how the rationalism and irreverence of the disciples of the school of Abelard had spread abroad; how the Eastern heresies had lodged in the heart of the University; how the whole intellectual atmosphere of the greatest theological centre of the world was charged with principles of misbelief; how a fanaticism of a singular nature had possessed many minds, and had driven them into all manner of spiritual insanities; and how, in fine, the fierceness of the political order added fuel to the general excitement.

As the religious Orders, particularly those of S. Dominic and S. Francis, seem to have been raised up to create a barrier to this press of unreason and disorder—and, by holy vows, by abrogation of private judgment, abandonment of family ties, and renunciation of worldly goods, to become organized witnesses to stability of faith, to subjection of will, and to control of mind and imagination—it stands to reason that they would be the first to be attacked. There is a subtle instinct in man—as there is in the animal—by which, with the rapidity of infallible intuition, he detects, at a distance, and at once, those who are his natural enemies, however artfully they may have endeavoured to simulate friendship, or to hide their hostile dispositions. Then, antagonism on one side, elicits opposition from the other; till what were, at first, almost imperceptible germs, grow into vast organic and conflicting powers. If it be truth against error; or against truth mixed with a little alloy; or, again, against error mixed with a little truth—the battle may be protracted, and the fight, at times, may seem doubtful; but, in the long run, the stronger prevails, the weaker is overpowered, is cast to the earth, decays into it, and at length disappears altogether.

Now, at this period, rationalism and irreverence had been worked

up to a vigorous display of themselves, through the successes of their rivals. That frame of mind which belonged to the liberal school, could not endure to behold men, whose very appearance preached veneration, reverence, self-control, and custody of tongue and eyes, by degrees gaining a firm hold on the minds of youth.* Men can bear, with comparative patience, a word or a blow; but nothing is so mortifying, because nothing is so withering, as the silent condemnation of a living principle which, without the effort of words, by simply letting itself be seen, scourges folly, rebukes pretence, and shames the shallowness of self-assertion, and the emptiness of self-conceit. The noisy, and the thoughtless, are never more at ease than when with men of the same build as themselves; and never less so, than when there happens to be in the company, some quiet, thoughtful man, who says, perhaps, nothing, but who, nevertheless, is known to be a critic, and an observer of his kind.

Much more reason had the liberals to dislike the Mendicants, who were guilty of two unpardonable faults: they were religious, and they were successful. They had already penetrated into the University. They had, in a few years, expanded into powerful corporations; and, like a network, had spread their meshes over the surface of the Church. Their mortified appearance, their unmistakable rejection of the world, their eloquence in the pulpit, and their influence in the confessional, drew thousands under their control; and thus, they did away with the prestige, and lessened the power, of the secular clergy, and the secular professors. There was, for instance, Albert, called the Great, who drew such crowds, that he had to lecture in the open air; and he was but one amongst many more who caught the ear of the promising student, and drew him under monastic influences, and often into the Order itself. And now, Thomas and Bonaventure were imitating Albert, and were blighting, by their brilliancy, the reputation and the prospects of less able men.

Then, it was not forgotten that, when the Doctors were unanimous in their desire to assert the dignity of the University, the Mendicants stood aloof; and, in fact, ever seemed to keep their right eye steadily fixed on the advancement and reputation of

* Dr. Newman forcibly expresses the principle when he says:—"Every religion has had its eminent devotees, exalted above the body of the people, mortified men, brought nearer to the Source of Good by austerities, self-inflictions, and prayer, who have influence with Him, and extend a shelter and gain blessings for those who become their clients. A belief like this has been, of course, attended by numberless superstitions; but those superstitions vary with times and places, and the belief itself in the mediatorial power of the good and holy has been one and the same everywhere. Nor is this belief an idea of past times only, or of heathen countries. It is one of the most natural visions of the young and innocent. And all of us, the more keenly we feel our distance from holy persons, the more we are drawn near to them, as if forgetting that distance, and proud of them because they are so unlike ourselves, as being specimens of what our nature may be, and with some vague hope that we, their relations by blood, may profit in our own persons by their holiness." (*Grammar of Assent*, Chap. X., p. 402, 403.)

their own Society. Again, besides being living protests against Abelardine principles, the Mendicants were *successful* protests, inasmuch as they counted amongst their number, men, who, into whatever position they were cast, would, from their own intrinsic merit and ability, act as leaders of the world.

Still, light, however brilliant, is not without its shadows. The most splendid and perfect institution, if it grow, and occupy a large space, if many join it, will have, amongst its members, imprudent, ardent, and therefore, dangerous men—men, who through their very love of their religion, by trying to elevate it rashly, bring it to the verge of ruin: or, at least, offer so fair a pretext to the malevolent for attacking it, that the combined learning and prudence of many years will hardly make good the damage done. The mass of men do not deal in fine distinctions; they see only broad outlines; to distinguish, with them, is casuistry; and casuistry, they consider to be next door to systematized imposture. Point out some telling scandals against some member of a large organized body; be they only three or four, or true or false, repeat them often enough, couple the name of that organized body with them; and the "public" will pass the verdict of guilty upon the whole, and condemn both the system, and him who sins against it.

So was it with the Dominicans and Franciscans at this period. They represented the great principles of monasticism, as opposed to the liberalism and irreverence of that day.* But the Dominicans and Franciscans formed a powerful and influential body of men. There were spots amongst them—and some very large and ugly spots. There had been, and still were, abuses amongst them—and large and ugly abuses too—in a word, they were human, and they lived in the thirteenth century.

Now, the great practical work which S. Thomas did against rationalism and irreverence, was to save the religious Orders from being wholly overpowered. He has, in his writings, laid down the principles of true reason, which, when developed and applied, overset the rationalistic spirit. Had he not possessed a clear head, and had he not been gifted with extraordinary genius, in all probability, the cause of monasticism would have suffered a very terrible blow. One thing is a set of principles buried in a book,

* "Man sah überdiess in den Mendicanten ein Element in die Universität eindringen, welches den freien Gemeingeist derselben zu beeinträchtigen drohte, jedenfalls den selbstständigen Bewegungen des autonomen Körpers hindernd entgegenstand. Man dachte also daran, ihnen überhaupt den Beruf zum öffentlichen Lehren abzuspochen. Die Gunst, welcher sie sich von Seite des Papstes und des Königs erfreuten, gab um einen Grund mehr, sich ihrer, wo möglich, zu entledigen; die gresse Menge, welche an den mancherlei Reibungen der Universität mit den Behörden und öffentlichen Gewalten Wohlgefallen hatte, und in dem Universitätskörper ein willkommenes Element liberaler Opposition gegen die bevorrechteten Stände und Organe der öffentlichen Gewalten erblickte, war für diese Absicht nicht schwer zu gewinnen; zumal wenn man die Mendicanten in Verruf brachte als Leute, welche vom Geiste der Hoffart durchdrungen seien und unter dem heuchlerischen Scheine der Armut Schätze häuften, kein Mittel zur Erwerbung derselben verschmähend." (Werner, Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 138, 139.)

or taught, even, in the chair; another thing is the organized power, or system, which embodies them, and expresses their energy and power. The high motives of love, reverence, purity, and adoration, in their noblest form, would soon disappear from the consciousness of men—would soon, indeed, be wholly misunderstood, and then be hated by society—if their living exponents were thrust on one side; that is, if men who felt themselves called to devote their whole beings to the Divine service, were thwarted of their purpose, and forbidden to carry out, in their lives, the highest teachings of the Cross.

S. Thomas must clearly have seen that the adversaries of the religious life—that rationalism and irreverence, in one word—were bent upon sweeping away, not simply the theoretical teaching of the principle of reverence and authority, not merely monastic theology, but monastic *men*. The liberals perceived, shrewdly enough, that if the Mendicants were deprived of that training which gave them half their power, the world would soon abandon them, and then despise them, and rob them of the other half; that, if it could in some way be shown that the fundamental truths of monastic life were vain, or absurd, or unbecoming; that freedom, and independence, and self-assertion, were more worthy than subjection and self-repression, and an humble life; then, those promising young men who formed the rising generation, would forsake the cloister, join in the struggles of the world, and become the admirers and slaves of irreverence or infidelity.

There is no doubt that the contest which eventually raged in the Paris schools, between the two great parties—between the secular element and the regulars—was no sudden creation of mutual antagonism. The University, ever since these two elements, had grown into anything like a powerful life, had been the scene of much rivalry, and no little jealousy and ill-feeling. Principles cannot possibly assert themselves, in the shape of living, active men, without very soon coming into collision; and of all principles, religious principles, as far as the experience of history goes, appear to be the most inflammable and explosive. Often two opposite parties smoulder, and smoke, and threaten, for a long time, before actually encountering each other. Much depends on the accident of individuals. It happens, at times, that in either party no one rises up who can be chosen as a centre, or can be trusted as a leader. As long as there is no one to take this initiative, the fire spreads, steadily and gradually, but silently, and without being seen. The principles which are eating their way into the minds of many, and every day fixing themselves on some new subject on the one side, at length come in contact with the anta-

gonistic principles which have been advancing unimpeded in exactly the same way upon the other: till, finally, on one side or the other, some man who has energy, talent, and enthusiasm, is roused into activity by the influence that comes suddenly upon him, and at once, like a spark amongst prepared combustibles, the whole material, on either side, bursts out into flame.

In the present instance, S. Thomas and William of S. Amour were the representatives of two sets of principles, which, for a long course of years, had been growing in opposition—S. Amour combating on the rationalistic side; S. Thomas, on that of authority.

The work S. Thomas did, in this respect, cannot be understood without a reference to the rise, progress, and close of the great University struggle in which he had to take a leading part.

William of S. Amour is a fair specimen of one of those conceited and turbulent men who seem never to be wanting in the Church—possibly to teach her pastors to watch, and to be patient. Without Abelard's brilliancy or gifts, without his polish or generosity, he possessed, in an exaggerated degree, his contentious spirit and rationalistic malady. He was master of all that astuteness, cunning, and elasticity of conscience—all that talent for throwing a trifling difficulty into a distorted form, and that ability in playing the injured man, which seems, by a sort of fatality, to accompany a self-sufficient, and an irreverent teacher. And William of S. Amour was also a violent man; and, it is to be feared, he was hardly honest. He may have had his own reasons for what he said, and his own explanations—doubtless, he had—but he did not always strictly tell the truth. Morally, very possibly, he may have been innocent enough. He had a vast and an unruly imagination, and, when on fire, it blazed without control. To have thrown water upon it—to have dropped into it a truth here and there—would only have been to have created noise, to have multiplied confusion, and to have generated much more smoke than before.

Some writers, who do not seem to look much below the surface, have ventured the opinion that William's quarrel was simply a personal matter. Is it not more philosophical to suppose it to have been the first note of a war of principle? Had it been merely a private difference, the whole world of Catholic thought at Rome and Paris—popes and kings, bishops and generals of Orders, professors of Universities and students of the schools—would not have been set so violently in motion. No, it was the call of the bugle; the shrill clarion, sounding for a charge, which was the prelude to a general engagement.

The fact is, before William of S. Amour had penned the first

line of his celebrated "Perils of the Last Times," he had incurred serious suspicion, on account of his unorthodox beliefs and teachings. He had been charged with divers errors, not only before the Bishop of Paris, and in the presence of several attendant prelates; but he had also, through the influence of the Papal Legate, been accused of holding dangerous views, before the King of France himself.* William, with that cunning which generally accompanies misbelief, turned all this to the best possible account; and played the part, so often acted since his time, of making himself out to be a martyr. And very likely he might have been privileged to remain one, had he not been so imprudent as to publish a great many of his errors in his notorious attack upon the Mendicants.† He penned it, he declared, at the request of the bishops; an assertion as unjustifiable as gratuitous, for the bishops were excessively scandalized at the appearance of the book, nor had a single one of them ever given to it the slightest indication of approval, either before or after its condemnation by Pope Alexander.

The ostensible object of the work was to draw out, by means of Holy Scripture, the character of those false prophets who are to appear at the end of the world; and who are spoken of by S. Paul, in his second Epistle to Timothy: "Know also this, that in the last days, shall come on dangerous times. Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers, slanderers, incontinent, unmerciful, without kindness. Traitors, stubborn, puffed up, and lovers of pleasure more than of God."‡ The author undertakes to prove that the Church was to be ex-

* "Il est vrai que ce Docteur fut accusé de diverses erreurs, tantôt devant le Roi saint Louis, sur les plaintes du Nonce Apostolique; tantôt devant l'Evêque de Paris, ou en présence de plusieurs autres Prélats assemblés dans cette Capitale: Il est vrai encore, que l'accusé se défendit toujours, & qu'il tâcha de se justifier, soit en désavouant ce qu'on lui attribuoit, soit en donnant quelquefois à ses paroles un sens, qui pouvoit paroître tolérable. Mais enfin ce qu'il s'étoit contenté d'avancer d'abord dans quelques eulapies particuliers, il voulut le mettre par écrit: & en publiant son livre il se priva lui-même de l'avantage, qu'il avoit en jusqu'alors, d'expliquer ou de nier à son gré ses propres discours; & il a fait perdre à son Apologiste, toute espérance d'en être cru sur sa parole." (Toumon, *Liv. I., Chap. VIII.*, p. 126.)

† "Le livre sur lequel on peut juger sûrement si la doctrine & la conduite de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, foudroie de justes plaintes contre lui, est intitulé *des périls des derniers tems*. Il le composa (à ce qu'il prétendoit) par ordre des Evêques, pour faire connoître par l'Ecriture sainte, le caractère des faux Prophètes, qui devoient venir dans les derniers tems, faisaient surtout allusion à un passage de S. Paul, qu'il entreprend d'expliquer." (*Loco Citato*, Cf. Bareille, *Chap. XVII.*, p. 184.)

‡ *Cap. III.*, p. 1, 2, 3, 4.

§ "Sie begann mit der Warnung vor falschen Propheten, vor welchen die Kirche nicht genug auf ihrer Hut sein könne: ein solcher falscher Prophet sei, wer ohne Beruf predige, und diess sei bei den Mendicanten der Fall. Denn das Predigen stehe einzig den Bischöfen als Nachfolgern der Apostel, und den Pfarrern als Nachfolgern der zweihundsebenzig Jünger des Herrn zu. Was gegen die kanonischen Satzungen der Kirche sei und die Rechte der Bischöfe verletze, könne selbst der Papst nicht erlauben. Die Bischöfe würden dem Unfuge der Mendicantenprediger am Besten steuern, wenn sie den Mönchen das Almosensammeln verböten: das Betteln erzeugt Schmeichelei, Lästerei, Lügner. Es ist unwar, dass Christus und seine Jünger bloss von Almosen gelebt hätten: der heilige Paulus wollte lieber von seiner Hände Arbeit leben, als der Mildthätigkeit der Gläubigen zur Last fallen. Die Mönche dispensiren sich von der Nachahmung des Apostels Paulus durch das Vorgeben, dass ihnen ihre Studien dazu keine Zeit liessen; indess könnten sie vielleicht, trotz aller ihrer geistigen Anstrengungen, die denn am Ende doch nur in gelehrten, der einfachen, gesunden Lehre verderblichen, und das Gemüth vertrocknenden Spitzfindigkeiten bestehen, fortwährend im Zustande der Verdammnis leben." (Werner, *Cap. III.*, p. 153.)

posed to great vicissitudes. He says, he will show what kind of men they are who are to bring these perils upon her; and will make known the nature of the perils. He says that they are close at hand, and must be faced; and that those who are too blind to foresee them, or fail to take precautions against them, will perish. He explains who those are who ought to foresee them, and put the faithful on their guard; and indicates what punishment they will be visited with, who are wanting in this important duty. And then he points out how these evils may be warded off; and how those dangerous men, who are to draw them upon the Church, may be clearly recognized.

Then, as if knowing full well in what sense his work would be understood, he artfully protests that he is simply treating the matter in the abstract; that he refers to nobody in particular; nor does he allude to any religious Order approved of by the Church.* Yet, without exception, when the book came out, and it was translated into French to increase its circulation, the whole world declared, with one accord, that it was aimed straight at the Mendicant Orders, and at the Dominican Order in particular. In point of fact, William of S. Amour had simply committed to writing, and had published, opinions, accusations, libels, slanders, and lies, which had been heard coming from his mouth incessantly, against the religious principle with which he was ever implacably at war. He was saying nothing new; he was simply giving in the gross, what he had poured out in detail, in his public, and his private life. He, with his fierce, "liberal" spirit, and his overbearing arrogance, fumed in presence of the poor and humble followers of S. Dominic and S. Francis.† He saw all their actions

* "Il a beau protester de la pureté de ses intentions, de la résolution où il est de ne désigner personne, il peint avec tant de précision les disciples de saint François et ceux de saint Dominique, qu'il ne saurait convrir la perfidie de ses attaques du silence affecté qu'il garde sur leur nom. Ces institutions nouvelles sont, d'après lui, une source inépuisable de malheurs pour la société. Il n'est pas de corruption, de calamités publiques, dont les religieux mendians ne doivent porter, à son avis, l'effrayante responsabilité." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII.*, p. 183.)

† S. Amour not only wrote the "De Periculis novissimorum temporum," but also preached a sermon, "De Publicano et Phariseo," and published a treatise or question, "De Valido Mendicante," which contained many dangerous errors. Amongst his many heresies are the following:—"Religiosi mendicantes, et si a summo Pontifici et ab episcopo missi sint, predicare non possunt, nisi a plebanis fuerint invitati. De evangelio non possunt vivere. Vivere debent de labore corporis. Periculum est in mendicando quoniam qui de mendicatio vivere volunt, sunt adulatorum, detractores, mentaces, et fures, et a justitia declinantes. Omnia pro Christo relinquere, et sequi Christum mendicando, non est opus perfectionis. Viro perfecto, postquam reliquerit omnia, vivendum est aut operando corporaliter manibus, aut intrando monasterium ubi habeat necessaria vicia. Regularibus, quos ecclesia permittit, mendicare non licet, quum faciant contra apostolum, et alias scripturas: et diuturnitas temporis non diminuat peccata, sed auget. Quapropter, si etiam confirmatum esset ad ecclesiam per errorem, nihilominus comperta veritate revocari deberet. Inveniuntur seductores isti inter Christianos apparentes pios, studio literarum semper editos, astutos et acieolos, in conciliis dauidas famos, non tantum ad precepta Domini, sed etiam ad consilia obligatos; et tales qui sapientiores et sanctiores in ecclesia apparebunt, propter quod electa membra redemptionis esse credentur; et ideo vehementer et subito nocebunt ecclesie. Illi qui non invitati, procurant predicare plebibus alienis, quod est officium honoris, precipue in conciliis, et synodiis, et conventibus magnis, nec non in curiis regum, et prelatorum, non sunt veri apostoli, sed pseudo. Predicadores qui vadunt ad orthodoxos, qui proprios habent apostolos, sc. episcopos suos et presbyteros, non vadunt ad suam legationem, sed tantum ad alienam. Unde non sunt veri apostoli, sed pseudo. Et summe timendum est ne per tales periclitetur ecclesia, nisi expellantur ab ea. Valido mendicante faciendum est ne eleemosyna. Mendicans validus gravior delinquit. . . . Ergo qui seclenter se ponit in tali statu, videtur quod non sit in statu salvandorum. Si frater illius qui preloquitur, etiam post predicationem petit ab illis quibus predicavit, simoniam committit, ergo non est ei

through a distorted and a coloured medium—they possessed, in his eyes, all those qualities and attributes by which the false prophets, who are to seduce men during the last days of the world, are characterized in Holy Writ. What he appears to have hated most, seems to have been their poverty. He did not content himself with striking at abuses, but he launched out at the very principle itself upon which regular life was founded; and at that Rule, and at that authority which approved of it. In fact, he would have blotted out the whole Order of friars, if he could have done so; and would have broken down the entire organism, by means of which, alone, the monastic principle could be upheld. "It is true," he says, "that the Church permits, or at least has, for some time, tolerated the practice of begging in some regular Orders; but it does not follow that she ought to permit it always, for that would be against the authority of S. Paul. If she has countenanced it through error, she ought to recall her concession, when she has recognized the truth."

Besides writing this book, William of S. Amour made free use of his tongue in propagating all manner of libellous stories against the Mendicants. He said they were hypocrites, who were greedily scraping wealth together, whilst they were making a great profession, and display, of poverty; that they made profession of humility, and aped the externals of that virtue; but that, in reality, they were steeped in satanic pride. Such accusations as these, quite in keeping with the cravings of what in these days, is called "the public," were caught up, and repeated, and circulated amongst the lower orders; they were popularized by self-made idiots, court buffoons, and wandering poets; and were improved upon, and embellished, by all the idlers and gossipers about the town. Rutebœuf, the crowned court poet of Louis IX., who was as spiteful as a monkey, and about as mischievous, was never wearied of pouring out his splenetic and his scoffing humour upon the Order of S. Dominic. He declared that the Dominicans taught peace, and spoke of unity, and of faith, with their tongue; but, from the practice of their lives, he found that to talk was one thing, and to act was quite another. "I refer to the Jacobites" (Dominicans), he says, "who preach to us that it is sinful to be angry, and sinful to be envious, whilst they themselves carry on war for a chair in the University; they must, they *will* obtain it.*

dandum. Religiosis non licet procurare ut fiant magistri, quia magisterium honor est. Præter non sunt admittendi ad societatem scholasticam secularium magistrorum, nisi de ipsorum voluntate. Nam quum sint in statu perfectionis, tenentur ad consilia: consilium autem Domini est Matt., XXIII.: *Nolite vocari Rabbi*. Quum ergo velint docere solemniter, faciunt ut vocentur magistri, et sic vivunt contra Domini consilium; et ita publice peccant, et scandalizant; et sic sunt evitandi." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl. Secul. XIII.*, Tom. XV., Art. VII., p. 167, 168.)

* "Die Universität wollen sie unter ihre Kutte bringen. Wer aber schuldet ihr grösseren Dank als sie? Die Universität hat sie bereichert, mit Büchern, mit Geld, mit Brot versorgt.

. . . When the Jacobites first came on the earth, they dwelt with mother Humility; they were then simple, and pure of heart, and troubled themselves little with what did not belong to God. Now, it is no longer so; envy and haughtiness have entered into them, and all uprightness has departed from amongst them." This scoffer, by his very scoffing at the religious bodies, gives testimony to their power and influence. "The Jacobites are persons of such weight," he says, "that they can do everything in Paris, and in Rome. They are kings, they are apostles; their riches are so great, that they pass all calculation. Woe to him who does not make them his executors, for he is certain to lose his soul!

. . . How fortunate that such folks are our instructors! No one dare tell them the truth; for to do so would be to set one's life in jeopardy." Is it to be wondered at, when such a tone as this pervaded the poets and troubadours, and those who afforded amusement to the people, that deep-rooted prejudice should have been created against the friars?

The jealousy and passion of the masters, scholars, and auditors of the secular schools, added to the general disturbance. These men went about amongst the Parisians doing all they could to prevent them giving alms to the Mendicants, so as to reduce the enemy by starvation. Besides this, not content with moral force, the secular party occasionally used physical violence against the friars; so much so, that, at one time, the Dominicans had not the courage to leave their convent of S. James's to seek from the faithful the food necessary for their support. To this harsh treatment, was added a determined resistance to the teaching of the friars. The masters and scholars of the rival schools would not permit young men to attend the lectures of the Dominicans, nor allow the young Dominicans to be present at secular disputations and defenses. To such a state of misery had the friars been reduced, that the Pope had several times to interfere; and no better notion of the despotism, brutality, and cruelty of the University doctors could be gained, than by reading the Bulls, issued in defence of the Mendicants, by Pope Alexander.* The Pope always speaks

. . . Doch sie haben für die empfangene Gastfreundschaft den Herrn aus seinem eigenen Hause gefagt . . . Mag alle Welt sie für ehrliche Lente halten; der Process, den sie in Rom geführt, lässt mich anderer Meinung sein. Diess eine Probe aus Rutebeufs's Spottgedichten, nach Harry Hörtel's Übersetzung aus den *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, publ. par A. Jubinal. Vol. I., pag. 151. Eine andere Stelle: Die Jacobiner sind Lente von solcher Wichtigkeit, dass sie in Paris und Rom Alles vermögen. Sie sind Könige, sie sind Apostel, ihre Reichthümer sind unermesslich. Wehe dem, der sie nicht zu seinen Testamentavollstreckern macht, der Verlust seiner Seele ist ihm sicher. Wie glücklich, dass solche Leute dem Lehramt vortreten! . . . Niemand wagte ihnen die Wahrheit zu sagen, er wollte denn sein Leben dafür einsetzen; ich, für meiner unbesonnenen Kopf fürchte, ich sage noch weiter nichts, als es sind, es sind. . . . Mensch." (Werner, Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 159, 160.)

* For example, see *Bullarium, Ord. Prædile.*, Vol. I., p. 296. *Episcopo Parisiensi ut Magistros ac Scholares Parisienses Fratribus Prædicatoribus molestias exhibentes excommunicatione devinciat.* For instance, take this:—"Nonnulli Clerici Parisini commorantes in offensam Dei non modicam, Religionis nemini, turbatores quietis, et eorum operum temerarii detractores, ipsorum [Fratrum Prædicatorum] famam, laudis dignam præconio, falsis satagunt accusationibus obfuscare:

with great reverence of the meekness, poverty, and religious spirit of the Dominicans. If what he says be true—and it is scarcely probable that he did not know the real position of affairs—there is little doubt that the successes, and the earnest piety, of the religious Orders, the name they had acquired, and the influence they were exercising, formed the one deadly sin for which the University was punishing them. Jealousy and brutality go often hand in hand; and in this case, it is difficult to tell which was the more pronounced. The popular feeling, and the feeling of the schools, had been worked upon, and unless something were done, the friars were likely to lose their hold on the University.

Again, William of S. Amour was not content with doing all he could to turn the Parisians against the Mendicants; he also tried to play upon the secular clergy, and through them, upon the bishops. He said that the Church should be on her guard against false prophets; that those prophets were false who preached without being sent; that the Mendicants had not been sent; and, therefore, that they were false prophets—for preaching belongs to bishops, as the successors of the Apostles; and to parish priests, as the successors of the seventy-two disciples of the Lord. Moreover, what is contrary to the Canons, and what infringes on the rights of the Episcopate, cannot be permitted, even by the Pope.* The Bishops should stop the Mendicants from begging; for begging makes flatterers, blasphemers, and liars. It is false that our Lord and His disciples lived only upon alms. S. Paul, for instance, preferred working with his hands to being a burden to the community. The Mendicants think to excuse themselves by alleging that they are engaged in study—study which results in their obscuring the true teaching of the Church by their pedantry and hair-splitting, and serves to keep them in a state of permanent damnation. In fact, there was nothing too bad which could be said or written of these men by William of S. Amour; and no trouble was

varias literas per quas ipsos, et eorum Ordinem, quos vitæ commendat puritas, suis gratum approbatum fructibus, lupio diffamationis morsu dilacerant; diversarum Prælati partium scribere præsumperunt; et ut nihil præterant inoffensum adeo in eorum cordibus malitia ebullit, quod nonnullos ex Fratribus ipsis Parisiensibus, Divino timore postposito . . . sacrilegis manibus verberibus affecerunt. Inde est, quod Fratres jam dicti Ordinis Parisius existentes, vel fideliū duntaxat elemosinis sustentantur, eorumdem Clericorum timore perterriti, vix Claustrum suum audeant egredi pro acquirendis elemosinis, eorum victui opportuni." (*Bullarium Ord. Prædicatorum, Vol. I., p. 301.*)

* "In villum vestium usum aerius declamans, religiosos viros oblique perstringere visus est: quævis quosdam regulares secundum regulam suam vilibus indumentis uti debere fatebatur. Asserebat summum pontificem non posse toti ordini potestatem dare prædicandi, confessiones audiendi, et absolvendi penitentes per totum orbem, et quod pontificis privilegiis muniti, sacra illa munia obire non possent absque licentia parochialium presbyterorum. Fratribus ab episcopo vel papa canonice destinatis confessus, non satisfacit statuto, *omnis utriusque sexus*. Nam præceptum est prælatis curam animarum habentibus, quod ipsi cognoscant vitius pecorum suorum, id est, conscientias subditorum suorum. Constat autem quod animas et actus singulorum non potest prælatus considerare, nec plene cognoscere nisi audiendo confessiones illorum. Rom. ecclesiam carpebat, quod tot mendicantium religiones diversas, a tempore concilii generalis Lateranensis III. inventas æquatim toleraret. Religiosos mendicantes velut pseudo-prædicatores, hypocritas, penetrantes domos, otiosos, curiosos, gyrovagos angillabat." (*Natalis Alex., Hist. Eccl., Vol. XV., Cap. VII., p. 168, 169.*)

too great, to ingrain into the minds of rich and poor, high and low, a detestation and an abhorrence of the principles of monastic life.*

When the reader calls to mind the excited condition of society at this period, he can imagine for himself the turmoil which was created by William of S. Amour flinging down the gauntlet in the way he did. The friends and the foes of the Mendicants had been worked into excessive irritation, and a fierce contest was ready to be waged.

S. Amour and his party were keen enough to be aware that the book on the "Perils" was too flagrant an attack upon powerful and holy institutions, approved of by the Holy See, to be left alone. The work would, sooner or later, they must have felt pretty sure, be sent to Rome for examination and for condemnation. But they were not the men to be behindhand in tactics of that description. If the friars got the "Perils" of S. Amour condemned, S. Amour would get the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" of the friars condemned.† If he was to be stained, they should be stained as well. Such was the view of the liberal party which made contention in the Church at that day.

And it cannot be denied that the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" offered to the enemies of the friars a terrible weapon wherewith to castigate them. Whatever the Mendicants might say of William of S. Amour and his "Perils of the Last Times," William and his friends could retort with equal violence upon the Franciscans respecting the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," which was so intimately connected with one of their Order.‡ For,

* To show what a dangerous condition the schools were also in about this period, I need merely cite a few propositions which required the whole weight of the theological faculty of Paris to condemn them. For instance:—"I. Divina essentia in se nec ab angelo, nec ab homine videtur, vel videbitur. II. Licet divina essentia eadem sit in Patre, Filio et Spiritu Sancto, tamen ut hæc est essentia, et in ratione forma, una est in Patre et Filio, non in Spiritu Sancto. III. Spiritus Sanctus prout est amor et nexus, non procedit a Filio, sed tantum a Patre. IV. Multæ veritates fuerunt ab æterno, quæ non sunt ipse Deus. V. Primum nunc, vel principium, et creatio passio, non sunt creator vel creatura. VI. Angelus nullus in primo instanti suæ creationis fuit malus, et nunquam fuit non malus. VII. Nec animæ gloriæ, nec corpora gloriosa, vel glorificata, erunt in cælo empyreo cum angelis; immo nec beata Virgo, sed in cælo aqueo vel crystallino. VIII. Angelus in eodem instanti potest esse in diversis locis, et est ubique si velit. IX. Cuius mellora fuerunt naturalia necessario maior erit gratia et gloria. X. Diabolus nunquam habuit unde posset stare: nec etiam Adam in statu innocentie." (Natalis Alex., *Vol. XV., Art. VI., p. 165, 166.*)

† Natalis Alexander gives the following account of the Abbot Joachim:—"Joachim, Florentia monasterii in Calabria, unde oriundus erat, abbas, ord. Cisterc. vir pius et vaticinia etiam suis prophetæ famam quodam modo assequutus, Lucii III., Urbani III., Gregorii VIII., Clementis et Celestini III. Rom. pontificum temporibus floruit, ab anno 1181, ad an. 1200, quo obitus traditur. Commentaria in varios scripture sacre libros, præsertim in Apocal. Iusani Lucii III., et Urbani III. incepta, Clemente III. adhuc tante perfectæ. The historian then goes on to speak of the errors of the Abbot founded on his attack upon the Lombard, and then proceeds to treat of "The Introduction to the Eternal Gospel":—"Alii errores, non tam a Joachimo abbate asserti, quam ex ejus scriptis male intellectis a fanaticis quibusdam hominibus fabricati, præsertim ab auctore libri, qui inscriptus erat: *Evangelium Aeternum*. . . . Prophetam non fuisse Joachimum abbatem, quamvis nonnulla predixerit, quæ secundum ejus vaticinia evenire, docet S. Thomas in 4 Sententiarum, Dist. XLIII., Quest. I., Art. III., Quest. III., 'Abbas Joachim, inquit, non prophetico spiritu, sed conjectura mentis humane, quæ aliquando ad verum pervenit, aliquando fallitur, de futuris aliqua vera prædicit, et in aliquibus deceptus fuit.' (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl., Tom. XV., Art. III., p. 156, 157.*)

‡ Werner shows at once how compromised the Franciscans were, by the following remarks on the authorship of the work:—"Eine Sammlung von Schriften des Abtes Joachim von Flora, welcher Gerhard, ein Franciscanermönch und vertrauter Freund des Ordensgenerals Johann von Parma, einen gedrückten Auszug der Hauptgedanken Joachim's: *Introduktion in das ewangelium æternum* genannt, vorausgeschickt. In der That hatte Gerhard die an sich schon

in fact, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" was, if possible, more fundamentally opposed to the principles of Christianity, than were the writings of the secular professor himself: and it certainly was more blasphemous and infidel. Carried away by the reveries of the Abbot Joachim, and by the heretical spirit of Amaury, whose memory and whose doctrine had been condemned, the author of this work filled his pages with impious and destructive propositions. Just as the book of William, whilst pretending to attack theoretical abuses, and touch upon theoretical mistakes, was, in point of fact, a violent onslaught upon the existing Orders approved of by the Church; so, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," whilst it simulated the defence and glorification of the regulars, was, in reality, upsetting the first principles of Christianity, and bringing again into life the effete and exploded follies of an earlier age.* Some of the propositions contained in the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," are as follows:—

The doctrine of the Abbot Joachim is more perfect than that of Jesus Christ; and hence, more perfect than that contained in the Old and the New Testaments. For the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or the New Testament, does not lead to perfection: like the Old Testament, it will be abolished; and will only remain in force till the year twelve hundred and sixty.

At this period, the third era of the world will commence, which will be the era of the Holy Spirit. Those who live during this time, will be in a state of perfection; and there will be another gospel, and another priesthood. The preachers of this third era, will be men of still greater authority than the fathers of the primitive Church.† The understanding of the spiritual sense of the

gewagten und schwärmerischen Ansichten Joachim's in einen völlig häretischen Sinn umgedeutet, und den bevorstehenden Eintritt eines neuen, dritten Weltalters verkündet, dessen Führer und Leiter nach Beseitigung der bisherigen Gewalten der sichtbaren Kirche einzig die Söhne des heiligen Franciscus mit ihrer strengen Ascese und Armuth sein sollten. Diese Verurteilung einer extremen Partei des Franciscanerordens wurde nun allen Mendicanten zur Last gelegt und als Beweis geltend gemacht, wessen man sich für die Zukunft von ihren hochmüthigen und herrschaftlichen Ansprüchen zu versehen habe. Sobald daher die Dominicaner ihre Klage über das Buch de *periculis* an den Papst geleitet hatten—folgte Wilhelm's Partei mit einer Denunciation des ewigen Evangeliums nach." (*Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 161.*)

* Bareille thus speaks of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel":—"Les universitaires, de leur côté, préparent une grande ambassade. Fidèles à leur plan de ruse et de déception, ils n'iront pas justifier précisément le livre incriminé, mais déférer au même tribunal un ouvrage encore plus scandaleux, intitulé *l'Evangile éternel*, insidieuse apologie de la vie religieuse, qui, sous prétexte d'en exalter le zèle et l'abnégation, offralt à chaque page les plus détestables doctrines, et tendait à renouveler les erreurs de quelques sectaires du siècle précédent sur la durée de l'Eglise et le prétendu règne du Saint-Esprit. Plusieurs crurent alors que la pensée de donner le change, en appelant ailleurs l'attention de l'autorité, et nu vague espoir de faire peser sur leurs adversaires la responsabilité de cette œuvre impure, ne furent pas étrangers à cette seconde dénonciation faite par les docteurs de Paris." (*Chap. XVII., p. 185.*)

† These are the principal errors of the work:—"I. Quod doctrina Joachim abbatis excellit doctrina Christi, et consequenter veteri novoque testamento. II. Quod evangelium Christi, non est evangelium regni, et ideo non est edificatorium. III. Quod novum testamentum est evanandum, sicut vetus evanatum est. IV. Quod novum testamentum vim non habebit ultra a. d. 1260. Et qui postea vivent homines, erunt in statu perfectiorum. V. Quod evangelio Christi-evangelium alterum succedet, nimirum lex spiritus. VI. Spiritualem intelligentiam novi testamenti non esse commissam pontifici Rom. sed tantum literalem. VII. Solos nudi pedes idoneos esse ad reliquos homines edocendos res spirituales et eternas. VIII. Deum Judæos etiam in iudismo pertinaces beneficiis cumulaturum, et ab hostium impugnatione liberaturum. IX. Ecclesie Græci a Romana secessionem excusabat, laudabat: Græcosque secundum spiritum magis ambulare asserbat, quam Latinos. Et quod sicut filius operatur

New Testament was never confided to the Popes—but only a knowledge of its literal signification. The Greeks did well to separate from the Roman Church; and they walk more according to the Spirit than the Latins. As the Son works the Salvation of the Latins, so the Eternal Father works the Salvation of the Greeks.

Whatever afflictions God may send the Jews in this world, He will still protect them, and deliver them, in the end, from all the attacks of their enemies; although they remain in their Judaism.

Jesus Christ, and the Apostles, were by no means perfect in the contemplative life. It was only since the time of Abbot Joachim that contemplation commenced to bring forth fruit. Up to his time, men were engaged in the active life, which was useful then, though now it is no longer so. Hence, it follows, that the clerical Order will have to perish.* And from amidst the religious Orders, one Order will rise up more worthy than all the rest; and this was predicted by the prophet, when he said: "The lines are fallen unto me in goodly places."† No man, purely a man, is capable of instructing others, if he does not walk about barefoot. Persons who go about barefoot are not obliged, as other men are, to expose their lives in defence of the faith. They will pass over to the infidel, when they are persecuted by the clergy; and it is to be feared that they will induce the infidel to make war against the Roman Church, as is written in the Apocalypse.

These propositions are sufficient to show the drift of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," and how, even in the severe religious Orders, spirits can break forth which, overpassing every legitimate control, commit those very errors which the religious Order to which they attached themselves was instituted to repress. A kind of coarse Manicheism seems to have pervaded many minds

salutem populi Romani, sive Latini, qui filium representat; sic Pater operatur salutem populi Græci, qui spiritum representat. X. Monachos non teneri ad mortis discrimen subeundum, et profundendum sanguinem pro defensione fidei, aut conservatione cultus christi. XI. Spiritum sanctum recipere aliquid ab ecclesia, sicut christus in quantum homo accepit a Spiritu Sancto." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, Tom. XV., Art. III., p. 157.)

* "XII. Christum et apostolos vitæ contemplativæ perfectionem non fuisse consequutos. XIII. Vitam activam ad tempus usque Joachim abbatibus utilem fuisse, sed nunc inutilem evasisse. Vitam vero contemplativam ab ipso Joachimo fructuosam fuisse, et amodo in perfectis ejus successoribus perfectius mansuram, fructusque laturam uberiorē. XIV. Quemdam monachorum ordinem futurum, qui dignitate et gloria reliquis antecelleret, in quo implebitur prophetia Psalmistæ dicentis: *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclariis: etiam hereditas mea præclari est mihi.* Et qui tunc maxime florebit et convalescet, quum clericorum ordo peribit. XV. Sicut in primo statu mundi commissum fuit a patre totius ecclesiæ regimen aliquibus ex ordine conjugatorum, sic in tertio mundi statu committendum a Spiritu Sancto aliquibus ex ordine monachorum. XVI. Monachorum præfatos de recessu a secularibus, et reversione ad antiquum populum Judæorum cogitare debere. XVII. Predicatores ultimi status mundi majoris dignitatis et auctoritatis futuros, quam predatores ecclesiæ primitive. XVIII. Predicatores et doctores religiosos, quando infestabuntur a clericis ad infideles transituros, timeundumque ne ad hoc trauseant, ut cogant eos in prælium contra Rom. ecclesiam, juxta doctrinam Joannis, Apoc. 15. Hos errores ex libris Joachim abbatibus, et verbis ejus traxisse illorum auctorem, et multos habuisse sectatores sub specie quadam sacritatis, et librum illum pestiferum, cui titulus erat *Evangelium æternum*, ab Alexandro IV. fuisse damnatum Ptolomæus Lucensis . . . testatur." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, Tom. XV., Art. III., p. 157, 158.)

† *Psalm.*, XV., 6.

about this time.* The smoke of the contest which was going on about them, blinded men's vision. Some imagined that they could see on earth two powers—two militant churches: one, carnal, under the dominion of the Pope; the other, spiritual, rejoicing in all the liberty which is given by the Spirit of the Almighty.

No doubt, the dominant tendencies of the day were fully appreciated by the authorities at Rome. The "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" would certainly be looked upon as the exponent of a large class of dazed fanatics, and heated dreamers. If the anti-regular party could only manage to fasten the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" on the backs of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and compromise those two powerful bodies with its corrupting errors, the Holy See would not be in a very great hurry to maintain their chairs for them at the University. If such an issue could be brought about, William of S. Amour, notwithstanding his book on the "Perils," would thus achieve the victory he so ardently desired.

Whilst William and his party, on the one hand, were preparing their attack upon the friars, on the other, the question of the condemnation of the "Perils" was being discussed with considerable agitation. The professors and students of the University were in a state of great excitement. The religious, even those living in the distant provinces, were thrown into painful suspense with regard to their future prospects, seeing themselves opposed by such unscrupulous, and such formidable enemies. Scandalized at the turn things were taking—good men deeply lamenting such divisions in the centre of Christian learning; and rationalists and libertines making a mockery of religious persons—the bishops of the provinces of Sens, and Rheims, who happened, at the time, to be in Paris, proposed to assemble in council; to call together the most able theologians from the provinces; and once for all, put an end to these scandalous disputes. But, the past had taught the Dominicans a lesson. There was very little to be gained by coming to a judgment which might, in a few weeks, be altogether reversed by a higher authority.† King Louis, this time, was more circum-

* For example:—"Stadinghorum diabolica hæresis in Germania erupit (circa 1230). Demone magistro utebantur; qui sub diversis formis, in secretis eorum scholis conspicuum se præbebat, eosque suo cultui ac servituti adstrictos, ad turpissima et ipso auditu horrenda flagitia informabat. Cui morem gerentes, extinctis lucernis, promiscuam libidinem accendebant. Corpus Domini singulis annis in paschate de manu sacerdotis recipiebant, illudque in ore servantes, ex cloaca illa animata in latrinam expuebant. Cælorum Dominum violenter, injuste, fraudulenter, Luciferum ad inferos detrusisse blasphemabant. Omnia Deo placita non agenda, immo potius agenda quæ odit, asserabant tartarei homines. . . ." Others held (1248):—"Romanum Pontificem esse hæreticum, omnesque episcopos et prelatos hæresi pariter et simonia infestos. Nec ligandi et solvendi, neque conficiendi corpus Christi potestatem habere, quod mortalibus peccatis constricti essent. Neminem omnino, nec papam, nec episcopos, divinis officiis et sacramentis interdicare posse. . . ." Others, like the Flagellants, were filled with spiritual pride:—"Neminem enim a peccatis absolvi asserabant, qui sectæ suæ nomen non dedisset. Mutuo esse, audita confessione, a peccatis absolvebant, etsi laici." (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, Tom. XV., Art. IV., p. 160, 161.)

† "Ce n'étoit donc guères à propos, que Guillaume de Saint-Amour avoit osé se parer de l'autorité ou du nom respectable des Evêques, pour rendre moins odieux un ouvrage, qui ne

spect in his dealings with the Holy See. Instead of deciding the whole question off-hand himself, he set about accomplishing his good intentions, through the proper channels. He sent two doctors of theology to the Court of Rome, who were duly instructed, and who took with them the "Perils of the Last Times," for the Pope's examination. The Dominicans also sent their representatives, who were to support these doctors, and to defend the Order against the threatened onslaught.

Nor was the University idle. It despatched a powerful deputation to Rome, to represent the interests of the seculars; and to make the Holy See fully acquainted with that terrible book, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" of the Franciscans; which had been adopted by members of the regular Order. William of S. Amour was the leader of this deputation; then, there was Odo of Douai; Christian, Canon of Beauvais; Nicholas of Bar-sur-Aube, together with John Belin, and the Englishman John of Gecteville, Rector of the University.*

It can be imagined what sort of excitement prevailed at Paris when these two antagonistic parties were on their way to the Eternal City. They were both powerful. Both appeared to have strong reason for acting with energy. Each was intent upon procuring from the Holy See the condemnation of the other. Both were represented by men of great acuteness and ability; and it remained to be proved whether the Mendicants would be driven out of Paris, together with the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," which was connected with their name; or whether William of S. Amour, and his followers, would have to submit to the condemnation of the "Perils of the Last Times," and be obliged, after all, to work side-by-side with the despised children of S. Francis and S. Dominic.

The solemn deputation of the University, as became grave and learned doctors, after long and careful preparation for the journey, finally set out for the Eternal City; and, after a somewhat slow

servit qu'à triter de plus en plus les esprits, & à augmenter toujours le scandale. Selon du Boual, & quelques autres Historiens, les Evêques de la Province de Sens, & de celle de Reims, qui se trouvoient à Paris, offrirent de tenir un Concile, où ils prétendoient appeler les plus habiles Théologiens des Provinces voisines, pour mettre quelque fin à ces longues dissensions, qui faisoient rire les libertins, & gémir tous les gens de bien. Mais le passé devoit instruire pour l'avenir; & il étoit facile de prévoir, que tout ce qui pourroit être fait sans la participation, ou le consentement du Pape, ne suffiroit pas pour terminer une affaire, dont Sa Sainteté étoit comme saisi depuis long-tems." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VIII.*, p. 128.)

* "C'est pourquoi Louis envoya en Cour de Rome deux Docteurs, bien instruits de ses intentions, qui porteroient avec eux le livre *des périls des derniers tems*, pour le faire examiner par le Pape. L'Université envoya aussi des Députés de sa part; sçavoir, Guillaume de S. Amour, Odon de Douay; Chrétien, Chanoine de Beauvais; Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube; Jean Belin, & Jean de Gecteville, Anglois, Recteur de l'Université, qui devoient poursuivre de leur côté la condamnation d'un autre livre anonyme, & encore plus dangereux, appelé *l'Evangile éternel*. Les FF. Prêcheurs firent partir en même tems quelques Religieux pour l'Italie. Cependant les esprits, dans la Capitale du Royaume, étoient dans l'agitation qu'on peut imaginer, chacun prenant parti pour ou contre les léguliers, selon son inclination. Mathieu Paris, qui raconte ces faits, n'étoit pas lui-même exempt de partialité, ainsi que le remarque M. Fleury." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VIII.*, p. 128, 129.)

advance, at length reached Anagni, where the Pope, Alexander IV., was holding his Court.* It found that the Envoys of King Louis, and the representatives of the Dominicans, had arrived before them, and had already brought under the attention of the Holy See the incriminated book of William of S. Amour. Alexander, at once, appointed four Cardinals to examine it: Eudes de Châteauroux, Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum; John Francioge, Cardinal-priest of the title of S. Lawrence; Hugh of S. Caro, Cardinal-priest of the title of S. Sabina; and John de' Ursini, Cardinal-deacon of the title of S. Nicholas.†

The Holy Father was not content with one commission. He instructed the General of the Dominicans, Humbert de Romanis, to have the work thoroughly examined by theologians of the Order;‡ and expressed a wish to see Thomas of Aquino employed amongst the number.

The Saint had, during all this time, been continuing his labours of teaching, preaching, and private sanctification, undisturbed by the noise and turmoil that raged round him.§ He had his duty to do, and he did it. He did not look beyond it. He was employed in what obedience had placed before him; and he was in his vocation. But in the midst of these peaceful occupations, the command came to him to gird himself for the strife. The General sent him orders to leave his routine of occupations at Paris, and to come at once to Italy, to engage in the great contest that was at its height; and to defend, by his extraordinary ability, the honour of the Order in which he had made his vows.

S. Thomas, without delay, set about obeying the injunctions of his superior. The Franciscans also were in full activity, and sent their best men forward to Anagni, to defend the children of the Seraphic Father. They, as well as the Dominicans, could not conceal from themselves the peril of the attack to which they were exposed. S. Bonaventure was sent on the same errand as S. Thomas.¶ The venerable Albertus Magnus had, a year ago, gone

* Werner speaks thus:—"Verfolgen wir zuerst den Verlauf der Klage wider Wilhelm's Schrift. Sogleich nach Veröffentlichung derselben hatten sich zwei in Paris anwesende Bischöfe, von Sens und Rheims, angeboten, die Sache auf einem Provincialconcll untersuchen und ausgleichen zu lassen. Indess hielten die Dominicaner nach ihren bisher gemachten Erfahrungen mit Grund dafür, dass ohne Dazwischentreten des Papstes eine endgültige Austragung der Sache nicht zu erreichen sein würde, und riefen daher, unmittelbar den römischen Stuhl entscheiden zu lassen. König Ludwig gieng hierauf ein, und sandte Wilhelm's Schrift an Alexander IV., der damals sich in Anagni aufhielt. Der Papst beauftragte somit vier Cardinäle mit deren Prüfung: den Cardinalbischof Eudes von Tusculum, die Cardinalpriester Johann Francioge und Hugo von St. Caro und den Cardinaldiacon Johann de' Ursini." (*Fol. I. Cap. III., p. 161.*)

† *Vid. Bullarium, Ord. Præd., Vol. I., p. 318.*

‡ *Vid. Bullarium, Ord. Præd., Vol. I., p. 319. Note, "Damnat."*

§ "Ma cosa maravigliosa in questo fragmente fu che inquietando le dette turbulenze di Parigi quasi tutta l'Europa, essendo que' turbini nello spatio di otto anni per tutto distesi, l'anima però di Tomaso tuttoche nel vivo toccato, godeva in ciel tranquillo e sereno, senza punto alterarsi; tanto era egli d'ogni amor proprio dispogliato: potendosi molto bene adattare quell' elogio, da esso all'huom saggio appropriato: *'animus sapientis est quasi mundus super lunam; semper enim in serenitate est.'*" (*Frigerio, Lib. I., Cap. V., n. 11, p. 32.*)

¶ *Frigerio speaks of these two great men with enthusiasm:—"Enron questi due Santi, come habbiam detto, chiarissimi lumi di quel secolo, de' quali parlando Sisto Papa V. in una sua Bolla,*

from the depths of Germany to take the post of danger, and to be ready, with his vast learning and experience, to maintain the cause of holiness and truth. However great the dangers may have been with which the Mendicants were threatened, one thing is certain, viz., that they had most able, and most saintly defenders on their side. For their champions were filled with truth, and justice, and heroism; they were gifted with high and noble natures; and they were animated with true spirit of sacrifice, for they had been trained in the science of the Saints. It is evident that this was a supreme moment for the religious Orders, and for the principle of monastic life. The rationalistic, and the dogmatic principle were coming into collision. The serious view taken by Pope Alexander; the care of the regulars to select their best men for their defence, and the very fact of calling them in from Germany and France; then the efforts of the University, with its powerful deputation, all point to an important and acknowledged crisis.* How did the contest end? Its history will not take very long to tell. Three able pens were employed in the defence of the regular Orders: that of Albert, that of Bonaventure, and that of Thomas of Aquino. But of the three, that of S. Thomas was the most powerful, in logic, lucidity, and method; and to him may fairly be attributed the final overthrow of that arrogance and despotism, which the Paris professors had ever displayed in their relations with the Mendicants.†

The General of the Dominicans was exceedingly troubled, when

si stende nell' infrascritte parole, che recate nel volgar nostro, così sonano: Questi sono due olivi, e due candelieri splendenti nella casa di DIO, i quali con l'olio della carità e con la luce della loro scienza tutta la Chiesa illustrano. Questi per singolar providentia di DIO nascono come due stelle nel medesimo tempo di due chiarissimi Ordini per difendere la cattolica Religione, e con le lor fatiche altarla e servirla. Da questi due santi Instituti, come da una fertile e bencoltivata terra, escono ogni giorno con la divina gratia ammirabili e fruttuose piante, che sono gli huomini per santità, o per dottrina insigni, tutti rivolti a soccorrere la nave di Piero per tante parti dail'onde e dalle tempeste combattuta, per porgere aiuto al Romano Pontefice, che ne regge il timone, e con tanta fatica e sollicitudine la governa." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 33, 34.*)

* Tournon defends the theologians who took part on the side of the regulars in this strife from all thought of uncharitableness:—"Ils s'avoient se mépriser eux-mêmes, aimer sincèrement leurs ennemis, oublier, ou pardonner les injures, & souffrir avec patience d'être persécutés pour la justice. Mais ils ne croyoient pas que ces grands sentiments, que l'humilité & la charité chrétienne doivent mettre dans le cœur de tous les véritables Disciples de J. C. puissent jamais être incompatibles avec le zèle le plus vif, qui nous oblige quelquefois à nous élever avec force, pour les intrêres de la Religion, contre les entreprises de ceux qui ne craignent point de l'attaquer. Telle étoit la maxime d'un ancien Pere, dont notre Saint a fait mention dans plusieurs endroits de sa Somme, & qu'il a mise en usage dans l'occasion. La patience d'un particulier, qui souffre en silence, & sans se plaindre, les outrages qui sont faits en sa personne, est véritablement digne de louange, dit S. Chrysostome; mais ce seroit une indifférence criminelle & pleine d'impïeté, que de se montrer insensible à ce qui est contraire à l'honneur de Dieu & de la Religion. *In propriis injuriis esse quæpiam patientem laudabile est; injurias autem Dei dissimulare nimis est impium.*" (*Liv. II., Chap. IX., p. 130.*)

† "Frère Bonaventure avait également reçu de ses supérieurs l'ordre de se rendre en Italie pour le même motif. Albert-le-Grand, leur maître et leur modèle, venu du fond de l'Allemagne, où nous l'avons laissé, était déjà depuis un an sur le point d'attaquer. La religion convoque le bon et l'arrière-garde des intelligences dévouées à son service. Ce rendez-vous général grandit singulièrement, à nos yeux, le péril qui la menaçait, le talent de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, la puissance du parti qui marchait sous ses enseignes." (Barville, *Chap. XVII., p. 187.*)

"Zugleich befahl er dem Ordensgeneral Humbert, die Schrift durch Theologen seines Ordens genau prüfen zu lassen, und bezeugte den Wunsch, dass auch Thomas von Aquino hiezu beigezogen würde. Thomas verliess im Auftrag seiner Oberden ohne Verzug Paris, und erschien zu Awaugi am päpstlichen Hofe, wo er nach einjähriger Trennung seinen Lehrer Albert wieder fand; bald darauf traf auch Bonaventura ein." (Werner, *Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 161, 162.*)

he saw the tempest which threatened to burst over those gentle and loving beings confided to his charge. And even had not the Holy Father sent him a command, he would, without doubt, have called to his assistance, at this hour, the most learned and acute doctors belonging to the Order. Now the General seems to have placed his greatest trust in the genius and address of Thomas of Aquino. There was not one, in the whole range of the Paris schools, who had so swift an eye for error, such self-command, such lucid power of exposition, and such boundless gentleness and charity. He would be the man to unmask, and thoroughly to expose, the sophisms of S. Amour.*

The Dominicans had a house at Anagni; and the friars-preachers there, were, as may be conceived, in great agitation respecting the issue of the trial which was coming off. On the arrival amongst them of S. Thomas from Paris, the General summoned a Chapter of the brethren. He wished to do all in his power to cheer and encourage them in their suspense. He called the Angelical from his place—and we can see the brothers, in imagination, with their loving and wondering eyes fixed upon the Saint—whilst Humbert addressed him thus: “Behold, my son,” he said, “Behold the Order of S. Dominic, attacked by powerful enemies, is left to your lights, and to your zeal for its defence. Take, therefore, this fatal book which has excited, or has added to the storm which rages against us, and which appears likely to give trouble to the Church for some time to come, and to stand in the way of that fruit which would otherwise spring from our preaching, and from the example of lives which are without reproach. Read it, examine it, and see, before God, how it had best be answered; not in order to keep alive, but to bring to an end, the scandal into which the Church is plunged. I here unite my own prayer to the command which comes to you from the Vicar of Jesus Christ.”†

* Tocco speaks of William of S. Amour's action against the regulars thus:—“*Predictus Doctor [S. Thomas] Parisiis destruxit alium de novo exortum [errorem]; qui error non fuit ab infideli commutatione exortus, sed a fidelibus, in hoc non fidelibus, Guillelmo de Sancto Amore, Segero et aliis eorum sequacibus adiuvantibus. Qui errando dicebant, quod Religiosi mendicantes, non laborantes manibus, non poterant in sola studii contemplatione salvari, consiliorum perfectioni et supererogate justitie detrahentes: addentes et multa alia erronea simul et falsa sophismata contra religiosos, paupertatem, et eorum salutaria instituta; volentes fuudus paupertatis Religiones suffodere, quos, sola eos simulante invidia, non poterant tolerare. Quorum error tanto magis periculum fidelibus adferrebat, quanto magis magistratus auctoritas fidem dabat: quem cum redigissent in scriptis, accusaverunt suam malitiam, a qua nec diutius meditantes, dum scriberent, se avertere noluerunt: advertere nolentes, quanta erat iniquitas Sanctos Dei ex sola invidia inapguare, qui ad eorum perniciem volumina volans maledictionis et impietatis hereticæ scripserunt. Quod tum ut in aures divulgaretur universalis Ecclesie, ad pauperum Religiosorum infamiam, et subversionem religionis paupertatis et vite, ac in ruinam dejectionis perpetuæ, sanctissimo Patri Domino Clementi Papæ quarto, [†] quasi zelatores Ecclesie, et propagatores fidei obtulerunt.*” (Tocco, *Boll. in Vita, Cap. IV.*, n. 20, p. 664.)

† “Le Général de l'Ordre de saint Dominique, pour se consoler lui-même dans la vive affliction, dont il étoit pénétré, & rassurer en même tems l'esprit de ses Freres, contre les mortelles inquiétudes, que leur causoit la continuation de tant de troubles, assembla tous les Religieux de la Communauté, & adressant son discours à Thomas d'Aquin, il lui parla à peu près de la sorte: Voilà, mon fils, l'Ordre de saint Dominique attaqué par de puissans ennemis, qui semble maintenant confié à vos lumieres & à votre zèle. Prenez donc ce livre fatal, qui a excité, ou ang-

When the General had made an end, S. Thomas approached him, and received out of his hands the book of William of S. Amour; and then, turning to his brethren, he implored them to assist him by their earnest prayers; and having left the Chapter-room, he quietly retired to his cell.*

But before S. Thomas set himself down to the task appointed to him, according to his invariable custom, he sought for light and strength in prayer. He humbled himself before his Lord, and after having poured out his whole soul before his Master, and begged for help, and guidance, he sat down in his place, drew the book before him, opened it, and examined it, from beginning to end, with that quickness and penetration for which his intellect was justly celebrated. As by intuition, when he had once grasped his plan, he saw through the entire fallacy of his opponent, and detected all the trickery whereby William thought to substantiate and bolster up his allegations. We are assured that the Angelical had mastered the whole work, and had formed in his mind a complete refutation of it, in less time than a professor of ordinary ability would have required for understanding its drift, and for discovering its leading artifices.

It can well be imagined how eagerly the convent awaited the issue of the young professor's studies; and how both young and old prayed fervently to God to give him the grace to overthrow his adversary. The following day, the General again assembled the Chapter.† Thomas appeared once more in the midst of his brethren, like an angel of peace, bringing joy to their hearts. "Fear not," he said to them, "let us place our confidence in His

menté l'orage contre nous, & qui paroît si propre à troubler long tems toute l'Eglise, & à empêcher une partie du fruit, que nous devrions y faire par nos prédications, & par l'exemple d'une vie sans reproche. Lisez, examinez, voyez devant Dieu, ce qu'il convient de répondre, non pas pour continuer; mais pour faire cesser au plutôt le scandale. Je joins ici ma prière au commandement, que vous en fait le Vicaire de J. C." (Toumon, *Liv. II., Chap. IX.*, p. 130, 131.)

* "Ritrovandosi all' hora il Generale in Parigi ove era san Tomaso, chiamò i Padri della Religione a Capitolo; & a quelli con le ingiurie agli occhi esponendo il successo dell'opinioni di Guglielmo, loro pregò, che affatigar si dovessero per potere ovviare a tale opinione, & tanto più si dovevano in questo sforzarsi; perché l'autor del libro, ch'era Guglielmo era uomo di gran fama per lettere. All' hora san Tomaso prese quell libro leggendolo, & nel leggerlo vi scoprì molte bugie. Conobbe etiam, che l'autore non era spinto da altro solo, che da un odio, ch'aveva contro la Carità; per questo a i Padri della Religione rivoltaendosi nell'istesso luogo, ove erano congregati, mostrando brevemente l'avversaria malignità, lor disse, che se il peso del rispondere dato l'avessero, sperava con l'aiuto del Spirito Santo rifutarlo a fatto: sì che mai più non avesse da comparire nel mondo così manifesta accleraggine. Tutti i padri sapendo quanto era grande il valore di S. Tomaso, biederò a lui questo peso pregandolo, che il pietoso ufficio mandasse in esecuzione." (*Vita*, p. 18, 19.)

† Tocco thus speaks of this crisis of the regulars:—"Quod cum ad petitionem Reverendi Patris Fratris Joannis de Vercellis prefati Magistri Ordinis, cui incumbabat, de mandato Summi Pontificis, predicto volumini respondere, fuisset predicto Doctore cum Anagninis in Capitulo esset coram Fratribus non sine singultu et lacrymis assignatum, qui de statu Ordinis et pugna adversariorum tam gravem dubitabant: Frater Thomas ipsum voluminem acceperat, et se Fratrum orationibus recommendans, cum perlegisset attentius, et intellexisset profundius, reperit predictos Magistros, quos non amor agnita veritatis afflabat, nec zelus fraternæ salutis accendebat, sed veritatis æmula, et inimica caritatis invidia perurgebat, a fundamentis errasse fidei, et male intellexisse Sanctorum auctoritates indectas. Unde vocatis iterum in Capitulo de mandato Magistri Ordinis Fratribus, Frater Thomas afflatus divino Spiritu, quo in omnibus agebatur, dixit: Fratres, in Deum confidite, qui vos vocavit in anum obsequium: quia libellum legi impugnantis perfidie, et inveni ipsum male fundatum in veritate fidei, et male constructum Sanctorum auctoritatibus in auxilium fulcimentum. Cui nefande libello invocato Sancto Spiritu, qui falsa deundat, cum revelat abscondita, per libellum veritati consonum respondebo." (Tocco in *Vita*, *Boll.*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 20, p. 664.)

powerful goodness Who has drawn us to His service. The book which has caused you so much anxiety, will not bring upon you the evil it announces. God has given me the grace to discover whatever is false, captious, erroneous, and impious in it. With our Lord's assistance, I shall bring into such clear light the faults with which it is filled; and shall make it to be so sensibly felt that the doctrine contained in it is contrary to the grounds of faith, and to the true sense of the Fathers—whose writings the author has misused—that, after the judgment which the Holy See will then pronounce upon it, the faithful will take no more notice of it; or, if they do, it will simply be to condemn its teaching, and to reject it, with all the contempt which it deserves!"*

These words must have greatly consoled and encouraged those who heard them. Few men, who have not devoted themselves to serve God in religion, under certain conditions of heroism, can wholly realize the sovereign love which religious men feel for the religious state. There is the love of husband and wife, strong, tender, enduring; there is the love of son for mother, boundless and pure, as it is mighty and sweet; there is the love of brother for brother, equally enchainning, mutually close and uncompromising; there is the love of country, vague perhaps, yet, in spite of its want of outline, all-pervading in the spirit: but there is a love which, when once it has fastened its grapples in the heart, more fully masters the human spirit than all of these together—for it is more powerful in its grasp of the entire man, it more completely satisfies the highest cravings of his being, and binds itself, with more heroic bonds, about his heart—and that love is the soul's love of Christ, intensified by the vows of religion. It is the passion of the Saints. Its condition is sacrifice of self—and by that sacrifice, by that one moral death, the spirit rises up in the love of Christ. A true monk is a man who is dead, and out of whose perfect self-annihilation, out of the tomb of whose royal sacrifice, the glorious spirit of Christ is born. Such a man, in one word, no longer lives, but Christ it is who lives in him.

Now it was for this principle of life and death that the Angelical had to combat. Was this principle to be cut out, root and branch,

* "Après s'être humilié devant le Seigneur, & avoir répandu son ame en sa présence, il ouvre le livre, qu'on l'a chargé de réfuter; il lit, il parcourt, il examine tout, avec cette pénétration qui lui est naturelle: du premier coup d'œil il aperçoit tout le foible de l'Ouvrage, & tous les artifices de l'Auteur. Le plan d'une Réfutation complete est tout formé, presque en moins de tems qu'il n'en faut pour lire un Ecrit rempli de mille subtilités, & d'un grand nombre de passages, employés avec autant d'esprit que de mauvaise foi."

"Le Chapitre ayant été assemblé le lendemain par le Pere Général, Thomas parut au milieu de ses freres, comme un Ange de paix, qui porta la joie dans leur cœur. Ne craignez point, leur dit cet autre Joseph, mettons toute notre confiance en la puissante, bonté de celui qui nous a appelés à son service. De livre qui vous a alarmés, ne vous fera pas tout le mal qu'il vous annonce. Dieu m'a fait la grace de découvrir tout ce qu'il contient de faux, de captieux, d'erroné & d'impie." (Touren, *Liv. II., Chap. IX., p. 131.*)

and to be dragged away and buried in the earth; or charred in the kiln of human passion, till all life was extinct—till it was withered, and all its sap was dry? Were love, and adoration, and reverence, and purity, to rule? or were conceit, and pride, and self-assertion, and carnality, to domineer? Were old standards and patterns to be torn to shreds, and new ones to take their places? Such questions as these must have occupied the minds of many holy men, whilst S. Thomas was penning his reply to William of S. Amour.

In the space of a few days, the Saint had time fully to prepare his defence of his Order, and his answer to the book of William of S. Amour.* He was called upon to plead before the Pope, surrounded by his Court. Displaying his own inimitable lucidity, logic, and arrangement, the Saint read through his apology for the religious life, in the presence of the most august assembly in the world. He not only poured forth a continuous stream of argument and learning, but he was also ready to reply to all objections, and to solve them to the satisfaction of those by whom they were advanced.† It must have been a glorious moment for S. Thomas when he found that, by degrees, the force of his reasoning, and the simplicity of his eloquence, and the earnestness of his purpose, were beginning to tell upon his learned audience; and when he felt assured that he was carrying with him the hearts and intelligences of the learned Cardinals of the Sacred College, as well as the good will of the Pope himself. Tournon says that the Holy Father admired him, the Sacred College applauded him, and the whole Roman Curia now saw clearly what would be the issue of that mighty struggle which had occupied so much of its valuable time, and which had kept minds in a state of continual agitation, both in Italy and France.

When the Angelical had concluded his discourse, the four Cardinals who had been commissioned to examine the "Perils of the Last Times," gave in their report. The document was drawn up with that perspicuity and order for which the Roman mind is celebrated.‡ It declared that, in the work which had been sifted,

* "Quem cum in modico tempore de mandato Summi Pontificis perfecisset, respondens argumentis nefariis et superpositis fidelis fundamentis, libellum Summo Pontifici obtulit. Quem acceptans et vere Catholicum iudicans, condemnativum libellum oppositum, et in fide aspectum. Quem libellum ad explicandam eorum malitiam, et Dei iustitiam a Dei Vicario implorandum sic incepit: Quoniam ecce inimici tui sonnerunt, et qui oderunt te extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium et cogitaverunt adversus Sanctos tuos etc. Quem librum non est visus predictus Doctor sic composuisse humano ingenio, sed potius in Spiritu accepisse de dextera sedentis in throno." (Tocco, *Bol.*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 20, p. 664.)

† "Peu de jours lui sont accordés, il est vrai, pour remplir le plan qu'il a conçu: le pape veut bientôt entendre, au milieu de son sénat, l'apologie des institutions qu'avait si rudement attaquées l'habile docteur de Paris. Thomas se rend au jour marqué: il se lève au milieu de cette assemblée, la plus imposante, sans doute, de l'univers; il plaide avec l'éloquence du cœur la cause de son ordre et de tous ceux qui lui sont unis par le même esprit et la même charité. La chaleur de ses sentiments, bien loin de nuire à la clarté de ses preuves, à la logique de ses raisonnements, leur communique plus de puissance et de vie." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII.*, p. 189.)

‡ The Cardinals whom Natalis Alexander calls "doctissimi" reported as follows:—"In ipso quædam perversa et reproba contra potestatem et auctoritatem Rom. Pontificis, et episco-

there were to be found sentiments which were perverse, many propositions which were absolutely false, scandalous, erroneous, contrary to the maxims of the saints and to piety, injurious to the authority of the Pope and of the bishops, and to the honour of several religious Orders approved of by the Holy See, which had produced much fruit for the Church, by eloquently preaching the word of God, and by manifesting zeal for souls.

Having read this report, and examined the principal propositions which the Cardinals had considered worthy of reprobation, the Holy Father passed sentence upon the book, in the form of a Bull, dated the fifth of October, 1256.* This Bull declares the entire work to be condemned, as iniquitous, criminal, execrable. It commands all who possess the same to burn it within eight days, under pain of excommunication; and it forbids any one, whoever he may be, to read it, to approve of it, or to sustain it in any way. This condemnation was pronounced publicly in the Cathedral Church of Anagni; and the book was burnt, in presence of the Pope.

The deputation from the University arrived, after the work of their leader had been given to the flames, in sight of the Roman Court. They protested against the act, and tried to bring their influence so to bear, as to restore the honour of their party; but, far from obtaining the revocation of the condemnation of the "Perils," they were forced to take pen and ink to subscribe to it themselves. There never was a more complete and absolute overthrow. Odo of Douai, and Christian of Beauvais, promised with an oath, in presence of Cardinals Hugh of S. Caro, and John de 'Ursini, and several other witnesses, to obey the Bull *Quasi lignum vite*.† They swore, moreover, to receive into their society, and

porum contineri: et nonnulla contra illos, qui propter Deum sub arctissima paupertate mendicant, mundum cum suis operibus voluntaria inopia superantes: alia vero contra eos, qui salutem animarum zelantes ardentur et sacris studiis procurantes, multos in ecclesia Dei operantur spiritualis profectus. Quædam contra salutem pauperum sui religiosorum statum, sicut sunt FF. Predicatores et Minores, qui vigore spiritus sæculo cum suis divitiis derelicto, ad solam celestem patriam tota intentione suspirant: nec non et alia plura inconvenientia digna confutatione et confusione perpetua manifeste contineri. Eundem etiam libellum magis scandali seminarium, et magnæ turbationis materiam existere, et inducere etiam dispendium animarum, quum retraheret a devotione solita, et a consuetâ elemosinarum largitione, ac a conversione et religionis ingressu fideles." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, Tom. XV., Art. VII., Sec. XIII., p. 169.)

* These were the strong words of the Holy Father:—"Nos libellum eundem, qui sic incipit: 'Ecce videntes clamabunt foris,' quique secundum ipsius titulum, 'Tractatus Brevis De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum' nuncupatur, tanquam iniquum, ecclesiam, et exsecrabilem, et instructiones ac documenta in eo tradita, utpote prava, falsa, et nefaria de fratrum nostrorum consilio, auctoritate apost. reprobamus, et in perpetuum condemnamus: districte præcipientes, ut quicumque libellum ipsum haberit, quum infra octo dies, ex quo huiusmodi nostram reprobationem et condemnationem sciverit, prorsus et in toto, et in qualibet sui parte comburere et abolere procuret. In illos enim qui huius nostri præcepti fuerint contemptores, excommunicationis sententiam promulgamus firmiter in virtute obedientie prohibendo, ne quisquam predictum libellum ore apostolico jam damnatum approbare vel quomodolibet defensare presumat. Si quis vero presumpserit, tanquam contumax, inobediens et rebellis Rom. ecclesie ab omnibus fidelibus habeatur: et nos nihilominus alias contra eum taliter procedemus, quod pena condigna temerarium feriet, et alii ea perterriti a similibus frenabuntur." (*Loco Citato*, p. 169; Vid. also *Bullarium*, Ord. Prædic., Vol. I., p. 318.)

† The oath they took falls under five headings:—"Dicti autem magistri, Odo de Bnaco et Christianus Bellovacensis canonicus, coram Summo Pontifice iuraverunt. I. Quod quantum in eis esset, recipere Parisiis et obedirent in posterum constitutioni pontificie, quæ incipit; *quasi*

into the body of the University, the Dominican and Franciscan friars; mentioning, specially, by name, Thomas of Aquino, and Bonaventure. They promised neither to further, nor to permit, the breaking up of the Paris schools, nor to countenance their removal to any other place, without the express permission of the Pope. They swore to preach, and to maintain publicly, both in the Roman Curia, and in Paris, that the Mendicant state, when embraced for the love of Jesus Christ, is a state of perfection; that those religious who have made profession of it, may live lawfully on alms, without the necessity of manual labour, especially if they dedicate themselves to preaching and to study; that the Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominic are in themselves good, and are approved of by the Church, as God himself has declared, through the miracles worked by the saints of each Order, legitimately canonized by the Apostolic See.*

The two doctors made these promises publicly, in the Papal Palace at Anagni, on the twenty-third of October, 1256. No stronger evidence could be given of the view taken by the Holy See respecting the doings of the Paris University. Here the instinct of Rome comes out regarding the merits of religious life, its scope, and its obligations; and here, too, is manifest the Christian spirit of submission, which animated some at least, of those fiery doctors of the schools, in spite of their bitterness and want of charity.

William of S. Amour, however, was not quite so easily worked upon as his companions. Though abandoned, and condemned by them, he defended his book with great shrewdness and ability, and some assert—though they do not prove it—with considerable success. The Holy Father addressed a letter to him, forbidding him to enter France, under pain of excommunication, and of privation of all his benefices; and inhibiting him, for ever, from teaching and preaching, as a punishment for his various faults, particularly

lignum vite, et contradicentibus auxilium non prestarent publice, vel privatim. II. Quod, FF. Predicatores et Minores Parisiis degentes, magistros et auditores eorum, et specialiter ac nominatim fratres *Thomam de Aquino* de ordine Predicatorum, et *Bonaventuram* de ordine Minorum, quantum in eis esset, in societatem scholasticam et universitatem Parisiensem recipere ut magistros, et a magistris Parisiis commorantibus procurarent recipi bona fide. III. Quod juramenta, statuta, vel obligationes non facerent, seu a religiosis vel aliis exigerent contra pontificiam illam constitutionem. IV. Quod Parisiense studium occasione predicti dissidii dissolvere, aut alio transferri non permitterent. V. Quod tam in Rom. Curia, quam Parisiis, prius in diversis locis predicarent infrascripta, etc." (Natalis Alexandei, *Hist. Eccl.*, Tom. XV., Art. VII., p. 170.)

* Bareille speaks with much truth and feeling on the religious principle so nobly vindicated by S. Thomas:—"Au fond, cette opposition du monde aux associations religieuses fut constamment la même; elle n'a varié que dans sa forme et dans ses moyens. Les arguments qu'elle emploie sont pris dans l'ordre de ses tendances. Ceux de Guillaume de Saint-Amour étaient tous puisés dans l'Ecriture, la tradition et la théologie; saint Paul en particulier prêtait des armes terribles à cet habile sophiste. Mais il venait de rencontrer un puissant interprète de saint Paul. Il s'agit à Thomas de rétablir le sens des textes de l'Apôtre pour en faire le plus saire, fait crouler sous le poids de sa dialectique le savant échafaudage des mensonges du éloquent avocat de sa cause: il répond successivement à chacune des attaques de son adversaire, le déjoue de ses artifices, et, sur le point de retourner victorieusement contre lui les traits dont on avait prétendu blesser à mort les ordres religieux, il s'arrête: au lieu de prononcer l'anathème, il n'a que des vœux pour que la charité triomphe dans tous les cœurs." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII.*, p. 191.)

for having composed that detestable and pernicious book, the "Perils of the Last Times."*

Though William did not possess the humility, or the good sense, to submit to the judgment of the Holy See, this strenuous action of the Pope did much towards strengthening authority, and towards supporting the true spirit of Catholic morality in Italy and France. Forbidden the kingdom of France, William retired, full of spleen and disgust, to his estate of S. Amour, in Burgundy; waiting for the approach of better times.† A few years later (1263), he was permitted, by Urban IV., to return to Paris; and was triumphantly received by his party. His detestation for the Mendicants lasted his life-time. His eagerness in maintaining the privileges of the University, and in defending its immunities, seems to have blinded him to the rights of every other society. After ten years had elapsed since the condemnation of his work, he tried to revive the old dispute, and sent to Clement IV. a new brochure, entitled "*Collectiones Sacræ Scripturæ*," which, in reality, was nothing else than his "Peril" thrown into another shape, and headed with another title. The Holy Father caused a letter to be written to him, omitting reference to his book, and recommending to him docility and peacefulness. The new brochure was sent to the General of the Dominicans, John of Vercelli, who forwarded it on to S. Thomas.‡ The Angelical recognized his old enemy instantly—notwithstanding its disguise—and thought it would be quite sufficiently answered, if he published his "*Contra Impugnantes*" in the shape in which it has been handed down to us. Then came his tract, "*Contra Retrahentes ab Ingressu Religionis*," in which

* "Le Pape lui adressa une lettre, par laquelle il lui défendoit d'entrer en France, sous peine d'excommunication, & de privation de tous ses Bénéfices, & lui interdisoit pour toujours le pouvoir d'enseigner et de prêcher, en punition de diverses fautes, spécialement pour avoir composé le livre détestable & pernicieux des périls des derniers tems." (Du Pin, *Hist. du 13 Siècle*, p. 532; see also *Bullarium, Ord. Prædic.*, Vol. I., p. 372, 375, 377, 379, &c.)

"Celui-ci refuse obstinément de se soumettre; après le dénouement de cette grande lutte, il se retire en Bourgogne, dans son village de Saint-Amour, emportant dans son cœur un profond ressentiment et des projets hostiles, qu'il essaiera de réaliser dix ans plus tard, en renouveau le combat sous une autre forme, mais pour succomber de nouveau sous les coups du même adversaire." (Bareille, *Chap. XVII.*, p. 194.)

† The excitement caused at Paris by the banishment of William, shows how the contest between the parties had taken hold of minds:—"Die Verbannung Wilhelm's," says Werner, "rief die tiefste Aufregung in seiner Partei hervor; Ruteboef klagte laut, dass der König nicht mehr Herr im Reiche sei, wenn der Papst Territorialrechte ausübe, er rief Prälaten, Fürsten, Könige an, sich des so schwer gekränkten Mannes, der die Sache des Rechtes und der Nation verteidigt, anzunehmen; er fordert die Universität auf, zu ihrem verfolgten und misshandelten Vertheidiger zu stehen: 'Decretisten, Aerzte, Juristen und ihr Doctoren alle, wie möget ihr leiden, dass man Meister Wilhelm von euch ferne hält! . . . Sie haben ihn verbannt, verwiesen auf sein Dorf! . . . O sie hieszen ihm Frieden wenn er nur schwören wollte, dass das Wahre falsch das Recht Unrecht, das Alberne klug, das Schwarze weiss sei.'" (Vol. I., *Cap. III.*, p. 210.)

‡ "Il donna une nouvelle forme à son Livre des périls des derniers tems, & l'envoya au Pape Clément IV., sous le titre de Recueil, ou Collections de l'Ecriture-Sainte: *Collectiones sacræ Scripturæ*. On peut voir dans l'histoire de l'Université de Paris, la réponse qu'on lui fit: elle est du dix-huitième Octobre 1266: le Saint Pere reproche en particulier à l'auteur, que sous un autre titre, le fonds de son Ouvrage est également mauvais, & qu'on y voit toujours, quoiqu'avec quelque déguisement, le même esprit de haine contre les Ordres Mendians: *Sub nova facie veterem cultum retinere, & dum alias oras decurrere vult videri; antiquum adversus Religiosos mendicantes odium ubique asperere*. Sa Sainteté envoya ce Livre à Jean de Vercell, Général des FF. Prêcheurs, avec ordre de le communiquer à saint Thomas, afin que s'il contenoit quelques nouvelles objections, il y fit la réponse qu'il jugeroit nécessaire." (Tonron, *Liv. III.*, *Chap. II.*, p. 203, 204.)

he makes mention of an earlier work, "*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*." Both are to be found amongst his minor labours, under the heading of *Opusculum* XVII. and XVIII., respectively.

To S. Thomas's last work, William of S. Amour made no reply. He died shortly after its publication, in 1270, having acquired unenviable notoriety by the split he made amongst the doctors of the greatest University of Europe; yet having achieved the lasting fame of being considered a fellow-founder, with his friend Robert of Sorbon, of an institute which, for its theological ability, became famous in the Church, as well as in the schools.

Such is a brief outline of the animated contest which was carried on in Paris, with respect to the monastic principle. It is simply a repetition of the war which had been waged, years before, between Abelard and S. Bernard. The very condition of the mind of a man who could write as William of S. Amour wrote, points markedly to the rampant spirit of irreverence which must have infected a large section of intellectual Paris. It is abundantly sufficient to read through a portion of the list of accusations made by S. Amour, and to weigh a few of the principles which he endeavoured to establish, to become convinced that the moral and religious position of an influential body of men—in fact, speaking broadly, of the secular element of the University—was critical in the extreme. The evident bias—indeed, the unmistakable hatred, entertained against the Mendicants, and against the sacred principles of religious life, betoken a corruption which, doubtless, owed its origin, in part, to the poisonous philosophies which had entered into the schools; and in part, also, to the traditional rationalism and irreverence which had been handed down from the days of William of Champeaux.

False philosophy, and the monastic principle, have ever been in antagonism. The moral effects of the monastic training on the reason and the heart is something distinct and specific. When the eye of the heart and intellect has been cleansed of creatures, when the imagination has been purified—in a word, when the mechanism of the mind has been put thoroughly in order, and has been directed right, the delusions of error, or the phantoms of philosophers, are almost powerless against it. Blindness and passion are the causes of error—these are the springs of false philosophy: clean them out; open the eye clear to the light; calm the mind; let it steadily, without fear of disturbance, fix itself on Truth, and its judgment will be upright, and its conclusions will be sound.

Here it was that the Angelical came in. He opposed the light of his elevated intelligence to the blindness of carnal men: he

opposed the marvellous calmness of his whole being—a calmness which was the effect of nature as well as of grace—to the violent vapourings of the passionate and the proud, who seemed bent upon destroying that one grand set of principles which alone could keep the excitable and savage mind of youth within reasonable bounds. The very way in which the Angelical began the work of defending the principles of religion, speaks of the self-possession of his nature—a self-possession which did not spring from the virtue of mere human constancy, but which he acquired by throwing himself before the crucifix, and by asking it from Him who hangs upon the Cross.

To appreciate fully the intellectual labour he went through, and to comprehend adequately his view of religious life, those two celebrated tracts on the monastic state must be studied, of which a rapid outline shall be attempted in the coming chapter. And it may be premised that the principles of religious life are so profound, and are pregnant with such fruitful consequences, that he who would really understand them, must not simply read them, but he must study them, meditate on them, and let them sink into and saturate his mind. One simple religious maxim, which can be thrown into a single line, may contain a germ within it capable of revolutionizing the mind and heart of the ablest and most gifted man. There is no power like the power of truth, when the soul has once fully taken possession of it.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MONASTIC PRINCIPLES DEFENDED.

CONSIDERING the immense influence which the brochure of our Saint against William of S. Amour exerted, in deciding the dispute between the friars and the seculars, it will not be uninteresting to give a brief account of it. Fleury says that it has always been regarded as the most perfect apology for religious Orders. Tournon declares that writers in the past have always spoken of it with eulogium. Henry of Gand, a contemporary writer, makes mention of it in these words: "Brother Thomas of Aquino refuted the error of William in a most subtle work."*

According to the Parma edition of the Saint's writings, it is numbered as the first Opusculum; and is entitled: "Against those who attack Religion and the Worship of God."† It begins with these words of the eighty-second Psalm: "For lo, Thy enemies have made a noise, and they that hate Thee have lifted up the head. They have taken a malicious counsel against Thy people, and have consulted against Thy saints. They have said: come and let us destroy them, so that they be not a nation: and let the name of Israel be remembered no more."‡

Almighty God, in His love, has so ordained that men should both advance His glory, and work out their own Salvation.§ For

* "Cet ouvrage de Saint Thomas, beaucoup plus solide, dit M. Fleury, et mieux suivi que celui de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, a toujours été regardé, comme l'apologie la plus parfaite des Ordres Religieux. Les anciens en ont souvent parlé avec éloges. Henri de Gand, auteur contemporain, en fait mention en ce peu de mots: *Frater Thomas de Aquino opusculo subtilissimo errorem Guillelmi refutavit*. Voyons maintenant quelle en fut la suite." (Tournon, *Liv. II., Chap. X., p. 139.*)

† *Contra Impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem.*

‡ "Ecce inimici tui souerunt, et qui oderunt te, extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium, cogitaverunt adversus sanctos tuos. Dixerunt: venite, disperdamus eos de gente, et non memoretur nomen Israel ultra." (*Psalm. LXXXII., 3 et 4.*)

§ "Omnipotens Deus amator hominum suo amore nobis utitur ad ejus bonitatem, et nostram utilitatem, ut Augustinus docet in I. Libro de Doctrina christiana. . . Ad summ quidem bonitatem, ut homines Deo dent gloriam. Isaie XLIII., 7: *Omnis, qui invocet nomen meum, in gloriam meam creavi eum*. Sed ad nostram utilitatem, ut ipse omnibus det salutem. I Tint., II., 4: *Qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri*. Et hanc concordiam inter homines et Deum nascente Domina annuntiavit Angelus, Luc. II., 15: *Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis*. Quamvis autem ipse, cum sit omnipotens, per semetipsum posset gloriam suam ab hominibus, et salutem hominum procurare; disposuit tamen, ut ordo servaretur in rebus, ministros eligere, quorum ministerio perficeretur utrumque: et recte tales Dei adjutores dicuntur, I Cor., III., 9. Sed diabolus invidus divinæ gloriæ, et humanæ salutis, per ministros suos, quos ad persecutionem predictarum ministrorum Dei luctat, utrumque nititur impedire: unde tales ministri diaboli, et inimici Dei in hoc ostenduntur, ejus gloriam impedire; et totius humani generis, ejus salutis adversantur, et specialiter ministrorum Dei, quos persequuntur, I Thessal., II., 15. *Nos persecuti sunt, et Deo non placent, et omnibus hominibus adversantur.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Proœmium, p. 1.*)

the maintenance of due order, He has selected some from amongst their number who are to serve as His ministers, and as "His coadjutors," in conducting the rest towards their two-fold end. But the devil, envious of God's glory, and man's Salvation, makes use of his instruments to frustrate the Divine intention. These, therefore, direct their most violent assaults against the leaders of God's people: "They have persecuted us, and please not God, and are adversaries to all men."* These are "the enemies who have made a noise," and are referred to in the Psalm; these are they who, by their flattery, deceive the servants of the Lord; these are they who would destroy the people of God, and extinguish the Lord's inheritance; or if they cannot compass this much, would blot out their good name from amongst men: "Do not the rich oppress you by might? . . . Do not they blaspheme the good name that is invoked upon you?"†

Such, according to the common Gloss, is the explanation of the above text, which indicates the persecution of Antichrist in the last times, according to the words of the Apostle: ‡ "For Thy sake we are put to death all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter."§

Now, wicked men direct their main attack against the religious Orders, seeking to prove that they have no right to such employments as will be conducive to their advancement; and that they should only occupy themselves in those things which will end in their destruction.¶ These wicked men would prevent them from applying themselves to study, and this is the "cunning of the

* 1 Thess., Cap. II., 15.

† S. James, II., 6.

‡ Rom., VIII., 36.

§ "Et propter hoc Psalmista in verbis propositis tria facit. Primo ostendit eorum inimicitiam ad Deum, ibi, *Ece, inimici tui sonnerunt*; id est, qui prius occulte contra te loquebantur, nunc in publico loqui non formidant. Ut enim dicit Glossa: *Novissima tempora Antichristi designat, quando hi, qui modo premuntur metu, in liberam vocem erumpent: quæ vox, quia irrationalis est, magis sonus quam vox dicitur*. Nec solum voce inimicitias suas exercent, sed etiam factis: unde sequitur: *Et qui oderunt te extulerunt caput, scilicet Antichristum, secundum Glossam, et membra ejus, quæ sub illo capite sunt; ut ab uno capite gubernati, efficacius sanctos Dei persequantur*. Secundo ostendit quomodo toti humano generi adversantur, subiungens: *Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium, vel astute cogitaverunt, secundum allam litteram, ad eos decipiendum, secundum Glossam super illud Isa., III., 12. Popule meus, qui beatum te dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt*: Glossa, 'blandis verbis.' Tertio, ostendit quomodo ministros Dei persequuntur, cum subdit: *Cogitaverunt adversus sanctos tuos*. Glossa, 'non solum contra mediocres, sed etiam contra celestes viros.' Unde Gregorius in XIII. Lib. Moralium, exponens illud Job. XVI., 2. *Aperuerunt super me ora sua, et exprobanes etc.*, sic dicit: 'Illos præcipue (reprobi) in sancta Ecclesia persequuntur quos multis conspiciunt esse profuturos' et infra: 'Reprobi grande se aliquid fecisse æstimant, cum vitam predicatorum necant.' (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Proœmium, p. 1.)

¶ "Duo autem contra sanctos cogitant. Primo ut ipsos annihilent. Heut. XIII., 15: *Voluit nos inimici nostri perdere et hereditatem tuam delere*. Secundo ut, si hoc non possint, saltem eorum famam destruant apud homines, ut in eis fructificare non possint. Jac., II., 6: *Nonne divites per potentiam opprimunt vos?* . . . Nonne ipsi blasphemant bonum nomen quod invocatum est super vos? Et ideo quantum ad primum horum Psalmista subiungit: *Dixerunt: Venite: Glossa: 'querentes sibi socios.' disperdamus eos de gente, vel de gentibus*. Glossa: 'Scilicet ne sint inter gentes; idest, tollamus eos de mundo: ecce persequuntur Antichristi.' Quantum ad secundum subdit: *Et non memoretur nomen Israel ultra, ut, scilicet nomen eorum in fama non habeatur, eorum scilicet qui se dicunt vere esse Israel, ut Glossa dicit. Horum primum, scilicet sanctorum expulsionem de mundo, tyranni antiquitus per violentiam procurare conati sunt: unde Apostolus ad Rom., VIII., 36: suo tempore illud Psalmi compleri dicit: Propter te mortificamur tota die, estimati sumus sicut ovæ occisionis*. Sed nunc hoc idem perversi homines astutia consiliis attentant: profuturos ad religiosos specialiter qui verbo, et exemplo aptius fructificare possunt, perfectionem profitentes; volentes quædam instruere, per quæ eorum status totaliter destruantur, et reddatur inanium onerosa, et vituperabilis, subtrahendo eis spiritualia solatia, et corporalia onera imponendo.' (Tom. XV., Opusc. Proœmium, I., p. 1.)

Philistines." "The Philistines had taken this precaution (namely, that no smith should be found in the land of Israel), lest the Hebrews should make them swords and spears."* They would inhibit them from associating with the students, so that their life may be the more easily brought into contempt: "That no man might buy or sell, but he that hath the character, or the name of the beast,"† that is to say, who does not countenance the evil practices of the enemies of religious men. They would prevent them from preaching, and hearing confessions: "Prohibiting us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved."‡ They would force them to work with their hands, so as to disgust them with their state, and to prevent them from performing the good works just spoken of; according to the counsel of Pharaoh—"He said to his people: Behold the people of the children of Israel are numerous and stronger than we. Come, let us wisely oppress them, lest they multiply."§ Then they hold their perfection in contempt, and blaspheme the poverty of the Mendicants: || "Any many shall follow their riotousness, through whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of."¶ They do their best to prevent the faithful giving them alms; according to S. John: "Neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and them that do receive them he forbiddeth;"** and finally, they defame them not only by word of mouth, but by writing against them throughout the world: "From the prophets of Jerusalem, corruption is gone forth into all the land."††

Now, against these enemies of the religious state, three things shall be shown: first, what religion really is, and in what its perfection consists; secondly, that the allegations made against religious are frivolous and null; and, thirdly, that those things which are urged against religious men are spoken with malice prepense. The first of these three divisions is thrown into a single chapter, lucidly explaining the essence of the religious state, and its perfection; the second divides the attack of the enemy into six headings, viz.: whether religious may teach; whether they may be

* 1 Kings, XIII., 19.

† Apoc., XIII., 17.

‡ Thess., II., 16.

§ Exod., I., 9.

|| 2 Pet., II., 2.

¶ 3 John, I., 10.

** Jer., XXIII., 15.

†† "Enim eis pro posse studium, et doctrinam auferre conantur, ut sic adversarii veritatis resistere non possint, nec in Scriptura consolationem spiritus invenire. Et hæc est astutia Philistinorum, 1 Regum XIII. 19. *Caverant Philistin, ne forte facerent Hebræi gladium, aut lanceam*: quod Glossa exponit de prohibitione studii litterarum. Et hoc priusvis Julianus Apostata inchoavit, ut ecclesiastica testatur Historia. Secundo ab aliorum consensu studentium eos pro posse excludunt, ut per hoc sanctorum vita veniat in contemptum. Apocal., XIII., 17. *Ne quis possit emere, aut vendere, nisi qui habet characterem, aut nomen bestiarum*, eorum scilicet malitia censuendo. Tertio eorum predicationem, et confessionum audientiam, quibus in populo fructificant, impedire nituntur. 1 Thessalonie., II., 16. *Prohibentes nos, gentibus loqui, ut salvi fiamus*. Quarto ad laborem manuum eos compellunt, ut sic gravati et sui status tadum habeant, et in predictis impediuntur, secundum consilium Pharaonis dicentis: Exod., I., 9 et 10: *Ecece populus filiorum Israel multus, et fortior nobis est. Venite, sapienter opprimamus eum*: et infra: *Proponit utique eis magistros operum*. Glossa: "Pharaoh significat Zabulum, qui luti et lateris imponit gravissimum jugum, servitutem scilicet lutulentis, et terreni operis." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Proœmium, p. 2.)

members of a corporate body of secular doctors; whether they may preach, and hear confessions, without having the cure of souls; whether they are obliged to employ themselves in manual labour; whether they may keep all they possess; and finally, whether they may subsist on the charity of the faithful.*

The first chapter begins, naturally enough, with the definition of the religious state; and here S. Thomas follows the teaching of the great S. Augustine. "Religion" comes from "*religare*," i. e., "*iterato ligare*"—the joining again together of two things which once were united, but which now are separate. Man came from God, and must go back again to God. The first "bond," by which a man is joined to God, is faith: "He that cometh to God must believe that He is."† This act of faith implies adoration of God as the Divine origin of all things. S. Augustine says that religion does not mean any kind of *cultus*, but the worship of the Deity; or, in the words of Tully, "Religion is that which exhibits reverence and worship to a certain superior nature, which is called Divine."‡ So that whatever has to do with the integrity of the faith, and with the due worship of God, is intimately bound up with true religion. Then, again, whatever is related to the service of the Almighty, is associated for the same reason with what we call religion. For S. Augustine says, "God is worshipped not only by faith, but by hope and by charity,"§ or to use the words of S. James, "Religion,

* "Quinto vituperant eorum perfectionem, et blasphemant, scilicet paupertatem mendicantium. 2 Pet., II., 2: *Multi sequentur eorum luxurias, per quos via veritatis blasphemabitur*, id est bona opera, secundum Glossam. Sexto eis victum et eleemosynas, unde vivebant, subtrahunt, ut possunt. In tertia canonica Juan. 10, *et quasi ista non sufficiant ei*, Glossa, 'quod hospitalitatem dissuadet,' neque ipse fratres suscipit, Glossa, 'indigentes' et eos qui suscipiunt, prohibet: Glossa, 'ne impendant curam humanitatis.' Septimo famam sanctorum predicti ministri diaboli volunt corrumpere, tantum ut non solum per se apud presentes sanctos Dei infament verbo, sed etiam litteras per universum orbem dirigant. Jerem., XXIII., 15: *A prophetis Hierusalem egressa est pollutio super omnem terram*: Glossa Hieronymi: 'Hoc utimur testimonio adversus eos qui epistolas plenas mendacio, et fraudulencia, et perjurio in orbem dirigunt, et aures, audientium pollunt. Non enim sufficit eis iniquitatem propriam devorare vel proximos ledere; sed quod semel oderunt, per totum orbem eorum infamare et ubique blasphemias seminare.'"

† "Predicorum igitur malignantium nequitiam comprimere intendentes, hoc ordine procedamus."

‡ "Primo ostendemus, quid sit religio, et in quo perfectio religionis consistat, quia eorum tota intentio contra religiosem esse videtur."

§ "Secundo ostendemus ea, quibus religiosos opprimere nituntur, frivola, et nulla esse."

"Tertio monstrabimus quod ea, quae ad religiosorum infamiam profertur, nequiter proponunt." (Tom. XV., Opus. I., Prooemium, p. 2.)

† Heb., XI., 6.

‡ "Nomen igitur religionis, ut Augustinus in Libro de vera religione innere videtur, a religando sumptum est. Illud autem proprie ligari dicitur quod ita non adstringitur quod ei alia divertendi libertas tollatur. Sed religio iteratam obligationem importans ostendit ad illud aliquem ligari, cui primo conjunctus fuerat, et ab eo distare incipit. Et quia omnis creatura prius in Deo existit quam in se ipsa, et a Deo processit, quodammodo ab eo distare incipiens secundum essentiam per creationem; ideo rationalis creatura ad ipsum Deum debet religari, cui primo conjuncta fuerat etiam antequam esset ut sic ad locum unde exeunt flumina revertantur. Eccl., I. Et ideo Augustinus dicit in Libro de vera relig. *Religat nos religio uni omnipotenti Deo*. Prima autem ligatio qua homo Deo ligatur, est per fidem. Huius fidei protestatio, latra est, quae cultum Deo exhibet. Et hoc est quod Augustinus dicit X. de civitate Dei, quod *religio non quælibet, sed Dei cultum significare videtur*: et hoc modo Tullius religionem definit in veteri Rhetorica, dicens: *Religio est quæ superiori cuidam naturæ, quam divinam vocant, curam, ceremoniarumque offert*. Et sic primo, et principaliter ad veram religionem pertinere noscuntur quæcumque ad fidem in integram pertinent, et debitam latræ servitutem. Sed secundo ad religionem pertinere noscuntur illa omnia in quibus possumus servitium Deo exhibere: quia, ut Augustinus dicit in Enchiridion: 'Deus colitur non solum fide, sed spe, et caritate'; ut sic omnia caritatis opera religionis esse dicuntur. Unde Jacob., I., 27. *Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et Patrem hæc est: visitare pupillos, et viduas in tribulatione eorum, etc.*' (Tom. XV., Opus. I., Cap. I., p. 2.)

§ Enchir., Cap. III.

clean and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation, and to keep oneself unspotted from this world.”*

From this, it is evident that the meaning of the word “religion” is two-fold—it signifies, in the first instance, the joining of man to God, by faith and due worship. Hence, man is made a member of the Christian religion, by the Sacrament of Baptism, and by renouncing Satan, and all his pomps. In the second instance, it signifies renunciation of worldly things, and taking up the obligation of certain works of charity, by which God is served in a special manner;† It is in this latter sense, that the word “religion” is used in this treatise. Now charity can be exercised in two ways, either by an active, or by a contemplative life: either by contemplation, or by practising the various works of mercy. As a man, by baptism, dies to sin, so, by the vows of religion, he not only dies to sin, but he dies to the world, that he may live alone to God, and may occupy himself in those duties which he has imposed upon himself by entering religion. Just as the life of the soul is extinguished by sin, so by worldly occupations the service of Christ is impeded. “No man being a soldier to God entangleth himself with secular businesses.”‡ The principal entanglements are these. The first is marriage: “But I would have you be without solicitude. He that is without a wife, is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife, is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and he is divided.”§ The second is the possession of riches.¶ “The care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches choketh up the Word, and he becometh fruitless.”¶ The third is liberty

* S. James, I., 27.

† “Ex his ergo patet quod duplex est religionis acceptio. Una secundum sui nominis primam institutionem, secundum quod aliquis Deo se ligat per fidem ad debitum cultum; et sic quilibet christianæ religionis fit particeps in baptismo, abrenuntiatis satanæ, et omnibus pompis ejus. Secunda prout aliquis ad aliquam caritatis operam se obligat, quibus specialiter Deo servitur, abrenuntiatis sæcularibus; et hoc modo religionis nomine ad præsentem utimur. Caritas autem Deo debitum obsequium reddit secundum actus vite active, et contemplative. In actibus quidem active vite diversimode secundum diversa officia caritatis, quæ proximis impenduntur: et ideo sunt aliquæ religiones institutæ ad vacandum Deo per contemplationem, sicut religio monastica, et eremitica; aliquæ autem ad serviendum Deo in membris suis per actionem, sicut illorum, qui ad hoc Deo se dedicant, ut infirmos suscipiant, captivos redimant, et alia misericordie opera exequantur. Nec est aliquid opus misericordie ad cuius executionem religio instituti non possit, etsi non sit hæcenus instituta.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 2, 3.)

‡ 2 Tim., II., 4.

§ 1 Cor., VII., 32.

¶ “Sicut autem in baptismo homo per fidei religionem Deo ligatur, peccato moritur; ita per votum religionis non solum peccato, sed sæculo moritur, ut soli Deo vivat in illo opere, in quo se Deo ministraturum devovit fidei: quia sicut per peccatum vita tollitur, ita per occupationes sæculi Christi ministerium impeditur 2 ad Timoth., II., 4. Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus. Et ideo per religionis votum abrenuntiatur illis, quibus humanus animus maxime occupari consuevit, et a divinis obsequiis impediri. Quorum primum, et principale est conjugium. 1 ad Cor., VII., 23. Volo autem vos sine sollicitudine esse. Qui sine uxore est, sollicitus est quæ Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo; qui autem cum uxore est, sollicitus est quæ sæculi mundi, quomodo placeat uxori, et divinis est. Secundum est possessio divitiarum terrenarum: Matt., XII., 22. Sollicitudo hujus sæculi, et fallacia divitiarum suffocant verbum, et sine fructu efficiunt: unde dicit Glossa Luc., VIII., super illud: quod autem in spinis cecidi, etc. Divitiæ etsi deleatere videantur, suis tamen possessoribus sunt spinæ cum aculeis curarum mentes eorum confodiunt, quæ avidè quærantur, et sollicitè servantur.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 1, 2.)

¶ Matt., XIII., 22.

of will, which implies the solicitude of self-government:* “Casting all your care upon Him, for He hath care of you.”† “Have confidence in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not upon thy own prudence;”‡ hence, the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. By these three, man offers to God the sacrifice all of his goods, viz., his own body: “Present your bodies a living sacrifice;”§ external possessions: “That the oblation of my service may be acceptable in Jerusalem to the saints;”|| the human spirit: “A sacrifice to God, is an afflicted spirit.”¶

Indeed, not only a sacrifice is thus offered to God, but a holocaust is presented to Him, which was the most acceptable oblation under the Law. Hence, S. Gregory says, in the second part of his eighth Homily upon Ezechiel: “When a man vows one portion of his substance to God, and not another, he offers a sacrifice; but when he vows to the omnipotent God everything he possesses—his whole life, and his whole knowledge—then, he offers a holocaust.” The three monastic vows are essential for the perfect idea of religion.

Now, it follows, from what has been said, that one kind of religion can be more perfect than another. The ultimate perfection of anything consists in its attaining its end. So, religion must be judged from two points of view, viz., according to the main object for which it is instituted; and according to the perfection of the means adopted for securing the given end. So that, if two Orders be instituted, both being contemplative, that one would be the more perfect which held out the greater liberty for contemplation. But since, as S. Augustine says, “No man can begin a new life unless he repents of his past life,”** it follows

* “Tertium est propria voluntas: quia qui suæ voluntatis est arbiter, sollicitudinem habet de suæ vite gubernatione; et ideo nobis consulitur ut nostri status dispositionem divine providentiæ committamus. 1 Pet., V., 7: *Omni sollicitudinem vestram proficientes in eo quoniam ipsi cura est de vobis.* Proverb., III., 5: *Habe fiduciam in Domino ex toto corde tuo, et ne innitaris prudentiæ tuæ.* Et inde est quod perfecta religio triplici voto consecratur; scilicet voto castitatis, per quod abrenuntiatur coniugio; voto paupertatis, per quod abrenuntiatur divitiis; voto obedientiæ, per quod abrenuntiatur propriæ voluntati. Per hæc autem tria vota homo Deo sacrificium offert de omnibus bonis: per votum quidem castitatis, in sacrificium Deo offerens corpus proprium, de quo Rom. XII., 1, dicit Apost. *Exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem*; per votum autem paupertatis oblationem Deo faciens de exterioribus bonis de quo Rom., XV., 31. *Obsequii mei oblatio accepta fiat in Jerusalem sanctis*; per votum autem obedientiæ sacrificium Deo spiritibus offerens, de quo in Psal. L., 19: *Sacrificium Deo, spiritus contribulatus, etc.* Nec solum sacrificium per hæc tria Deo offertur; sed holocaustum, quod erat in lege acceptissimum. Unde Gregorius in 8 Homil. secundo partis super Ezech.: ‘Cum quis suum aliquid Deo vovet et aliquid non vovet, sacrificium est; cum vero omne quod habet, omne quod vivit, omne quod sapit, omnipotenti Deo voverit, holocaustum est.’ Et sic religio secundo modo accepta, in hoc quod sacrificium Deo offert, primum modum religionis imitatur. Sunt autem quidam modi vivendi, in quibus aliqua horum pretermittuntur; sed in eis perfecta religionis ratio non invenitur. Alia autem omnia quæ in religionibus reperiuntur, sunt adminicula quadam ad cavendum ea quibus per votum religionis abrenuntiatur, vel observandum id in quo homo per religionis votum Deo se servitutum promissit.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 3.)

† 1 Pet., V., 7.

‡ Prov., III., 5.

§ Rom., XII., 1.

|| Rom., XV., 31.

¶ Psalm., L., 19.

** “Ex predictis igitur patere potest, secundum quid una religio possit perfectior altera judicari. Ultima enim rei perfectio in finis consecutione consistit: unde debet principaliter ex duobus religionis perfectio judicari; primo ex hoc, ad quod religio ordinatur, ut dicatur illa religio esse eminentior quæ digniori actui dedicatur, ut sic secundum comparationem activæ, et contemplativæ vite in utilitate, et dignitate accipitur comparatio religionum, quæ activæ, et quæ contemplativæ deputantur. Secundo ex comparatione religionis ad executionem illius, ad quod est instituta. Non enim sufficit religionem aliquam ad aliquid institui, nisi sit taliter

that religion is a state of penance as well. And thus religions may be compared with each other in a third way, viz., according to the degree of penance that is respectively practised in them. But since the perfection of religious life consists more in interior justice than in exterior abstinence, the perfection of various religions should be judged rather by the former standards than by the latter one.

So far for the religious state, and its perfection. Now for those occupations which the enemies of religion declare to be contrary to its spirit: and this brings us to chapter the second, which asks whether it is lawful for religious to teach.

It would seem to be unlawful for religious to teach, for our Lord says: "But be not you called Rabbi;"* and S. Jerome says: "The duty of a monk is not to teach, but to weep."† Then it is contrary to the vows of religion not to renounce honour. But the position of a master is a position of honour, according to that "he placed Him upon a pinnacle:" therefore, religious may not become masters. Religious, moreover, profess perfect humility—this is incompatible with their being masters; therefore, it is unlawful for religious to teach. According to S. Denis, monks cannot communicate holy things to others, but can only receive them from others. But to teach is to communicate what is holy: therefore, religious cannot teach. The scholastic office is further removed from the monastic state than is the ecclesiastical office. But religious cannot take upon themselves ecclesiastical offices: much less, therefore, can they take upon themselves the office of teachers.‡ Then, again, it is contrary to the apostolic doctrine:

ordinata observationibus, et modis vivendi, quod ad unum finem sine impedimento pertingat; sicut si duæ religiones sunt institutæ ad contemplandum, illa per quam homini liberior contemplatio redditur, debet perfectior judicari. Sed quia, ut dicit Augustinus, nemo potest novam vitam inchoare, nisi veteris cum vita peniteat, quolibet religio, per quam homo novam vitam, quidam penitentia status est, ut homo a veteri vita purgetur: et hoc tertio modo possunt comparari religiones, ut illa dicatur perfectior quæ majores austeritates habet, sicut in jejuniis, vel paupertate, vel aliis hujusmodi: quia opera satisfactoria debent esse penalia. Sed primæ comparationes sunt magis religioni essentialia, et ideo secundum eas est magis perfectio religionis judicanda, et præcipue cum perfectio vite magis consistat in interiori iustitia quam in exteriori abstinentia. Sic ergo patet quid sit religio, et in quo perfectio religionis consistat." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap., I. p. 3.)

* Matth., XXIII., 8.

† "Doctrinam autem religiosorum, ne scilicet docere possit multipliciter excludere nituntur. Primo auctoritate Domini dicentis, Matth., XXIII., 8. Vos autem nolite vocari Rabbi: quod consilium quidam dicunt a perfectis esse observandum: unde cum omnes religiosi perfectionem profiteantur, a magisterio abstinere debent."

"Secundo auctoritate Hieronymi in epistola ad Riparium, et Desiderium, Contra Vigilantium, et habetur XVI. qu. 1. Monachus non doctores habet sed plangentis officium: et VII. qu. 1. cap. Hoc nequaquam dicitur Monachorum vita subjectionis habet verbum, et disciplinatus, non docendi, vel prædicandi, vel pascendi alios. Et ita cum canonici regulares, et alii religiosi monachorum jure censeantur, ut dicitur extra. de postulando, Eæ parte, et de statu monachorum, Quod Dei timor; relinquitur quod nulli religioso docere liceat."

"Ad idem addunt quod docere est contra religionis votum. Per votum enim religionis mundo abrenuntiatur. Omne autem quod est in mundo, est concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vite; per quæ tria intelligunt divitiis, deliciis et honoribus. Magisterium autem honorem esse dicunt: quod probant per Glossam, quæ dicit Matth. IV., super illud, statuit illum super pinnaculum: 'In Palestina plana desuper erant treca, et ibi erat sedes doctorum, unde populo loquerentur: ubi multos decipit diabolus vana gloria, honore magistræ inflatus.' Unde concludunt, quod docere est contra religionis votum." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 4.)

‡ "Dionysius, V., Cap., Eccl., Hierar., distinguit utramque hierarchiam in tria: scilicet in sacras actiones, et in communicantes eos, et in eos qui eas tantum recipiunt. Actiones autem

"But we will not glory beyond our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath measured to us."* Now, the religious rule does not extend to teaching: therefore, it is contrary to the apostolic doctrine for religious to teach.

Moreover, if men who argue thus are unable wholly to suppress the activity of religious Orders, they will do their best to diminish it. They maintain that it is not lawful for religious to keep several teachers in the same college: "Be ye not many masters, my brethren," says S. James.† S. Jerome says, that a ship has only one commander, and a house, one lord:‡ therefore, religious should have but one master. Moreover, if there be many religious teachers, the number of secular masters will diminish, since there can only be a certain number of professors for each of the branches.

These proclaimers of error only follow the beaten track. It was the old weakness of ancient heresy to be incapable of biding in the centre of truth; it was its custom to swerve into one error in the very act of avoiding another. Sabellius, aiming to avoid the Arian heresy of the division of the Essence, fell into confusion regarding the Persons. So Eutyches, in avoiding the division of Persons in Christ, which was maintained by Nestorius, fell into confusion regarding the nature in Christ. The same can be said of Pelagius, Manes, and many other heretics.

The fact is that, formerly, some presumptuous religious arro-

sacras dividit in tria in eodem cap.: scilicet in purgantes, quod est diaconorum; in illuminantes, quod est sacerdotum; in perficientes, quod est Episcoporum. Recipientes etiam divinas actiones dividit in tria in VI. Cap. scilicet in immundos, qui purgantur per diaconos; in sacrum populum, qui illuminatur per sacerdotes; in monachos, qui sunt altioris gradus, qui perficiuntur per Episcopos. Ergo patet quod monachorum non est sacra aliis communicare, sed ab aliis recipere. Sed quicumque docet, sacra aliis communicat. Ergo monachus non debet docere."

"Item, magis est remotum a vita monastica scholasticum officium quam ecclesiasticum. Sed, ut dicitur XVI. qn. 1: *Nemo potest et ecclesiasticis officiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinata persistere*. Ergo multo minus potest monachus scholasticis officiis vacare docendo, vel audiendo."

"Addunt etiam quod est contra doctrinam apostolicam 2 Cor., X., 13: *Nos autem non in immensum gloriamur, sed secundum mensuram regule qua mensus est nobis Deus*. Glossa: 'Tanta potestate utimur, quanta concessa est ab auctore, nec mensuram, vel modum egredimur.' Unde dicunt, quod quicumque religiosus ultra illum modum egreditur qui sibi ab auctore sine regulis est statutus, se ipsum superextendit contra apostolicam doctrinam veniens. Unde cum nulla religio in sui principio habuerit magistros, nulli religioso licet ad magisterium promoveri." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 4.)

* 2 Cor., X., 13.

† "Uterius autem, et si non ex toto doctrinam religiosorum impedire possunt, eam saltem attenuare nituntur, dicentes, quod in uno religiosorum collegio doctores plures esse non debent: inducentes illud quod dicitur Jac. III., 1: *Nolite plures magistri fieri, fratres mei*. Glossa: 'Plures in Ecclesia ne velitis esse magistri.' Sed unum religiosorum collegium est una Ecclesia. Ergo in uno religiosorum collegio non debet esse plures magistri. Item, Hieronymus ad Rusticum, et habetur etiam VII., quest. I.: *In apibus princeps est unus, gravis ordine litterato unus sequuntur: et infra: unus gubernator in navi, in domo unus dominus*. Ergo et in uno collegio religiosorum non debet esse nisi unus magister. Item, cum sint nulla religiosorum collegia, si unum collegium haberet plures quam unum doctorem, sequeretur tanta multiplicatio religiosorum doctorum, quod seculares magistri excluderentur propter auditorum paucitatem: precipue cum operent in uno studio esse determinatum numerum magistrorum, ne ex doctorum multitudine doctrina sacra veniat in contemptum. Huiusmodi autem errorum assertores, priorum errantium semitas imitantur. Est autem errantium consuetudo, ut quia in medio veritatis non possunt consistere, unum errorem declinantes in contrarium dilabuntur. Sic evitans divisionem essentiali, quam Arius introduxit, in confusionem personarum Sabellius declinavit, sicut dicit Augustinus. Sic etiam Eutyches declinans divisionem personarum in Christo, quam Nestorius assererat, confusionem naturarum in Christo posuit, sicut dicit Boetius. Idem etiam patet de Pelagio, et Manicheo, et de multis aliis hereticis: propter quod dicitur. 1. Timoth., III., 8. *Homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem*. Glossa: 'et nunquam in fide, quia in circuitu iniqui ambulant, in medio non sistentes.' (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. I., p. 4.)

‡ *Causa. VII., Quest. I., Cap. XLI.*

gated to themselves the office of teachers, on no authority but their own.* This, the Holy Fathers condemned. Now, the enemies of religious fall into the opposite error, and declare that religious cannot teach at all.

We will first prove this position to be false, then we will address ourselves to, and answer the arguments of our adversaries. That it is lawful for religious to teach can be proved thus—from the example of the saints; St. Jerome says: “So live in the monastery that you may deserve to be a cleric; spend much time learning what you will afterwards have to teach—if you are tickled with the desire of being a cleric, learn that which you can communicate to others.”† Then, S. Gregory Nazianzen, when a monk, was called to Constantinople, to expound Holy Scripture. S. John Damascene not only taught Scripture, but also the liberal arts. S. Jerome, although a religious, promises to give lessons in Scripture to the monk Paulinus. S. Augustine, too, we read, after he began to live under Rule, wrote books, and instructed the ignorant. The same can be said of others, viz., of S. Gregory, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and of many more who were religious men, and the principal doctors of the Church.

It can be easily proved that monks may teach. In the Acts of the Apostles, it is written: “Jesus began to do and to teach.”‡ They, surely, most becomingly, can teach evangelical doctrine, who not only keep the precepts, but keep the counsels too—and such as these are religious.

Religious, by their vows, die to the world, and live to God; therefore, though they may not employ themselves in business, they may teach the things of God.§ Those are the best teachers

* “Fuit ergo quondam quorundam religiosorum presumptuosorum error, qui ex hoc ipso quod monachi erant, de sua vita presumentes, auctoritate propria sibi docendi officium usurpabant; et in hoc pax ecclesiastica turbabatur, ut habetur XVI., qu. I. *Quidam monachi nihil habentes sibi injunctum a proprio Episcopo veniunt ad civitatem Constantinopolitanam, et in ea perturbationes tranquillitati ecclesiasticæ inferunt: quod etiam plenius in ecclesiastica narratur Historia: quorum presumptiones sancti patres conati sunt reprimere rationibus, et decretis. Eorum autem dictis quidam perversi nostri temporis abutuntur ea indocti, atque instabiles depravantes, sicut et ceteras scripturas ad suam ipsorum perditionem, ut dicitur 2 Pet. ult. XVI. intantum quod in contrarium errorem labuntur, asserentes, quod non licet religioso doctoria officium exercere, vel suscipere et non debet ei injungi. Quod quidem falsum esse primo ostendamus, postmodum ad eorum probationes respondentes.” (Tom. XV., Opus. I., Cap. I., p. 4.)*

† “Primo ergo inducatur Hieronymi auctoritas ad Rusticum, quæ habetur 16, quæst. 1: *Sic vive in monasterio, ut clericus esse merearis: multo tempore, discas quo postmodum doceas.* Item ad eundem in cap. seq.: *Si clericatus te titillat desiderium discas quod possis docere.* R. quibus accipi potest quod monachi possunt suscipere docendi officium. Hoc idem ostenditur exemplis sanctorum, qui in religione viventes docuerunt. Sic patet de Gregorio Nazianzeno; qui cum monachus esset, Constantinopolim est adductus. Sic patet de Hieronymo, qui cum monachus esset, ecclesiastica narrat Historia. Hoc etiam patet de Damasceno; qui cum monachus esset, scholares doceret non solum in sacra Scriptura, sed etiam in liberalibus artibus, ut patet in lib. de miraculis beate virginis. Hieronymus etiam in prologo Biblie, licet monachus esset, doctrinam sacre Scripturæ promittit Paulino monacho, scilicet quod eum docebit, quem etiam ad studium sacre Scripturæ hortatur. De Augustino etiam legitur, quod postquam monasterium instituit, in quo cepit vivere secundum regulam sub sanctis Apostolis institutam, scribebat libros, et docebat indoctos. Hoc etiam patet de aliis Ecclesiæ doctoribus, scilicet Gregorio, Basilio, Chrysostomo, et aliis multis, qui religioso fuerunt, et præcipui Ecclesiæ doctores.” (Tom. XV., Opus. I., Cap. II., p. 4, 5.)

‡ Acts, I., 1.

§ “Hoc etiam rationibus ostendere facile est. Doctrina enim sacre Scripturæ operibus, comprobatur. Actuum, I., 1. *Cepit Jesus facere et docere:* Glossa: ‘Quod cepit facere, et docere bonum doctorem instruit, qui quod docet facit.’ Doctrina autem evangelica non solum præ-

who learn Divine things through contemplation. But religious are the very persons who occupy themselves in contemplation: therefore, religious are the best teachers. Peace of mind is conducive to study, and is favourable to teaching. But the vows of religion foster peace of mind. Therefore, the religious state is singularly adapted for studying and teaching. A knowledge of Holy Scripture is particularly becoming, says S. Jerome, in the poor of Christ. After speaking of his own poverty, and his contempt of wealth, he says that; "A knowledge of Scripture—that is, of Christ—is incompatible with the riches of the world."* A religious Order may be instituted for any work of mercy. But teaching is a work of mercy. Therefore, an Order may be founded, with the special end of teaching. As, besides the secular arm, military religious Orders have been instituted for protecting ecclesiastical interests; so, besides the secular doctors, religious teachers may also be brought up for defending the doctrine of the Church. If a religious can lawfully be made a prelate, which is more, he can surely be made a doctor, which is less. The common good is to be preferred to private utility; so, a monk may leave his solitude, with permission, to minister by teaching to the general good of the Church. It is the same thing to teach by word of mouth those who are present, as to teach with the pen those who are absent: "Such as we are in word by epistles, when absent, such also we will be, indeed, when present."† But religious have been very prolific with the pen; therefore they may also teach with the tongue. It is easy enough to answer the arguments brought in opposition to the true doctrine.‡

cepta, sed et consilia continet. Convenientissime ergo doctrinam evangelicam docet qui non solum præcepta, sed etiam consilia servat, ejusmodi sunt religiosi. Item. Qui moritur alicui vitæ, ab illis operibus deedit quæ illi vitæ congruunt; et qui vivere incipit aliqua vita illa opera tunc sibi finit maxime convenientia quæ illi vitæ competunt: unde Dionysius II. cap. Eccl. Hierar. ostendit, quod ante baptismum, per quem homo divinam vitam accipit, non potest exercere divinas operationes; quia, sicut ipse dicit, oportet primum existere, et deinde operari. Sed religiosus per votum religionis sæculo moritur Deo vivens. Ergo per hoc quod religiosus est, interdiciuntur sibi operationes seculares, sicut iurcationes, et alia negotia secularia, non autem actiones divinæ, quæ scilicet hominibus Deo viventibus requirunt. Talis autem est divina confessio, quæ fit per doctrinam. Psalm. CXIII. 17: *Non mortui laudabunt te, Domine . . . ; sed nos qui vivimus, benedicimus Domino.* Et ita religiosi per votum religionis a doctrinæ officio non excluduntur" (*Tbm. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 5.*)

* "Item. Pauperibus Christi maxime competit notitiam Scripturarum habere, ut patet per Hieronymum in prologo Hebraicarum Questionum super Genes.: *Ut nos humiles, et pauperes nec habemus divitias, nec oblatas dignamur accipere; et illi noverint non posse notitiam Scripturarum, id est Christi, cum mundi habere divitiis.* Eis autem competit docere qui notitiam habent Scripturarum. Ergo religiosi, qui paupertatem profitentur, maxime competit docere."

† "Item. Sicut supra probatum est, ad quodlibet opus misericordiæ exequendum potest aliqua religio institui. Sed docere est actus misericordiæ, unde inter eleemosynas spirituales computatur. Ergo potest aliqua religio institui specialiter ad docendum."

‡ "Præterea. Magis remota videtur a religionis proposito corporalis militia, quæ corporalibus armis exercetur, quam militia spiritualis, quæ utitur armis spiritualibus, scilicet sacris documentis ad errorum impugnationem, de quibus dicitur 2 ad Corin. X., 4: *Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed potentia Deo.* Sed religiosus aliquæ provide institutæ sunt ad exequendum militiam corporalem in tutam Ecclesiam ab hostibus corporalibus: quamvis non desint Ecclesiæ Principes seculares, qui ex officio Ecclesiam defendere debent. Ergo et salubriter institutæ sunt aliquæ religiones ad docendum, ut sic per earum doctrinam Ecclesia ab hostibus defendatur; quamvis etiam sint alii ad quos pertinet hoc modo Ecclesiam defensare." (*Tbm. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 5.*)

† 2 Cor., X., 2.

‡ "Ea autem quæ in contrarium opponuntur, facile est solvere."

Ad I. Quod enim primo dicunt, esse Domini consilium de vitæ studio fragisterio, patet multipliciter esse falsum. Primo quia supererogationes, de quibus dantur consilia, habent præmium

1. It is evidently false that an obligation not to teach falls under the counsels. That cannot be forbidden by a counsel to which a great reward is attached when it is performed. But just as virgins receive a special reward, so also will doctors: "They that instruct many to justice shall shine as stars for all eternity."* Just as it would be unbecoming to say that some one of the counsels commands a man to decline martyrdom or virginity, so, also, is it unbecoming to say that one of the counsels forbids a man to teach. Again, one command cannot contradict another. But teaching falls under either precept or counsel: "Go, teach all nations," † and, "You who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness." ‡ There can, therefore, be no counsel forbidding men to teach. Again, our Lord wished the Apostles to observe forthwith the counsels he gave them; but refraining from teaching had nothing to do with the Apostles; therefore, to abstain from teaching does not fall under the counsels. Nor can it be said that it falls under a counsel to avoid the honours connected with teaching; for they are not accorded to minister to conceit, but for the sake of manifesting the authority of the office. It is no greater imperfection for a religious to make use of the *insignia* of his office as teacher, than for the priest at Mass to take precedence of, and be more richly clad than the deacon. It is still more ridiculous to say that, although to abstain from teaching does not fall under counsel, still, not to use the title of master does fall under a counsel. We can be bound by no precept respecting that which depends, not on ourselves, but on others. But the name

eminentius, ut patet ex hoc quod dicitur Lucæ X, 35: *Et quodcumque supererogaveris, ego cum rediero, reddam tibi*: quod Glossa de supererogatione consiliorum expouit. Unde abstinere ab illis actibus quibus excellens debetur præmiu, sub consilio cadere non potest. Doctoribus autem debetur præmiu ex officio, sicut et Virginibus, scilicet aureola, ut patet Danielis XII., 3: *Qui ad justitiam cruciunt multos* Glossa verbo, et exemplo quasi stelle in perpetua æternitate. Sicut ergo inconueniens esset dicere, quod declinare virginitatem, et Martyrium sub consilio cadret; ita inconueniens esset dicere, quod abstinere ab actu docendi, sub consilio cadat. Item consiliu non potest esse de eo quod contrariatur consilio, vel precepto. Sed docere cadit sub precepto, vel sub consilio, ut patet Matthæi ult. 19: *Euntes, docete omnes gentes etc.* Galat., VI., 1: *Vos, qui spirituales estis, huiusmodi instruite in spiritu caritatis*. Non ergo de non docendo potest esse consiliu. Item consilia que Dominus proposuit, immediate ab Apostolis observari voluit, ut eorum exemplo alii ad observanda consilia provocarentur: unde Paulus I Corinth., VII., 7, consiliu de virginitate proponens, dixit: *Volo omnes homines esse sicut me ipsum*. (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 6.)

* Dan. XII., 3.

† "Nec potest dici, quod sub consilio cadat abstinere ab his que ad solemnitatem docendi pertinent: quia ea que ad solemnitatem docendi pertinent, non sunt causæ elationis, alias enim essent ab omnibus vitanda, quia quilibet tenetur elationem vitare: sed sunt ordinata ad auctoritatem officii ostendendam; et ideo sicut perfectioni nihil deperit, si sacerdos supra diaconum sedeat, et sericus ornetur vestibus; ita non obstat perfectioni, si quis magistralibus insignis utatur: et hoc est quod dicit quædam Glossa super illud Matth., XXIII., 6: *Amant primos recubitus*. 'Magistros (inquit) primos sedere non vetat; sed eos arguit qui hinc habita vel non habita, appetunt.' Adhuc autem est magis ridiculu dicere, quod etiam abstinere a docendo sub consilio non cadat, abstinere tamen a magisterii nomine sub consilio cadit. Non enim potest esse preceptum vel consiliu de eo quod non est in nobis, sed in alio. In nobis quidem est docere vel non docere, de quo non esse consiliu probatum est. Sed doctores atque magistros vocari non est in nobis, sed in eis qui sic nos nominant. Non ergo potest sub consilio cadere, ut non vocemur magistri. Item, cum nomen sit imposita ad significandum res, ridiculu est dicere quod nomen sit prohibitu, cum res non sit interdita. Item, consiliorum observatio maxime ad Apostolos pertinet, quibus mediandis ab aliis pervenit. Magistri ergo nomen nullo modo consilio est interdictu, cum ipsi Apostoli se ipsos magistros et doctores nominaverint." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 6.)

‡ Gal., VI., 1.

we are called by does *not* depend upon us. Therefore, it cannot be forbidden by counsel that we should not be called "magistri." Besides, it would be ridiculous to sanction the *thing*, and to forbid the *name*. Again, the practice of the counsels, in a special manner, was incumbent on the Apostles. But they called themselves masters and doctors: "Whereunto I am appointed . . . (I say the truth, I lie not) a doctor of the Gentiles in faith and truth."* Again: "I am appointed a preacher, and an Apostle, and teacher of the Gentiles."† Therefore, to teach, cannot be contrary to the counsels. The words of our Lord: "But be not you called Rabbi"‡ do not refer to a counsel, but to a precept, which obliges all.§ What is forbidden, is not the act of teaching, nor the name of teacher, but the *ambition* which may spring out of these. Thus, our Lord prohibited the name of father, and of master, for there is but one Father, Who is in heaven, and one Master, Christ; but He did not, either by precept, or by counsel, absolutely forbid these names to be made use of in their legitimate sense—else the Holy Fathers would not have countenanced the title of abbot, that is, father; nor would the Vicar of Christ—who ought to be the model of perfection—be called Pope; nor would S. Augustine or S. Jerome have called the bishops they wrote to, *Papæ* or fathers. Besides, those who embrace the state of perfection are not obliged to practice all the counsels, but those only to which they have bound themselves. All the Apostles were not called upon to practice the works of supererogation performed by S. Paul; if he did not wish to live by the altar, that is no reason why they should not live by it: else, there would be no distinction between works which are of supererogation, and those which are not.||

* 1 Tim., II., 7.

† 2 Tim., I., 11.

‡ Matt., XXIII., 3.

§ 2 "Timoth. II., 7: *Veritatem dico non mentior, doctor gentium in fide et veritate.* 2 Tim., I., 11: *In quo positus sum ego predicator et Apostolus et magister gentium.* Restat ergo dicendum, quod id quod Dominus dixit, *Nolite vocari Rabbi*, non sit consilium, sed præceptum, ad quod omnes tenentur; nec prohibentur actus docendi et magisterii nomen, sed ambitio magisterii, unde cum subiungit, *Nec magistri*, Glossa: '*Nec appetatis vocari.*' Nec quolibet appetitum interdicat, sed inordinatum: ut ex Glossa prius inducta apparet, et ex hoc etiam quod de inordinato appetitu Plarisorum præmiserat, dicens: *Amant primos recubitus, etc.* Potest tamen aliter intelligi, secundum Glossam ut etiam ex circumstantia litteræ patet. Simil enim Dominus prohibet ibidem patris nomen ac magistri, quia unus est pater noster qui est in cælis, et quia magister noster unus est Christus. Deus enim, ut Glossa dicit ibidem, et pater et magister natura dicitur: homo autem dicitur indulgentia pater, et magister ministerio. . . . Magister ex consortio veri magistri tamquam ejus nuntius, et pro reverentia ejus a quo mittitur, honoratur. Sic ergo patet quod Dominus non prohibuit simpliciter nec præcepto, nec consilio nomen patris, aut Magistri: alias quomodo sancti patres sustinuerunt ut illi qui præsent monasteriis, Abbates, idest patres, vocarentur?" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 6.*)

|| "Quomodo etiam Christi Vicarius, qui debet esse perfectionis exemplum, Papa, idest pater, diceretur? Augustinus etiam et Hieronymus Episcopos quibus scribunt, Papas, idest patres, frequenter nominant. Stultissimum est ergo dicere, quod hoc quod dicitur, *Nolite vocari Rabbi*, sit consilium. Dato etiam quod sit consilium, non sequitur quod omnes perfecti ad istud consilium teneantur. Non enim qui statum perfectionis profitentur, ad omnia tenentur consilia, sed ad ea tantum ad quæ ex voto se obligant: alias Apostoli, qui in statu perfectionis erant, tenebantur ad hanc supererogationem quam Paulus faciebat, ut non acciperent stipendia ab Ecclesiis quibus predicabant; et peccabant, cum hoc non observarent, ut patet 1 Cor., IX. Sequeretur etiam ex hoc religionum confusio, si omnes ad omnes supererogationes, et omnia consilia tenerentur. Quicquid enim una supererogaret, omnes supererogare, tenerentur, et sic inter eas nulla distinctio remaneret: quod est inconveniens. Non ergo ad omnia consilia perfecti tenentur sed solum ad ea ad quæ se obligant." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 6.*)

2. The second objection, that the office of a monk is that of a mourner, not of a teacher, has no force in it. S. Jerome merely wished to say that a monk as a monk is not a teacher. It no more follows that, because a monk has not now the office of teaching, *therefore*, he can never have it, than it would follow that, because he has not the office of reading the Gospel, *therefore*, he can never be ordained a deacon. S. Jerome wishes to show the distinction, in a matter of duty, between a clerk and a monk. As a monk, a man has the office of mourner for his own and others' sins; as a clerk, he has the office of teaching, and of feeding the people. And, even if it were unlawful for monks to teach, it would not follow that it would be so for Regular Canons. As Templars may use arms, whilst monks may not use them; so, Canons Regular might teach, though monks were not permitted to do so. Canons Regular and monks are on the same footing in those things to which all religious are bound, but not beyond this; else Canons could not wear linen garments; for monks are not permitted to have them.*

3. The objection that the office of teaching is contrary to the vow of religion, is false on many counts. Religious, by their vow, do not renounce the use of the things of the world, but they give up the practices of a worldly life. Hence, they are *in* the world—in so far as they use the things of the world; but they are not *of* the world; inasmuch as they are free from the practices of the world. Therefore, it is not contrary to their vow for them to use riches, or even pleasures, sometimes; else, a religious who ate good things would sin mortally, which cannot be said.† There-

* "Ad 2. Quod etiam secundo obijciunt, quod monachus non docentis, sed plangentia habet officium, pro eis non facit. Ibi enim Hieronymus ostendit, quod monacho, ex hoc quod est monachus, competat penitentiam agere, non docere, sicut illi sibi usurpabant de quibus diximus, quod ex hoc ipso quod monachi erant, docere volebant: vel intendit ostendere, quod monachus, ex hoc quod est monachus, non obligatur ad docendum. Sic enim Hieronymus inducit hoc in epistola contra Vigilantium. Non autem sequitur, si monachus non habeat officium legendi Evangelium, quod ad hoc officium, assumi non possit: et hoc est quod Gratianus dicit 16, quæst. I. *Superior*. Voluit ergo Hieronymus distinguere inter personam monachi et personam clerici, ostendens quid cuique ex proprio officio conveniat. Aliud enim convenit cuique ex eo quod monachus est, aliud ex eo quod clericus est, ex eo quod monachus est sua et aliorum peccata defendi debet officium; ex eo quod clericus est, docendi et pascendi populum. . . . Quod autem obijciunt, quod canonici regulares et monachi ad paria censentur, intelligendum est in illis quæ sunt communia omni religioni: sicut vivere sine proprio, abstinere a negotiis, et ab officio advocandi in causis, et huiusmodi: alias posset similiter concludere, quod canonici regulares teneantur abstinere a lueis indumentis, quia monachi ad hoc teneantur. Multo etiam fortius licet illis religiosi docere quorum religia est ad hoc statuta, etiam si monachis non liceret: sicut Templariis licet armis uti, quod non licet monachis." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 6.)

† "Ad 3. Quod autem tertio obijciunt, quod assumere magisterii officium est contra votum religionis, patet multipliciter esse falsum. Religiosi enim per votum religionis non hoc modo abrenuntiant mundo, ut rebus mundi uti non possint, sed mundane vite, ut scilicet mundi actionibus non occupentur: unde et sunt in mundo, inquantum rebus mundi utuntur; et non sunt de mundo, inquantum a mundanis actionibus sunt liberi. Unde non est contra votum eorum, si utantur divitiis, vel etiam quandoque deliciis: alias quicumque deliciose ederent, mortaliter peccarent, quod non est dicendum. Unde non est contra votum eorum, si quandoque honoribus utantur. Item munda, secundum quod illi accipiunt, non solum religiosi, sed etiam omnes homines abrenuntiare teneantur: quod patet ex hoc quod supra præmittit Joannes (Epist. I., Cap. II., 15): *Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo: quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ*: Glossa: "Omnes dilectores mundi nihil habent nisi hæc tria, quibus omnia vitiorum genera comprehenduntur." Unde patet quod ad mundum dicuntur ibi pertinere non divitiæ, et deliciose simpliciter, sed inordinatus appetitus earum; et sic non solum religiosi, sed etiam omnes interdicitur non quidem honor, sed ambitio honoris. Glossa ibi: "*Superbia vitæ*, idest omnis ambitio sæculi." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 7.)

fore, it is not contrary to their vow, if they sometimes make use of honours. All men are obliged to renounce the world, in a certain sense: "If any man love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him: for all that is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life."* Hence, the "ambition of honour" is forbidden to all—not riches and pleasures, but an inordinate desire after them. Even were honour a thing of the world, worldliness could not be predicated of every honour; for the honour of the priesthood does not belong to the world. In like manner, the honour of the teacher does not belong to the world: for the teaching from which this honour springs, has to do with spiritual goods. And, as religious do not by vow renounce the priesthood; neither do they, by being religious, renounce the teaching office. Besides this, the *magisterium* is not an honour: but it is an office to which honour is due. Even if a religious renounced all honour, he could not renounce that to which honour was due; else, he would have to renounce all virtue: for honour, according to the philosopher, is the "reward of virtue." And because the devil deceives some by puffing them up, it is no reason why men should abstain from teaching, any more than they should abstain from good works; for S. Augustine says: "Pride insinuates itself even into good works, in order to destroy them."†

4. The assertion that religious vow perfect humility, is false; they do not vow humility, but obedience; humility does not fall under the vow. Acts of virtue are of necessity, because they are of precept. A vow regards that which is voluntary; nor can the perfection of humility fall under a vow, any more than the perfection of charity: for the perfection of virtue does not depend on our will, but upon the gift of God. Even if religious were bound to perfect humility, it would not follow that they could not enjoy certain honours. To enjoy honours is not opposed to humility, but to be inordinately puffed up by honours; hence, S. Bernard says that, amongst all the treasures of the Supreme Pontiff, "there is no more precious gem than humility."‡ Who

* John, 1 Epist., II., 15.

† "Item dato quod honor simpliciter ad mundum pertinere intelligatur, non tamen hoc potest dici de quolibet honore, sed de honore qui consistit in rebus mundanis: non enim potest dici quod honor Sacerdotil pertineat ad mundum, et similiter nec honor magisteril, cum doctrina, quam consequitur talis honor, sit de spiritualibus bonis. Sicut ergo religiosi non abrenuntiant per votum sacerdotio, ita nec magisterio. Item hoc falsum est quod magisterium sit honor: est enim officium cui debetur honor. Dato etiam quod religiosi enllibet honori abrenuntiassent, non tamen abrenuntiaverunt eis quibus debetur honor, alias renuntiassent operibus virtutum. Honor enim secundum Philosophum in 1 Ethicorum est premium virtutis. Nec propter hoc aliquis debet abstinere a magisterio, quia diabolus aliquos inflatos honore magisteril decipit; sicut nec a bonis operibus, quia Augustinus dicit: 'Superbia etiam bonis operibus insidit ut pereant.'" (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 7.)

‡ "Ad 4. Ad illud autem quod quarto obijciunt, quod religiosi profitentur perfectam humilitatem, dicendum: quod est falsum; non enim vovet humilitatem, sed obedientiam. Humilitas enim sub voto non cadit, sicut nec alie virtutes; cum actus virtutum sint necessitatis, quia sunt in precepto; votum autem est de eo quod est voluntarium. Similiter etiam nec perfectio

will dare to say that S. Gregory lost a single degree of humility because he was promoted to the highest ecclesiastical position? Moreover, it is evident, from what has been said, that the "*magisterium*" is not an honour, and so the objection loses all its force.

5. S. Denis does not say that teaching in the schools is a sacred action—but that the administration of the Sacraments is; otherwise, no one but a deacon or a priest could teach. Then, monks who are properly ordained can consecrate the Body of Christ, and this belongs to the priestly office; with still more right, therefore, may they exercise the duty of teaching, which does not require the holy order of priesthood.*

6. To the sixth objection, which declares that to teach and to obey Rule are incompatible, it may be answered thus, that in the main, religious discipline can be observed. To dispense with silence, vigils, and the like, for the common good, is not unbecoming—as is evident from the practice of those monks who are made prelates, and live in monasteries, and for certain reasons are dispensed from the like obligations; and, besides, there are religious who do observe the rules of their Order, and teach in the schools according to the scope of the Order to which they belong.†

7. It is said that, in teaching, religious overstep the bounds prescribed for them; but that is permissible which is prohibited by no law. And, again, there are some religious who are teachers by virtue of their institution.‡

humilitatis sub voto cadere potest, sicut nec perfectio caritatis, cum perfectio virtutis non sit ex nostro arbitrio, sed ex Dei munere. Dato autem quod ad perfectam humilitatem teneretur, non sequitur, quod non possent aliquibus honoribus potiri, sicut non possent possidere divitias propter hoc quod profiterentur animam pauperitatem, quia possidere divitias pauperitati opponitur; non autem potiri honoribus opponitur humilitati, sed in honoribus se inordinate extollere: unde, ut Bernardus dicit in Libro De Consideratione, nulla splendidior gemma humilitate, scilicet in omni ornatu summi Pontificis: quo enim celis ceteris, eo humilitate apparet illustrior et se ipso: et Eccl. III. 20 dicitur: quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus. . . . Patet ex dictis quod magisterium non est honor: et sic ratio illa penitus nihil valet." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 7.)

* "Ad 5. Ad id quod quinto obijciunt, dicendum, quod Dionysius distinguit monachos contra diaconos, presbyteros et Episcopos. Patet etiam quod loquitur de monachis qui clerici non erant tempore Ecclesie primitive, ut patet XVI. quest. 1: *Superiori*. Monachos namque ad tempus Eusebii, Zosimi, et Siricii clericos non fuisse Ecclesiastica testatur Historia. Et sic non potest concludi per dictum Dionysii aliquid de monachis qui sunt Episcopi, vel presbyteri vel diaconi. Proceedit etiam eorum ratio ex malo intellectu Dionysii. Vocat enim actiones sacras ecclesiastica sacramenta, baptismum dicens esse purificationem, et illuminationem; sed confirmationem et Eucharistiam perfectionem, ut patet in IV. cap. Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchie: et hæc dispensare non licet nisi predictis ordinibus; sed docere in scholis non est de his sacris actionibus de quibus Dionysius loquitur; alius utilis posset docere in scholis nisi esset diaconus vel sacerdos. Item monachi clerici possunt conficere Corpus Christi, quod non nisi sacerdotibus licet. Ergo multo fortius docendi uti possunt officio, ad quod sacer ordo non requiritur." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 7.)

† "Ad 6. Ad aliud quod sexto obijciunt, quod nullus potest Ecclesiasticis officiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinare persistere, et ita multo minus scholasticis, intelligendum est non de his que ad substantiam religionis pertinent, ut etiam per apparatus ibi patet, quia hæc bene servare possunt Ecclesiasticis vacantes officiis; sed intelligitur quantum ad alias observantias, sicut silentium, vigillas, et huiusmodi: quod etiam patet ex hoc quod acquiritur in predicto capitulo: *Ut ipse distractionem monasterii teneat qui quotidie in ministerio Ecclesiastico cogitur deservire*. A quibus observantiis regularibus non est inconveniens si aliqui abstineant, ut utilitati communis vacent docendo; sicut patet in illis qui ad prelatiis officium assumuntur, cum etiam in claustris manent in talibus quandoque dispensationem accipiant propter aliquam causam. Et præterea aliqui religiosi sunt qui in claustris suis manentes, distractionem sui ordinis servantes, scholasticis insistant officio, quod ex institutione sui ordinis habent." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 8.)

‡ "Ad 7. Ad aliud quod septimo obijciunt, dicendum, quod ille se superextendit supra mensuram suam, ut patet per Glossam ibidem, qui se extendit ultra quam ei concedatur. Illud

As to religious not being allowed more than one doctor in a college, it can be answered that, because men are religious, it does not follow that they should be treated more harshly than seculars in the matter of learning. If a religious has greater obstacles thrown in his way to becoming a master than others, he is, in reality, punished for being a religious. And this would be to punish men for doing good, which would be an iniquitous proceeding. Nor are seculars or religious forbidden to have many masters. This is explained by S. Augustine, when he says: "They are called many masters because they teach contrary doctrines, whilst many teaching the same thing are as one master." Thus, many doctors are not forbidden, but many doctrines.* The many masters in one college do not govern that college as a captain commands his ship, for each master presides in his own school. All that can be proved by the analogy of the ship is this, that many masters cannot be placed over the same class. Nor does an increase in the number of regular teachers prevent seculars from teaching; it merely offers a greater choice of professors, irrespective of their peculiar vocation. In the third chapter, the allegation that religious cannot have anything in common with seculars, in those things which relate to studies, is shown to be damnable, false, and frivolous. Here, as in the second chapter, the Saint first states the arguments of the enemy; then gives his general answer; and, finally, replies to each argument in particular.†

The teaching of William of S. Amour is "damnable:" because it strikes straight at ecclesiastical unity, which consists, according to the Apostle, in this: that "we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."‡ It strikes also

antem intelligitur concessum quod nulla lege prohibitum invenitur. . . . Et preterea aliqui religiosi sunt, qui doctrinam ex institutione sui ordinis habent: et patet quod contra eos dicta obiectio non procedit." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 8.*)

* "Quod autem adiungunt, quod in uno religiosorum collegio duo doctores esse non debeant, manifeste patere potest iniquum esse. Cum enim religiosi non sint minus humiles quam seculares, ut supra probatum est, non debet in docendo religiosi pejor esse conditio quam seculares. Esset autem secundum positionem predictam: quia non major via pateret tolli uni multitudini religiosorum veniendi ad magisterium quam uni secolari, qui singulariter per se studet, qui magister fieri potest, si in studio proficiat. Item secundum hanc positionem profectus studii in religiosis impeditur. Sicut enim pugnanti esset impedimentum ad pugnam, si prævium pugne ei subtraheretur, quia, ut Philosophus in III. Ethic. dicit, fortissimi pugnatores esse videntur apud quos sunt timidi inhonorati, fortes honorati; ita studentibus esset impedimentum ad studium, si ei magisterium subtrahatur, quod est studentium prævium. Item hoc reputaretur in pecuniam infugii alieni, si ei postquam in studio profecit, magisterium deuegaretur. Si ergo religiosus in magisterio consequendo pluraquam alii impediatur, ex hoc ipso quod religiosus est, punietur; et hoc est punire homines pro bono; quod iniquum est." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 8.*)

† "Adhuc autem sua malitia eos instigante cōantur ostendere, quod religiosi seculares in his quæ ad studium pertinent communicare non debent, ut si non ex toto doctrinæ amittant officium, tamen in executione officii aliquo modo impediuntur."

1 "Ad hoc autem ostendendum, inducunt primo illud quod habetur XVI. quæst. VII. cap. In nona actione, ubi dicitur: In uno eodemque officio non debet esse dispar professio: quod etiam in lege divina prohibetur, dicente Moyses: non arabis simul in bove, et asino: id est, homines diversarum professionum in uno officio simul non sociabis; et infra: Non coherere, et conjungi non possunt quibus et studia, et vota sunt diversa. Cum ergo religiosi, et seculares sit professio dispar in uno docendi officio sociari non possunt."

2 "Item. Cum quilibet morem gerere debeat illis quibus convivit, secundum Augustinum. Inconveniens videtur ut unus et idem sit de religioso, et secolari collegio simul et semel: non enim potest simul utrorumque actus imitari. Sic ergo religiosus qui est de collegio suarum religionum, non potest esse de collegio secularium doctorum." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p. 8.*)

‡ Rom. XII., 5.

at charity: because, according to the philosopher, friendship is founded and maintained by intercommunion; or, to use the words of Solomon: "A man amiable in society shall be more friendly than a brother."* It strikes at the advancement of students in learning: for "It is better that two should be together than one, for they have the advantage of their society"†—and this is especially the case with regard to the acquisition of knowledge. It strikes at faith: for those who give their instructions separately, easily slip into teaching, contrary to sound doctrine.‡

It is "false:" because it contradicts Apostolic doctrine; for "every man hath received grace, ministering the same one to another: as good stewards of the manifold grace of God."§ Those who would keep religious and secular doctors apart, would prevent such ministration. Those who are competent to teach at all are competent to teach together. There is no more reason why religious and secular doctors should exclude each other, than that the soldiers who form an army should refuse to communicate with each other: if their object be one, they can combine in one society.||

It is "frivolous," for it is supported by arguments without weight, and is a manifestation of ignorance. Hence, it is easy to answer the reasoning adduced.¶

1. It is said that in one and the same office there should not be disparity of profession: that is, a cleric should not perform the office of a layman, and *vice versa*; but to those occupations which are at once common both to seculars and to monks, such as studying and teaching, this rule does not apply. So, men of different

* *Prov., XVIII., 24.*

† *Ecl., IV., 9.*

‡ "Hæc autem eorum sententia invenitur esse damnosa, falsa, et frivola. Damnosa quidem est, quia derogat ecclesiasticæ unitati, quæ consistit secundum Apostolum ad Rom. XII., 5, in hoc quod multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra. Glossa: 'Sumus alter alterius membra, dum sumus aliis servientes, aliis iudicantes.' Ideo dicitur singuli secundum Glossam, quia nullus excluditur, major, vel minor. Unde patet quod ecclesiasticæ unitati derogat quicunque impedit quod nuncquidque alterius membrum non sit, ei serviendo secundum officium sibi competentem. Cum ergo religiosi competat docendi officium: de quo post pauca Apostolus mentionem facit dicens: *Sive qui docet, in doctrina*: Glossa: 'Qui habet gratiam docendi, sit membrum alterius in exhibitione doctrine.' manifestum est quod ecclesiasticæ unitati derogat quicunque religioso impedit ne quemquam docere possit, vel a quocunque addiscere. Derogant etiam prædicta caritati. Quia secundum Philosophum in VIII., et X. Ethicorum in communicatione amicitia fundatur, et salvatur: cui congruit sententia Salomonis Prover. XVIII., 24: *Vir amiceabilis ad societatem magis amicus erit quam frater.*" (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p. 9.*)

§ *1 Peter, IV., 10.*

|| "Ergo et quicumque assumuntur ad officium doctrinæ, debent, omnibus, cujuscumque conditionis fuerint, docendo proficere, et religiosi, secularibus, et secularia religiosi. Item quibuscumque competit aliquis actus, competit admitti ad societatem illorum qui ordinantur ad actum illum; cum societas nihil aliud esse videatur quam adiunctio hominum ad unum aliquid communiter agendum: unde et omnes quibus pugnare licet, possunt communicare in eodem exercitu, qui est societas ordinata ad pugnandum: non eum videmus quod milites religiosi repellant milites secularia a suo exercitu, nec e converso. Sed societas studii est ordinata ad actum docendi, et discendi. Cum ergo non solum secularibus, sed etiam religiosi liceat docere, et discere, ut ex prædictis patet; non est dubium quod religiosi, et secularia in una societate studii esse possunt." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. II., p. 10.*)

¶ "Est etiam prædicta sententia frivola: quia rationes quibus funditur, nullius momenti sunt, et ostendunt ignorantiam eorum qui eas inducunt, vel veram, vel fictam. Est enim societas, ut dictum est, adiunctio hominum ad aliquid unum periclitandum; et ideo secundum diversam ad quam periclitanda societas ordinatur oportet societates distinguere, et de eis iudicare; cum iudicium unusquisque rei præcipue sumatur ex fine." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p. 10.*)

conditions form one Church: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for you are all one in Christ Jesus." *

2. It is said that there are some privileges which are common to seculars and religious, and some privileges which are not common to them. For instance, religious cannot belong both to a secular and to a religious college. But both religious and seculars belong to the one College of the Church of Christ, inasmuch as they are one in faith. So, since religious and seculars teach and discuss together, a house of studies ought not to be called a college of religious, or a college of seculars, but a college comprehending both. It is common ground for carrying out a common object.†

3. It is argued that a man cannot belong to two colleges—to a secular, and to a regular one; but this is to make use of the part, as an argument against the whole. A private college is part of a public college—just as a house is part of a city. To live in a religious family, and to study at a public college, does not create any contradiction. Nor is there any objection to a religious, who is a member for life of a religious college, belonging, for a time, to a scholastic college. Moreover, this argument is applicable only to ecclesiastical colleges. A man cannot be a canon of two churches at one time without a dispensation. But a scholastic college is not an ecclesiastical college—so there is nothing to prevent a man who is associated to a religious college, or to a secular college, joining a scholastic college.‡

4. It is said that religious, being under obedience to superiors, cannot take upon themselves those obligations which fall upon seculars in a secular college. Without permission and license of

* *Gal.* III., 28.

† "Ad 2. Ad id quod secundo obijciunt, dicendum, quod sicut quedam sunt communia religiosorum, et secularium, quedam autem sunt in quibus differunt: ita est quoddam collegium quod est tantum secularium, secundum quod admanantur quidam homines ad ea perficienda quae ad seculares tantum spectant; aliquod autem collegium est religiosorum tantum, in quo scilicet aliquid agitur ad religiosam vitam ducendam; aliquod autem est quod est religiosorum, et secularium commune, quia in illo admanant homines ad hoc in quo religiosi a secularibus non distinguuntur; sicut religiosi, et seculares communiter sunt de collegio unius Ecclesie Christi, inquantum in una fide conveniunt, quae imitationem Ecclesie perficit. Similiter quia docere, et discere communiter religiosi et secularibus competit, collegium studii non debet censi quasi collegium religiosorum, vel quasi collegium secularium, sed quasi collegium in se comprehendens utroque." (*Tom.* XV., *Opusc.* I., *Cap.* III., p. 11.)

‡ "Ad 3. Ad id quod tertio obijciunt, scilicet quod nullus potest esse de duobus collegiis, dicendum, quod illa ratio tripliciter deficit. Primo quia pars non ponit in numerum contra totum: collegium autem privatum pars est publici collegii, sicut domus est pars civitatis: unde per hoc quod aliquis est de collegio alicujus familie, ex hoc ipso est de collegio civitatis, quae ex diversis familiis constituitur, nec tamen est ex duobus collegiis. Cum ergo collegium studii sit publicum collegium, per hoc quod aliquis est de collegio privato aliquorum studentium, sicut qui conveniunt ad convivendum in una domo religiosi, vel seculares, hoc ipso est de collegio communi studii, nec propter hoc est de duobus collegiis. Secundo predicta ratio deficit ex hoc quod nihil prohibet aliquem esse de uno collegio perpetuo publico, vel privato, et simul et semel esse de aliquo collegio publico, vel privato temporali: sicut ille qui est de collegio alicujus civitatis, quandoque est ad tempus de collegio commilitantium in uno exercitu; et qui est de collegio alicujus familie, potest ad tempus aliquibus sociari in aliquo hospitio. Collegium autem studii non est collegium perpetuum, sed temporale: non enim ad hoc homines ad studium conveniunt ut perpetuo ibi morentur; sed vadunt et veniunt pro suo libito. Unde nihil prohibet eum qui est de religioso collegio perpetuo, simul esse de collegio scholastico." (*Tom.* XV., *Opusc.* I., *Cap.* III., p. 11.)

their superiors, they cannot; with it, they can do that which is lawful.

5. It is said that religious breed scandal; 6, that they live idle lives; and, 7, that they will be the cause of the "Perils of the Last Times"—and texts of Scripture are brought forward in support of these accusations.

The Saint proves that these allegations are beside the point; and says that, because they have their suspicions, men should not take the law into their own hands, and that, until religious are condemned by competent authority, they cannot be driven out of their position.*

8. It is said that it is not even within the power of apostolic authority to compel seculars to receive religious into their colleges. This proposition is not only false, but heretical. Christ granted this privilege to the Roman Church, that all should obey it, as if they were obeying Christ. It can be proved from Gratian, and S. Cyril, that he who attempts to destroy the privilege of the Roman Church, falls into heresy. Hence, he who declares that those things are not to be done, which the Pope commands men to do, is guilty of heresy.†

9. It is said that no one can be forced to enter a society against his will; but this is spoken of a private society—not of a public society, constituted by authority: for, just as the Chapter of a church can be compelled to receive a certain man as a canon, so, a college of studies can be forced by superior authority to receive subjects.

10. It is said that the Apostolic authority only extends *ad cathedram, i. e.*, to the administration of the Sacraments, and such like. This is false; for it is clear from the "Politics," and "Ethics," that he who governs the republic has to superintend the education of its youth.

11. It is said that to unite religious and seculars would be not

* Ad. 4. Ad id quod quarto obijciunt, dicendum, quod religiosi non possunt esse de collegio secularium, nisi quatenus licet eis docere, et discere, quod non possunt abque moderamine, et licentia suorum superiorum, ex quorum etiam licentia et iuramenta, et colligationes licitas, et expedientes facere possunt, ut sic in collegio scholastico commoverentur.

† Sciendum tamen, quod cum perfectio totius consistat in partium adunatione, illud toti non expedit in quo partes convenire non possunt, quia hoc perfectioni totius repugnat: unde et ordinationes que in republicis statuuntur, tales debent esse que omnibus qui ad rempublicam pertinent, coaptentur: magis vero essent renovandas ordinationes a republicis que adunationem civium impediunt, quam aliqua scissura reipublice toleranda: quia statuta sunt propter unitatem reipublice conservandam, et non e converso. Similiter etiam in collegio scholastico non debent esse aliqua statuta que non possint congruere omnibus qui ad studium licite conveniunt." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p. 11.)

† Ad 5. In his autem que sequuntur, in quibus apostolice potestati derogant, non solum falsitatis, sed etiam heresis crimen incurrunt: quia, ut dicitur in decretis, dist. XXII. cap. Omnes: qui Romane Ecclesie privilegium ab ipso summo omnium Ecclesiarum capite traditum auferre conatur, hic procul dubio in heresim labitur: et intra: Fidem quippe violat qui adversus illam agit que est fidei mater. Hoc autem privilegium Christus Romane Ecclesie contulit, ut omnes ei sicut Christo obediant: unde dicit Cyrillus Alexandrinus Episcopus in Lib. II. Thesaurorum: Ut membra maneamus in capite nostro apostolico throno Romanorum Pontificis, a quo nostrum est querere quid credere, et quid tenere debeamus, ipsum venerantes, ipsum rogantes pro omnibus: quoniam ipse solum est reprehendende, corrigere, et loco illius ligare qui ipsum edificavit: et nulli alii quod suum est plenum, sed ipse soli dedit: cui omnes iure divino caput inclinant, et primates mundi tamquam ipse Domino Jesu Christo obediunt." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p. 12.)

to edification, but to destruction. This allegation is founded on what is false. It is evident, from what has been advanced, that it is not to the destruction, but to the advantage of learning, that religious should be associated with seculars in teaching. Hence, there ought to be no doubt that seculars can be compelled, by Apostolic authority, to admit religious into their society for the sake of study.*

It would occupy too much space to go at length into the following chapters. The three first have been treated more in detail, to give a fair specimen of the Saint's method of handling his subject. He remarks, in the fourth chapter, that it was an old heresy, and one rife in his own day, which maintained that the efficacy of ecclesiastical ministrations depended upon sanctity of life, independent of ordination; and that this belief had led some fanatics to imagine that they were at liberty to license themselves—irrespective of any other authority, or mission, or character—to preach, and to absolve, and to exercise other ecclesiastical functions. Some took the opposite extreme, and declared that religious men, however holy they might be, could never, even with the approbation of their ecclesiastical superiors, perform these pastoral duties. Others imagine, says the Saint, that bishops cannot confer these powers on regulars without first obtaining the consent of the inferior clergy.† S. Thomas, taking for granted that the two former errors have been already proscribed, and visited with just anathema, attacks the third at length, and shows that the general good of the Church, the wants of the people, and the salvation of souls, call for the establishment of Religious Orders,

* "Quod etiam objiciunt, quod nullus potest cogi ad societatem invitus, ut lex dicit, patet quod intelligitur de privata societate, quæ consensu duorum, vel trium constituitur. Sed ad societatem publicam, quæ non potest constitui nisi ex superioris auctoritate, aliquis compelli potest; sicut princeps qui præest reipublice potest compellere cives ut in sua societate aliquem recipiant; sicut etiam collegium alienius Ecclesiæ cogitur ut aliquem recipiat in canonicum vel in fratrem. Unde, cum collegium studii generalis sit aliqua societas, ad eam aliquis induci potest auctoritate superioris cogente. Ad illud quod postea objiciunt, quod hoc est de illis qui non pertinent ad cathedram, dicendum, quod hoc est falsum. Ad eum enim qui regit rempublicam, pertinet ordinare de nutritionibus et adinventionibus juvenum in quibus exercere debeant. . . . Et sic patet quod ordinare de studio pertinet ad eum qui præest reipublice, et præcipue ad auctoritatem Apostolicæ Sedis, quæ universalis Ecclesiæ gubernatur, cui per generale studium providetur. Quod autem objicitur ultimo procedit ex falsis. Non enim est ad destructionem studii, sed ad ejus profectum, si religiosi secularibus in studio sociantur, ut ex prædictis patet. Unde nulli dubium esse debet secularibus compelli posse auctoritate apostolica ut ad societatem studii religiosos admittant." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. III., p. 12.*)

† "Sciendum est ergo, quosdam fuisse hæreticos, et adhuc esse, qui potestatem ecclesiastici ministerii in vitæ sanctitate ponebant, ut videlicet qui sanctitate carnerit, ordinis quoque potestatem amittat, et qui sanctitate fulget, etiam ordinis potestate potiatur. Quam quidem sententiam esse erroneam, quia de ea non agitur, supponatur ad præsens. Ex hujus autem erroris radice processit quorundam præsumptio, et præcipue monachorum, qui de sua sanctitate præsumentes, ministrorum Ecclesiæ officia proprio arbitrio usurpabant, absolviendo scilicet peccatores, et prædicando absque alicujus auctoritate Episcopi, quod eis nullatenus licebat."

"Sed quidam nimis incaute ab hoc errore recedentes, in errorem contrarium sunt prolapsi, asserentes monachos, et religiosos ad prædicta non idoneos esse, etiam si de auctoritate Episcoporum hoc agant."

"Quidam autem novellum sibi statuentes errorem in tantam prorumpunt audaciam ut asserant non solum propter religiosorum conditionem, sed etiam propter Episcoporum impotentiam non posse per Episcopos religiosos prædicta committi absque parochialis sacerdotis voluntate. Et quod etiam periculosius est, non posse eis hoc ipsum asserunt per Apostolicæ Sedis privilegium indulgenter. Et sic per viam contrariam ad emendum finem hujusmodi error elabitur cum prædicto, ut scilicet subtrahant aliqui ecclesiasticæ potestati, sicut et illi qui in vitæ merito potestatem Ecclesiæ consistere arbitrantur." (*Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. IV., p. 14, 15.*)

to assist the secular priests in preaching, and in the administration of the Sacraments.

William of S. Amour maintained that religious, however much they might be occupied in other matters, if they did not employ themselves in manual labour, were in a state of damnation.* S. Thomas, in the fifth chapter, oversets this error with arguments from Scripture and from reason. Not that he desires in any manner to encourage idleness, which, according to the Bible, is the source of all evils; but because there are many ways in which men may be usefully employed. Hence, he teaches, in the first place, that all men are bound to labour, both by natural law, and by Divine precept; and, secondly, that manual labour is necessary to society, and is useful and laudable in all conditions, both in the cloister and in the world. But far from pretending that this is a law of necessity for *every* condition of life without distinction; he clearly proves, on the contrary, in the case of religious in particular, that those who, by their position or vocation to an Apostolical Order, are obliged to labour for the salvation of souls, ought to prefer such occupations as are more intimately connected with their responsibilities, and of much more service to their neighbour.†

Here S. Thomas deals with two opposite errors: one, of certain ancient monks, who looked upon labour as opposed to an entire abandonment of self into the hands of Providence—and it was in refutation of this conceit that S. Augustine wrote his treatise on the "Labour of Monks:" the other, of those, who recognizing no other employment besides manual labour, aimed at making it of general obligation, and indispensable for all who made profession of religious life. We will prove, on the contrary, says S. Thomas, that religious, without manual labour, are in the way of Salvation. This the Saint abundantly does by appeals to reason, and to many texts of Scripture ‡—for example: First, works of

* "Quia vero per sufficientes rationes religiosos a fructu animarum arceri non possunt, eos indirecte impedire nituntur, imponentes eis necessitatem manibus operandi, ut vel sic saltem retrahantur a studio, quo ad prædicta redduntur idonei: in quo hostes civitatis sancte præfati malignantes ostenduntur. Unde super illud Nehem., VI., l. *Veni, et percutiamus fœdus etc.* dicit Glossa: 'Hostes civitatis sancte suadebant Nehemiæ in campestria descendere, et fœdus pacis secum inire. Sic et hæretici, et falsi catholici cum veris catholicis pacis consortium habere volunt, non ut ipsi ad arcem catholicæ fidei, et operationis ascendant, sed ut potius eos quos in culmine virtutum commorantes aspiciunt, ad infima operum, vel pauperiem dogmatum descendere cogant.' (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p. 23.)

† "Qui autem prædictis operibus quasi privatis vacant, a labore manuum abstinentes, quandoque quidem sunt transgressores præcepti Apostolici, quando scilicet sunt de illis quibus denuntiatur Apostolus, ut cum silentio operantes suum panem manducant ut dictum est. De his ergo loquitur Augustinus, ut patet ex hoc quod dicit: *Cur non et præceptis apostolicis observandis aliquas partes temporum deputamus?* et etiam ex hoc quod dicit: *Citius auditur una obediens oratio quam decem milia contemptoria*: et ex hoc quod dicit *Quæ est ista perveritas, lectioni nolle obtemperare?* Ex quibus omnibus patet quod loquitur de vacantiis spiritualibus operibus, qui præceptum apostolicum transgrediuntur. Nec transgrediuntur nisi qui ad observandum obligantur, de quibus prius dictum est: *Quandoque autem vacantes prædictis, ut etiam privatis operibus, Apostoli præceptum non transgrediuntur, manibus non operantes*: quia non laboriosam vitam ex pigritia fugientes, vacui, et otiosi volunt pasci; sed abundantia divini amoris ab omni exteriori opere retrahuntur, ut contemplationi vacent: ut per auctoritates supra inductas probatum est." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p. 23.)

‡ "Item. Opera misericordiæ preferuntur corporalibus exercitiis: 1 Timoth. IV., 8. Cor-

piety and mercy should be preferred to manual labour; for the Apostle says: "Bodily exercise is profitable to little, but godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."* Now, those who have to preach the Word of God can, from time to time, interrupt even works of mercy, and other offices of piety, in order to apply themselves to preaching, according to the Apostle: "It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God, and serve tables."† With much greater cause, then, may manual labour be put on one side for the sake of so holy and useful an occupation. Secondly, this manual labour is either of counsel or of precept. If only of counsel, nobody, strictly speaking, is obliged to it; unless a man be bound to it by virtue of his profession. Those religious are not bound to it in whose rule it is not prescribed. If it be of precept, then, seculars are bound to it as much as religious are; for *precepts* are binding on all. In fact, when S. Paul said: "If any man will not work, neither let him eat,"‡ the distinction between religious and seculars had not been introduced.§

William of S. Amour plausibly makes use of several passages of Scripture, and of the example of the Apostle himself, to prove his point. S. Thomas replies that S. Paul teaches that manual labour is necessary in three cases: when its omission would lead to dishonesty, or to covetousness, or to restlessness and curiosity. Now it is certain that those to whom the office of preaching is confided, can perform their duty, and avoid falling into these three vices, without having to engage in manual labour. It is true that S. Paul sometimes worked himself, though he was continually occupied in preaching. But the Apostles preached by inspiration, whilst in these days, preachers, both religious and secular, are obliged to prepare themselves by constant study. S. Thomas remarks, moreover, that S. Paul looked upon his manual labour as a work of supererogation; and explains, in accordance

poralis quidem exercitatio ad modicum utilis est; pietas autem ad omnia valet. Sed opera pietatis sunt intermittenda, ut vacetur predicationi. Actuum VI., 2: Non est æquum nos derelinquere verbum Dei, et ministrare mensis: Lucæ IX., 60. Sine ut mortui sepeliant mortuos suos; tu autem vade, et annuntia regnum Dei: Glossa, 'Dominus docet bona minora pro utilitate majorum esse pretermittenda. Majus est enim animas mortuorum predicando suscitare quam corpus mortui terra abscondere.' Ergo et illi qui licite prædicare possunt qualitercumque, debent laborem manuum propter predicationem intermittere." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p. 26.)

* 1 Tim., IV., 8.

† Acts IV., 2.

‡ 2 Thes., III., 10.

§ "Item. Hoc exemplo probari potest. Beatus enim Benedictus, ut Gregorius in II. Dialogorum narrat, tribus annis in specu mansit manibus non laborans, ut ex hoc victum quæreretur, quia longe a conversatione hominum positus erat, soli Romano monacho cognitus, qui ei victum ministrabat. Quia tamen audeat dicere eum tunc in statu salutis non fuisse, cum Dominus eum servum suum nominaverit euidam sacerdoti dicens: *Servus meus illo in loco fame moritur?* Multa etiam alia exempla sanctorum patent in Dialogo, et in vitis Patrum, qui sine labore manuum istam vitam transigebant."

"Item. Laborare manibus aut est præceptum, aut consilium. Si consilium est, nullus tenetur ad laborandum manibus, nisi qui ad hoc voto se astrinxit. Ergo religiosi qui ex regula sua non habent quod debeant manibus laborare, ad laborem manuum non tenentur. Si autem est in præcepto, cum ad præcepta divina, et apostolica æqualiter teneantur religiosi, et seculares, non magis ad laborem manuum tenentur religiosi quam seculares. Ergo si licebat alicui sine labore manuum vivere quando in sæculo erat, idem licebit quando in religione aliqua erit." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p. 24.)

with the Apostle, that he was led to do so through motives of prudence and of charity. These reasons will be found stated at length in the ninth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.* Finally, the Saint adds, that when the Apostle was at Athens, or elsewhere, where he could preach the Word every day, then he did not engage in manual labour, because he did not wish to interrupt his preaching; † in this case, he allowed the faithful to support him by their charity, for "so also the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel." ‡

William of S. Amour also maintained that no man can lawfully renounce everything he has, without providing in some way for his subsistence; that is, either by entering a convent which possesses an income, or by undertaking to work. To do otherwise, he said, would be to tempt God. S. Thomas refutes this error, by the teaching of our Lord, and by the example of His disciples. He shows that such a proposition cannot be defended, without condemning a great many of the Saints, and without falling into the errors of Jovinian and Vigilantius, who condemned the practice of the Evangelical counsels, and particularly the observances of monastic life.§ He shows the difference between voluntary poverty and mendicancy. The latter is a disgrace, and naturally breeds flatterers, and encourages base servility; the former is honourable in the religion of Jesus Christ, and does not expose its true votaries to kindred perils. Those who beg, through an overweening desire of enriching themselves, and that they may lead an idle life, are justly condemned by the law, and can be of no service to the commonwealth. They are doubly guilty before God, for they give themselves up to criminal sloth, and bring suspicion on those who are really in want. It is

* Verses 11, 12, 13, 15.

† "Ad. 5. Ad id quod quinto obijcitur, dicendum, quod hoc quod Apostoli manibus laboraverunt, quandoque quidem fuit necessitatis, quandoque supererogationis. Necessitatis quidem fuit quando ab aliis victum invenire non poterant, ut patet I Corinth. IV. per Glossam prius inductam. Quod etiam supererogationis fuerit, patet per id quod habetur I Corinth. IX. Hæc tamen supererogatione tribus de causis Apostolus utebatur. Quandoque quidem ut occasionem auferret pseudoapostolis prædicandi, qui propter sola temporalia prædicabant. Quandoque propter avaritiam eorum quibus prædicabat, ne gravati, si Apostolo seminanti spiritualia providerent temporalia, a fide discederent. Tertio ad dandum exemplum otiosis operari. Nec tamen Apostolus laborabat in illis locis in quibus quotidie prædicandi facilitatem habebat, sicut Athenis, ut Augustinus dicit in Lib. de Opere Monachi. Et ideo non est de necessitate salutis quod religiosi in hoc. Apostolum imitentur, cum non teneantur ad omnes supererogationis. Unde nec alii Apostoli manibus laborabant, nisi forte quando non inveniebant qui eis daret: in quo casu tenetur quilibet manibus laborare." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. V., p. 27.)

‡ I Cor., IX., 14.)

§ "Sciendum ergo est, hæreticum quemdam fuisse Romæ antiquis temporibus, Jovinianum nomine, qui in hunc errorem lapsus est ut diceret, omnium baptismatorum qui summi baptismum servaverunt, unam in regno cælorum esse remunerationem, ut Hieronymus narrat in Lib. quem contra eum scribit: ex quo lutantum processit ut diceret, virgines, viduas, et maritatas, quæ semel in Christo sunt lotæ, si non discrepent ceteris operibus, ejusdem meriti esse, et quod inter abstinentiam ciborum, et perceptionem eorum cum gratiarum actione nulla esset differentia, matrimonium per hoc virginitati adequatum: in quo consilium de virginitate servanda enervabatur, quod habetur a Domino Matth., XIX., 11. Non omnes capiunt verbum istud scilicet ut a nuptiis abstinentur, sed qui potest capere capiat; et ab Apostolo I Corinth. VII., 25. De virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. Unde postquam de proliheris damnata est, ut Augustinus narrat. Hic autem Joviniani error in Vigilantio surrexit, ut Hieronymus dicit in epistola contra Vigilantium, qui veritatem fidei impugnabat, ut ibidem dicitur, pudicitiam odio habens, et in convivio sæcularium contra jejunia sanctorum declamans, ut Hieronymus in eadem epistola dicit." (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VI., p. 30.)

not so with those who have become poor by choice, in imitation of the humility of Jesus Christ; who occupy themselves, according to their state of life, in the service of their neighbour, and know how to be contented with the necessities of life.* Far from diminishing the alms of the poor, they greatly increase them, by their counsels and their exhortations. That which they themselves receive from the people is rather the fair price of their labours than any gratuitous liberality, or alms, according to these words of S. Paul:† “If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things.”‡

S. Thomas proves, incontrovertibly, in the arguments which follow, that religious, whose vocation it is to work for the salvation of souls, can receive their support from the charity of the faithful; even though in preparing themselves for carrying out their obligations, they spend day and night in reading, studying, and meditating on the Scriptures, and on religious subjects. This indeed, is their labour—a labour, according to S. Thomas, far more glorious, far more useful, and far more necessary, than mere toiling with the hands. But the Holy Doctor has not a word to say in favour of those who do neither one nor the other, but live in criminal sloth—all the more criminal in proportion as it is the more scandalous, and the more unworthy of their state.

In the third part of the work, S. Thomas answers the malignant reproaches heaped upon religious mendicants, respecting the poverty manifested in their persons; the duties they sometimes undertake through motives of charity; and the journeys they make in discharge of their office as preachers of the Word.§ The

* Here S. Benedict is cited as an example:—“VI. Quod autem pauperes qui reliquerunt omnia propter Christum, possint de eleemosynis vivere, probatur primo exemplo beati Benedicti, de quo narrat beatus Gregorius in 2 Lib. Dialog. quod tribus annis in specu manens, de his quas a Romano monacho ministrabantur, refectus est, postquam decimum parentis reliquerat; et tamen validus corpore existens non legitur de labore manuum victum quasivisse.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p. 39.) Again:—

“Item. Vacare contemplationi divine laudabilis est quam vacare studio Philosophiæ. Sed aliqui sine peccato in studio Philosophiæ vacant, de eleemosynis vivunt ad tempus. Ergo et aliqui, ut contemplationi vacent, ad tempus possunt prætermisso labore manuum de eleemosynis vivere. Sed contemplationi divine vacare in omni tempore est laudabilius quam certum tempus ad hoc præfigere. Ergo aliqui possunt, ut contemplationi vacent, toto tempore vite suæ, prætermisso labore, de eleemosynis vivere.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p. 40.)

† 1 Cor., IX., 11.

‡ “Item. Apostolus probat quod poterant Apostoli temporalia accipere ab eis quibus prædicabant, quia eis spiritualia seminabant: quia qui dat magna, non est mirum, si accipiat parva: unde dicit in eodem cap. (vars. 11.) *Si nos vobis spiritualia seminavimus, magnum est, si nos carnalia vestra metamus!* Sed eadem spiritualia quæ prædicant prælati, prædicant alii ex eorum auctoritate. Ergo etiam ipsi possunt ab his quibus prædicant, carnalia accipere, unde vivant.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p. 40.)

§ Dicit Apostolus: *Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annuntiant de Evangelio vivere*: Glossa: ‘Hoc rationabiliter fecit, ut expeditores sint ad prædicandum verbum Dei.’ Sed omnes qui ad prædicandum deputantur, oportet esse expeditos ad prædicandum, sive sint prælati, sive auctoritate prælatorum prædicent. Ergo ad eos etiam qui non sunt prælati, ordinatio Domini se extendit, ut de Evangelio vivant: quod etiam patet ex ipsis verbis Apostoli. Non enim dicit, qui habent ordinariam auctoritatem, sed simpliciter *qui annuntiant*.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VII., p. 40.)

¶ Ita et predicti malignantes in lege Dei, quam religiosi custodiunt, occasionem detractionis inveniunt, eos in contemptum inducentes.

“Primo ex ipso habitu humilitatis, quem deserunt.”

“Secundo ex officio caritatis quod proximis impendunt, dum aliis serviunt juxta posse aliorum negotia caritative pertractando.”

“Tertio ex hoc quod non habentes hic manentem civitatem, de loco ad locum discurrunt ad fructificandum in populo Dei.”

friars are slandered, moreover, on account of actions which are indifferent in themselves, but which are turned against them in a bad sense: such as resisting their opponents; being found in the courts of kings; rejoicing in the great things which God has done for them, and such like. They are defamed in all manner of ways, by exaggerating their weaknesses, by making much of the faults of an individual, and then, either by straightway ascribing his shortcomings to the whole body of which he is a member; or by violently reproaching the brethren for sins they have never committed. Suspicion is cast upon all their actions—or, to use a well-known phrase, “the wells are poisoned.” Whether they pray or fast, or renounce themselves, or perform other actions which are manifestly praiseworthy, it matters not. They are made out to be oily hypocrites, and sleek impostors, and unworthy of any trust.* Just as the pagans formerly, according to S. Augustine, held the Christians responsible for all the calamities that fell upon the empire; so, William of S. Amour, whose object was to destroy the Religious Orders totally, did not scruple to attribute to their agency all the misfortunes which occurred both in Church and in State. He did more than this: he put down to them, in advance, all the fearful horrors which were to happen in the last days; and did his best to excite the fierce passions of the people against them, by declaring, amongst other things, that those days were near at hand, and that the members of the Religious Orders were the envoys and precursors of Antichrist. And, whilst penning all these libels, William of S. Amour flattered himself that he was labouring and suffering in the cause of truth, and out of a burning zeal for religion. The king and the Pope did not agree with him in this persuasion.†

“Quarto de hoc quod studio vacant.”

“Quinto de hoc quod verbum Dei ordinate, et gratiose proponunt. Ad hoc etiam refertur, quod in eis paupertatem, et mendicitatem, et doctrinam continent, et fructum animarum, quem in populo faciunt ex licentia prælatorum, de quibus supra tractatum est.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VIII., p. 49.)

* “Item. Hypocrosis videtur esse maximum peccatorum: Unde Dominus in Evangelio contra hypocritas plus invectitur quam contra alios peccatores: et Gregorius in Pastor: *Nemo amplius in Ecclesia nocet quam qui perverse agens nomen, vel ordinem sanctitatis habet*. Sed sub vilitate vestium latet hypocrosis; pretiositas autem vestium ad delicias carnis pertinet, vel etiam aliquem motum superbie occasionaliter inducit. Ergo vituperabilius est excedere in vilitate vestium quam in pretiositate.”

8. “Item. In Domino Jean Christo omnis religionis, et sanctitatis perfectio fuit. Sed ipse portavit vestem pretiosam, scilicet tunicam incontinentem, quæ desuper erat contexta per totum, ut dicitur Joan IX., in quo videtur quod erat facta tali opere, sicut panni consumitur aen cum auro et serico: et quod pretiosa esset, patet ex eo quod milites eum dividere noluerunt, sed sortem super eum miserunt. Ergo hoc ad religionem non pertinet quod aliquis vilis vestibus induitur.” (Tom. XV., Opusc. I., Cap. VIII., p. 49.)

† “Sic igitur divina auxiliante gratia malignorum detractoribus repressis, evidenter appareret quod nihil damnationis est his qui sunt in Christo Jesu, qui non secundum carnem ambulant, sed crucem Domini bajulant, operibus spiritualibus insistant, carnalia desideria continent. Pateret quidem locus multa replicandi contra predictos detractores; sed eos divino iudicio reservamus; cum eorum nequitia possit esse omnibus manifesta ex his quæ ex corde suo nequissime protulerunt, secundum sententiam Domini dicentis, Matth. XII., 34. *Quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum satis mali? Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur. Si quis ergo emundaverit se ab istis, ut habetur 2 Timoth., II., 21, eorum scilicet iniquitati non consentiens, erit vas in honorem sanctificationis, et utile Domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum*. Qui vero eis consentiunt, cæci cæcos sequentes, simul cum eis in foveam cadent: a qua ut liberemus, hæc dicta sufficiant, Domino adjuvante, cui sit honor, et gratiarum actio in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.” (Epitologus, et totius operis conclusio, p. 74, 75.)

In reading the "*Contra Impugnantes*," it is impossible not to be struck by the completeness with which the Holy Doctor answered all the accusations—or rather calumnies and slanders, of his adversary. He not only reduced him to powder in his main reply, but he pursued him into all details and through all *minutiæ*, and does not let one argument escape thorough refutation, and complete exposition. The knowledge of Scripture here manifested is very remarkable. Students, in those days, were without the facilities which are possessed in these. S. Thomas could not refer to carefully composed concordances, and dictionaries. Still, he is never at a loss. Then, his ingenuity of proof; his clear, deep incision of argument; his well-measured phrase; his calm unruffled advance; the grand balance of his mind, which reigns throughout, speak of two things: they say that he is a Doctor, and they say that he is a Saint. Solidity, force, modesty, unimpassioned power, brilliancy, and depth, are manifested here. He never says too much; and yet, has the constant art of never saying too little. It would repay any student who has a love for logic, for truth, and for elevated thought, to make himself master of the entire treatise.

The "Epilogue" runs as follows: "Having thus, by the help of Divine Grace, answered the evil speaking of our enemies, it becomes evident that there is no damnation for those who are in Christ Jesus, and do not live according to the flesh; but, who, carrying the Cross of the Lord, persevere in spiritual works, contemning carnal devices. We could retort, at length, upon our detractors, the accusations which they advance against us; but we leave them to the Divine judgment, since their iniquity is patent to every one, from those things which they have poured forth from their wicked hearts; according to the Word of the Lord, which says: 'How can you speak good things, whereas you are evil? For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'* 'If any man therefore shall cleanse himself from these,' that is, by not consenting to their iniquity, 'he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and profitable to the Lord, prepared unto every good work.'† Those, therefore, who consent to them, like the blind leading the blind, will fall together with them into the pit. What has been said is sufficient to liberate us from this calamity, with the help of the Lord, to Whom be honour and thanksgiving for ever and ever. Amen."

From the extracts which have been given in the notes of this chapter, and from the examples of the Angelical's method in the

* *Matt.*, *XII.*, 34.

† *2 Timoth.*, *II.*, 21.

text, it is very evident how inveterate was the hatred of the principles of religious life in the hearts of a large section of the secular element in the Paris University. The whole religious "position" seems to have been profoundly studied by the enemy. Every principle of action which spoke of religious life; every practice which seemed conducive to its advancement; the very corner-stones on which the whole fabric rested; in fact the theory and action of the high service of God, were artfully and perseverantly assailed. One of the great advantages of the foe, in such warfare as this, consists in his possessing on his side the strong passions of human nature. Even the perfection of the system which is attacked, offers an opening to deceitful men. In the lofty theory of religious life, it stands to reason that men's professions, without being insincere, are oftentimes more perfect than their practice. So that, at once, the malicious can exclaim that, when a man professes one thing, and does another, he must be acting the part of a hypocrite; never remembering that the very same accusation which they throw against the friar or the monk, may, perhaps in a greater degree, recoil upon themselves. In the attack of William of S. Amour, not only dishonesty was freely imputed to the Mendicants, but the very action of the monastic principle was struck at in such a manner, as to arouse, as much as possible, popular prejudice against anything the friars might do, however pure and holy. Intellect, and its various weapons—reasoning, satire, ridicule, appeals to popular passion, imputation of vile motives, in point of fact, every instrument which could be brought to bear—was unscrupulously, nay, recklessly made use of, in order to destroy the *prestige* of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the Paris schools. When men of keen mind, and considerable influence, practice thus upon the principles of supernatural religion, the danger quickly grows into a terrible peril. The only successful method of meeting such an onslaught is by advancing boldly against the enemy, and by confronting him with the bright powerful arms of reason and revelation. Satire and ridicule are here unworthy of a great cause. Charity and patience, kindly feeling for others, and a desire for their real happiness, shrivel the life out of scorn or sarcasm. Men may not acknowledge it in the heat of contest, but in the long run, real wisdom—that is, enduring strength—rests with the calm, repeated utterances of unimpassioned truth. Grasp the wisdom of God; learn how to unfold it skilfully before the eyes of the enemy, and how to enforce it with powerful logic, yet, with a loving sweetness; manifest its greatness, its sublimity, its beauty; show how it governs man, whilst it makes him free; and how it alone has

the power to illuminate the intelligence and lift up the heart, and to remodel the creature on the image of his God; and as surely as the snow melts in the sun, so surely, in God's own good time, will truth be justified, and will error, with all its blatant obtrusiveness, and with all its deep-set artfulness, be overthrown. Man, after all, comes back to truth, though he may, for the time, wander from it. However great may have been, and still yet may be, the enemies of the monastic principle, there will always be a sufficient force on the side of right, to maintain it against the world. It may have to suffer, and to struggle; it may be trodden under foot for a time; but it will ever rise; it will never die: for it contains its imperishable principle of life within itself.

Now, it was the Angelical who had the gift, thoroughly, to understand the power of monasticism. He not merely comprehended the theory of its advance, but he had, in the practice of his own life, a personal experience of its workings on the soul. Had he simply possessed a giant intellect, he would never have saved the Religious Orders. He had another power within him—he had a giant heart. He saw clearly that love, purity, reverence, adoration, represented a kind of spiritual life, which was most elevating and refining; and which could not, without great detriment to human happiness and progress, be dispensed with. He saw the intimate relationship between a high system of moral perfection, and an intellectual appreciation of the truths of faith. He perceived that, when the heart gets wrong, the intellect is almost sure to follow it—that there is a mysterious sympathy, and link, between the two; and that the taint contracted by the one, acts, at once, infallibly upon the other. When the centre, out of which the intelligence springs, is, as it were, healthy; when morality is sound; then, faith and reason stand in little danger. Only let that basis be an insecure one, and the superstructure will with a moderate shock, tumble to the ground. Only destroy the science of the saints—the organized methods of perfection—and the mighty fortresses, which defend the country against attack, are dismantled and destroyed: and then, license, infidelity, and its accompanying moral degradation, are certain to invade and occupy the land. Strike down the models of perfection—the types of heroism—and perfection and heroism soon decay. All this must have been vividly appreciated by the great Angelical. It appears in his way of treating William of S. Amour. He earnestly sets himself to an anxious and delicate task, and he acquits himself like a man who had no fear of meeting difficulties, and was never content till he had thoroughly subdued and overcome them. Point by point he meets the assailants of religion, and point by

point, gently, without bitterness, yet crushingly, he oversets them. His treatise is not only a masterly exposition of the principles of religious life, but a pattern method of reply to the artful unscrupulousness of a spiteful and a powerful antagonist.

We must now pass on to consider, still more fully, the monastic theory, as explained by the Angelical; for he did not content himself with writing one treatise in reference to religious men, nor with simply defending the practices of their lives; he also expanded, into a luminous and scientific form, those fundamental principles, so marvellously fruitful in their consequences, on which the whole structure of perfection rests. How any man, except one who is utterly depraved, after reading S. Thomas's teaching on religious life, can oppose the monastic principle, is an enigma which can not be solved—at least, by the ordinary light of human reason.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MONASTIC PRINCIPLES EXALTED.

It would not be doing justice to the labours of S. Thomas at this period, to omit very briefly to touch on his work: "Against those who Hinder Men from Entering Religion;" and his tract: "On the Perfection of the Spiritual Life." Besides, these writings, unlike his other ones, are also an apology for the state which he embraced himself, and persevered in, in spite of the warm opposition of his nearest relatives.*

The first-named treatise commences with a very beautiful introduction, showing how our Lord's whole life teaches man to abstract himself from earthly things, and to fix himself on those which are of heaven.† This one aim, the devil incessantly labours to defeat. Jovinian and Vigilantius did their best to upset the monastic principle, but they were both confuted by S. Jerome, who slew the unclean animal of heresy. But one of the heads of the beast has come to life again; and a new following of Vigilantius has arisen, which would cunningly withdraw men from their desire of dedicating themselves to God. First, these men declare that nobody ought to enter religion and practise the counsels of perfection, who has not been previously exercised in the precepts.‡

* These are the respective titles of the *Opuscula* in question:—"Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu." (Tom. XV., *Opusc. III.*, p. 103-125): then, "De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis." (Tom. XV., *Opusc. II.*, p. 76-102.)

† "Christianæ religionis propositum in hoc præcipue videtur consistere, ut a terrenis homines abstrahat, et spiritualibus faciat esse intentos. Hinc est quod auctor fidei, et consummator Jesus in hunc mundum veniens sæcularium rerum contemptum et facto, et verbo suis fidelibus demonstravit. Facto siquidem, quia, sicut dicit Augustinus in Lib. de Catechizandis Rudibus: 'Omnia bona terrena contempsit homo factus Dominus Jesus, ut contemnenda monstraret; et omnia terrena mala sustinuit, quæ sustinenda præciplebat, ut neque in illis quæreretur felicitas, neque in istis infelicitas timeretur. . . . Insurrexerunt ut olim . . . Jovinianus Romæ, Vigilantius in Gallia, quæ antea errorum monstros caruerat: quorum prius virginitati matrimonium, secundum pauperatati divitum statum præsumperunt æquare manifesta periticia; evangelica, et apostolica consilia, quantum in ipsis est, reddentes inania. Si enim divitibus paupertati, virginitati matrimonium comparantur ex æquo, frustra vel Dominus de paupertate servanda, vel ejus Apostolus de virginitate custodienda dedit consilium. Unde insignis doctor Hieronymus utrumque eorum efficaciter confutavit. Sed, sicut in Apocalypsi legitur, nimis de capitis bestie, quod quasi oculum fuerat, a plaga sue mortis curatur." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu*, Tom. XV., *Opusc. III.*, Cap. I., p. 103.)

‡ "Insurgunt enim iterato in Gallia novi Vigilantii, a consiliorum observantia multipliciter, et astute homines retrahentes. Primo uamque proponunt, nullos consiliorum observantium per religionis introitum debere assumere, nisi prius in mandatorum observantia exercitatos: per quorum dictum et pieris, et peccatoribus, et noviter conversis ad fidem, arripiente perfectionis via præcluditur. Addunt insuper, quod consiliorum viam nullos debeat assumere, nisi prius multorum consilio requisito. Per quod quantum impedimentum assumenda perfectioni paratur hominibus, nullus sane mentis ignorat, dum carnalium hominum consilia, quorum major est numerus, facilius a spiritualibus homines retrahunt quam inducant. Conantur insu-

Thus, boys, and recent converts, are excluded from monastic life. They add, moreover, that no one ought to become a monk, without having first taken the advice of many persons on the point. They maintain, finally, that men ought not to bind themselves by vow to a Religious Order; and that every religious body should be obliged to secure the maintenance of its members by a common fund. To these allegations, the Saint answers, and says, that those who have not practised the precepts may be considered under three classes, viz.: boys, recent converts, and sinners.* He dedicates one chapter to prove that his adversary's argument is worthless, when applied to the case of boys; for both the Church and the Scriptures sanction the setting aside of children for the service of Almighty God. The example of the saints demonstrates the same. Such a custom can be traced from the time of the Apostles: S. Denis refers to it; S. Placid, and S. Maurus, and S. Benedict himself exemplify the practice; S. Chrysostom, Origen, Venerable Bede, and S. Anselm give it their support; and in like manner, the general action of man, in other relations of life, tends to the same conclusion—for instance, laics begin their different careers as boys, and not after they have grown into men.

The Saint shows, in another chapter, that recent converts cannot be excluded from religion. It is absurd, he says to assert that recent converts are obliged to practise themselves in the precepts, before they may attempt to keep any of the counsels. For Christ, Who was the most perfect exponent of the counsels of the Gospel, and Who transcended all men in the observances of religious life, straightway joined the Apostles to Himself; while S. Paul, immediately, without delay, embraced the way of Evangelical perfection—and such has been the general custom in the Church.†

per impedire obligationem hominum ad religionis ingressum, per quam firmatur animus ad perfectionis viam assumendam. Denique paupertatis perfectioni derogare multipliciter non veretur." (*Contra Pesticiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. I., p. 103.*)

* "Et quia præsens questio ad mores pertinet; in quibus præcipue considerandum est, utrum quod dicitur, operibus congruat: ostendamus primo, hoc quod asserere nituntur, a rectis operibus discordare."

"Sunt autem tria genera hominum, qui præceptorum exercitationem non habent. Primo quidem pueri, qui propter defectum temporis maudatorum exercitium non potuerunt habere. Secundo sunt nuper ad fidem conversi, ante quam nullum in præceptorum observantia exercitium esse potest, quia omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est, ut Apostolus dicit ad Rom., XIV., 23: *et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo*, ut dicitur ad Hebr., XI., 6. Tercio peccatores, qui in peccatis vitam duxerunt. In singulis autem præmissorum generibus manifeste apparet falsum esse quod dicitur." (*Contra Pesticiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. III., p. 105.*)

† "Nunc videre oportet, utrum hoc locum habere possit in his, qui nuper ad fidem sunt conversi: quibus si quis religionis habitum interdicit tanquam in præceptis non exercitatio, primo aspectu absurdum apparet, cum constet Christi discipulos statim in sua conversione ad fidem, esse assumptos ad Christi collegium, in quo primum exemplar consiliorum perfectionis apparuit, et absque dubio cuiuscumque religionis statum excessit. Ipse quoque Paulus inter Apostolos conversione novissimus, prædicatione primus, statim ad fidem conversus, viam perfectionis evangelicæ sumpsit. Hoc etiam ex ipsius Christi exemplo nobis ostenditur: legitur enim Matthæi, IV., post baptismum Christi, quod tunc Jesus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu: ubi dicit Glossa, 'Tunc, idest post baptismum: docens baptizatos de mundo exire, et in quiete Deo vacare.' Hoc etiam ex multorum laudabili consuetudine approbatur, qui ab infidelitate quæcumque ad fidem Christi conversi, statim habitum religionis assumunt. Quis autem erit tam improbus disputator qui audeat eis consilium ut potius in sæculo remaneant, quam in religione perceptam baptismi gratiam studeant conservare? Quis sane mentis ab hoc pro-

The next chapter is written to explain how sinners, also, because of their being sinners, are not excluded from religious life. The conversion of S. Matthew is given as an example. These are the words of S. Luke: "Leaving all things, he rose up and followed Him;"* and S. Ambrose says, on the same words: "He who had stolen what belonged to others, left what belonged to himself;" S. Gregory also takes the same view. Pope Stephen gives this counsel to a man who had been in habits of sin: "Go into a monastery." Then, Scripture, as well as the practice of many saints, confirms, by example and by word, the advice given by the Holy Father. In the next chapter, the Angelical digs up, as it were, and displays the root from which these errors spring. They seem to proceed from this, viz., men imagine that the precepts are related to the counsels, as the imperfect is related to the perfect; and therefore, that a man, before he sets about trying to be perfect, must start at the beginning, and commence with imperfection. But, if this is alleged of the precepts, absolutely, it is false. It is evident that the principal precepts are those of loving God, and of loving our neighbour. The perfection of a Christian life essentially consists in the observance of these two laws. The end of them is charity. Perfection consists in attaining the end. Of the end, there is no measure, for we can never love too much; but in the means towards its attainment, a measure is to be observed.† Now, the precept of the love of God, which is the last end of the Christian life, is narrowed within no bounds: therefore it cannot be said that so much love is included within the precept, and that a larger measure, exceeding the limits of the precept, falls under the counsel. But each man is commanded to love God as much as he can. And this is evident from the form itself of the precept, which says: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart." All other precepts and counsels are subservient to this one, of loving God and one's neighbour. The other

posito eum impediatur, ne Christum, quem per sacramentum baptismi jam induit, perfecta imitatione induere mereatur." (*Contra Pesticiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religione Ingressu*, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IV., p. 106.)

* Luke, V., 28.

† "Oportet autem considerare, quod aliter iudicandum est de fine, et de his quæ sunt ad finem. In his enim quæ sunt ad finem, præfigenda est quedam mensura secundum quod congruit fini. Sed circa ipsum finem nulla mensura adhibetur, sed unusquisque ipsum assequitur quantum potest; sicut medicus medicinam quidem moderatur ne superexcedat, sanitatem autem inducit quanto perfectius potest. Sic igitur præceptum dilectionis Dei, quod est ultimus finis christianæ vitæ, nullis terminis coarctatur, ut possit dici, quod tanta dilectio Dei cadat sub præcepto, maior autem dilectio limites præcepti excedens sub consilio cadat; sed unicuique præcipitur ut Deum diligit quantum potest: quod ex ipsa forma præcepti apparet cum dicitur: *Dilige Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo*. Unusquisque autem hoc observat secundum suam mensuram, unus quidem perfectius, alius autem minus perfecte. Ille autem totaliter ab observantia hujus præcepti deficit qui Deum in suo amore non omnibus præferat. Qui vero ipsum præferat omnibus, ut ultimum finem, implet quidem præceptum vel perfectius, vel minus perfecte, secundum quod magis vel minus detinetur aliarum rerum amore. Unde Augustinus dicit in Lib. LXXXIII., Questionum; *Caritatis venenum est spes adipiscendorum, aut retinendorum temporalium*: quod est intelligendum, si sperentur tanquam ultimus finis: nutrimentum ejus est imminutio cupiditatis: perfectio, nulla cupiditas." (*Contra Pesticiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religione Ingressu*, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. VI., p. 107.)

precepts are related to charity, just as food is related to the body, viz., as being necessary for the maintenance of life; whilst the counsels are related to it, just as medicine is related to the body, viz., as a means of securing health, and of strengthening the system.

Is a boy to be told that he must go and live amongst women, and in the company of loose people, and that, after having thus exercised his chastity, he will preserve his virtue in religion? As if it were easier to be chaste in the world than in the cloister! The same argument holds good regarding other virtues and vices.*

The next chapter gives solutions to objections. They are about twelve in number, all cunningly devised, and varying in their subtle ingenuity; but they are fully answered and followed up, in every detail, by the incisive and unsparing logic of the Angel of the Schools.

The eighth chapter gives the adversary's reasons for saying, that, before a man enters religion, he should deliberate for a long time, and ask many persons for advice; whilst the ninth condemns this position. Peter and Andrew immediately left their nets, and followed Christ,† and S. Chrysostom praises them for so doing; James and John did the same, and meet with the approbation of S. Hilary; so did Matthew, and S. Chrysostom commends him. Christ says: "Let the dead bury the dead;" and S. Augustine expounds these words in the traditionary sense.

But the enemy tries to evade the force of this reasoning, by saying: that when the voice of Christ is heard to speak, it must certainly be obeyed; but he refers all the while to that interior voice which is in every man. When that voice is heard, he says, then man must deliberate.

But this position is replete with error. We should take the

* "Quis dicat paupertatem pro Christo volenti subire, ut prius in divitiis juste vivat, quasi per divitias animus hominis ad paupertatem prepararetur, et non magis propositum paupertatis impediat? Quod manifeste apparet Matth. XIX. de adolescente qui paupertatis consilium a Domino non suscepit, sed abiit tristis propter divitias quas habebat. Et hæc quidem dicta sunt, si comparentur consilia ad præcepta caritatis. Si vero comparemus ea ad alia legis præcepta, quis non videat quanta sequitur absurditas? Si enim per consilia, et religionis observantias tolluntur occasiones peccatorum, per que sunt præceptorum transgressiones; quis non videat aliquem tanto magis indignum et occasiones peccatorum evitare? Nunquid ergo dicendum erit juveni: Vivas interim inter mulieres, et lascivorum consortia, ut sic in castitate exerceatis, postmodum in religione castitatem observes; tanquam facillius sit in sæculo quam in religione castitatem servare? Idem etiam de aliis virtutibus, et peccatis apparet." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. VI., p. 108.*)

† "Ad hujus autem falsitatem assertionis ostendendam, primo quidem assumamus quod habetur Matth. IV. quod Petrus, et Andreas continuo vocati a Domino, relictis retibus secuti sunt eum. In quorum commendationem Chrysostomus dicit: *In mediis operibus existens, audientes jubentem, non distulerunt. Non dixerunt: Itevertentes domum, loquamur amicis; sed omnia dimittentes secuti sunt eum, sicut Eliasus Hebræi fecit. Talem enim obedientiam Christus querri a nobis, ut neque in instanti tempore renoremur. Deinde sequitur de Jacobo, et Joanne, qui vocati a Deo statim relictis retibus, et patre secuti sunt eum. Et sicut Hilarius dicit super Matth. *Eis artem, et patriam domum relinquentibus docemur Jesum secuturi, et secularia vite sollicitudine, et paternæ domus consuetudine non teneri. Postea vero Matth. IX. de Matthæo subditur, quod ad vocationem Domini surgens secutus est eum; ubi Chrysostomus dicit: *Disce vocati obedientiam; neque inim resistitis neque domum abire rogavit, et suis hoc communicare. Humana etiam pericula, que ei a principibus accidere poterant, parvipendit, dum officii sui rationes imperfectas reliquit, ut Remigius dicit ibidem. Ex quo evidenter accipitur quod nihil humanum nos debet retardare a servitio Dei.*" (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IX., p. 112.*)**

words of Christ, which are written in the Scriptures, as if they had come from His very mouth to us. He says: "What I say to you, I say to all, Watch."* The Scriptures were not written simply for the present, but for the future. The counsel given to the young man in the Gospel should be so received as if it had been uttered to each one, by the lips of the Lord Himself.† And if the exterior voice is to be followed, much more should the voice of the spirit, speaking interiorly, be obeyed without demur. Hence, the Prophet Isaiah: "The Lord God hath opened my ear, and I do not resist: I have not gone back."‡ The Angelical adduces many more texts of Scripture to the same effect, as well as examples from the saints; for instance, S. Augustine's story of the two soldiers who read the life of S. Anthony. Then, the words of S. Augustine himself are quoted, expressing his sorrow at having delayed his conversion: "I was greatly ashamed," he says, "that I still listened to the murmuring of those follies, and remained full of indecision."§

The efficacy of interior inspiration depends upon unhesitating obedience to its voice: "The grace of the Spirit is foreign to a sluggish endeavour," says S. Ambrose. Ecclesiasticus says: "It is easy in the eyes of God, on a sudden, to make the poor man rich."|| S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and Aristotle are quoted in support of the same view of the question. If it is necessary to hold consultations—spiritual, not carnal persons should be had recourse to. Thus, S. Benedict, when a child, fled from his nurse by stealth, and opened his heart to the monk Romanus. Ecclesiasticus says: "Treat not with a man without religion, concerning

* Mark, XIII., 39.

† "Sed hæc responsio errore plena est. Sic enim verba Christi quæ in Scripturis dicuntur, debemus accipere, ne si ab ipsius Domini ore audiremus. Dicit enim ipse Marc. XIII. 37. Quod vobis dico, omnibus dico: vigilate: et Rom. XV. 4. dicitur: Quæcumque scripta sunt etc. Et Chrysostomus dicit: Si tantum propter illos dicta fuissent, scripta non essent; nunc autem dicta quidem sunt propter illos, scripta vero sunt propter nos. Unde et Apostolus inducens auctoritatem veteris Testamenti, dicit ad Hebr. XII. 5. Obliti estis consolationis, quæ vobis tanquam filiis loquitur dominus: Filii mi. noli negligere disciplinam. Ex quo patet quod verba sacre Scripturæ non solis presentibus, sed futuris loquuntur. Specialiter autem videamus, an consilium quod Dominus dedit adolescenti, Matth. XIX. 21. Si vis perfectus esse, vade, et vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus: illi soli sit datum, vel etiam universis: quod considerare possumus ex his quæ sequuntur. Cum enim Petrus dixisset et (cap. eod. ver. 27): Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, et secuti sumus te: universali ter præsumit omnibus statuit, dicens (ver. 28.): Omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres etc. propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam æternam possidebit. Non minus ergo sequendum est hoc consilium ab unoquoque, quam si unigeniti singulariter ex ipsis ore dominico proferretur." (Contra Pesticiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IX., p. 113.)

‡ Isa., L., 5.

§ "Narrat enim Augustinus in VIII. Conf. de duobus militibus, quorum unus lecta vita Antonii subito repletus amore sancto: ait amico suo: Ego Deo servire statui, et hoc ex hac hora, in hoc loco aggredior: te si piget imitari, noli adversari. Respondit ille adhærere se socio tantæ mercedis, tantæque militiæ. Et ambo jam tui edificabant turrim sumptu idoneo relinquendi omnia sua, et sequendi te. In quo etiam Augustinus se ipsum reprehendit de hoc quod retardabat suam conversionem: ubi dicit: Non erat omnino quid responderem veritate convictus, nisi tantum verba lenta, et somnolenta, modo. Ecce modo, Sine paululum. Sed modo, et modo non habebat modum, et Sine paululum in longum ibat. Et in eodem Libro dicit: Erubescbam nimis quia illorum ingenuum murmur, scilicet sæcularium, et carnalium, adhuc audiebam, et cunctabundus pendebam. Non est ergo laudabile, sed magis vituperabile post vocationem interiorem, vel exteriorum vel verbo, vel scripturis factam differre, et quasi in dubiis consilium querere." (Contra Pesticiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. IX., p. 113.)

|| XI., 23.

holiness; nor with an unjust man, concerning justice; . . . but be continually with a holy man.”*

Chapter the tenth contains solutions to the arguments advanced by opponents. Before undertaking hard and difficult enterprises, counsel is particularly required. This is the case where the truth is not manifest. To say that the determination of the mind is confirmed by deliberation, is beside the question; and the text of Scripture: “Prove the spirits,” is not at all to the point.† For proof is only requisite where there is no certainty. That “Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light,”‡ is true. But, though the devil can deceive the senses, he cannot beguile the mind from the upright intention it has made, when a man is established in a good life. The proposition which asserts that deliberation must be resorted to in a case which may turn out ill, requires a distinction: for it may turn out ill, either on the part of the object, or on the part of the individual. If there is danger on the side of the object, then, great deliberation must be used; if on the part of the individual only, then great deliberation has no place; otherwise, this same rule would apply to faith, and the Sacraments of faith.

The eleventh chapter states the arguments used by the enemy to prove that men should not bind themselves by vow to religion. The following chapter reprobates this assertion, and shows that an act of virtue, performed under vow, is more meritorious than one performed without a vow.

As the praise of a work depends radically upon the will, the better the will is, so much the more praiseworthy the external action becomes. Amongst other conditions of a good will, this is one, viz., that it be firm and stable.§ The better the action there-

* XXXVII., 12.

† “Ad 3. Quod etiam tertio inducitur, *Probate spiritus si ex Deo sunt*, ad propositum non facit. Ibi enim necessaria est probatio ubi non est certitudo: unde super illud I. ad Thessal. ult. 21. *Omnia probate*, dicit Glossa: ‘Certa non egent discussione.’ Incertum autem potest esse his quibus alios ad religionem recipere incumbit, quo spiritu ad religionem veniant, utrum scilicet desiderio spiritualis profectus, an etiam, sicut quandoque accidit, ad explorandum vel ad uis faciendum; vel etiam utrum sint ad religionem apti qui veniunt. Et ideo indicitur eis non per statutum Ecclesie, quam per regulare edictum, eorum qui sunt recipiendi, probatio. Sed his qui propositum religionis assumendo gerunt, dubium esse non potest qua intentione id faciant. Unde eis deliberandi necessitas non incumbit, præcipue si de suis corporalibus viribus non diffident, ad quas examinandas religionem intrauitibus annus probationis conceditur.” (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu*, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. X., p. 115.)

‡ Cor. XI., 14.

§ “Primo igitur considerandum est, quod cum laus operis ex radice voluntatis dependeat, tanto exterius opus laudabilius redditur, quanto ex meliori voluntate præcedit. Inter alias autem conditiones bonæ voluntatis una est ut sit voluntas firma et stabilis: unde in vituperium pigrorum inducitur quod habetur Proverb. XIII. 4. *Vult, & non vult piger*. Tanto igitur opus exterius laudabilius redditur, et magis meritorium, quanto voluntas ejus magis stabilitur in bono. Unde et Apostolus monet I. ad Corinth. XV. 58. *Stabiles estote et immobiles*: et secundum Philosophum ad virtutem requiritur ut aliquis firmiter, et immobiliter operetur. Sed et Justitiam Jurisperiti definiunt quod est constans, et perpetua voluntas. Sicut et contrario patet quod tanto peccatum est defestabilius, quanto voluntas hominis magis fuerit obstinata in malo: unde et obstinatio ponitur peccatum in Spiritum sanctum. Manifestum est autem quod voluntas firmatur ad aliquid faciendum per jurementum: unde et Psalmista dicebat Ps. CXVIII. 106, *Juravi, et statui custodire judicia justitiæ tue.*” (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu*, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XII., p. 117.)

fore, the more the will is established in good. Hence, the Apostle: "Be ye steadfast and immovable."* Aristotle uses a like argument. So, conversely, the more firmly the will is established in evil, so much the more detestable the sin. Hence, obstinacy is one of the sins against the Holy Ghost. It is evident that the will is strengthened by an oath. Now, a vow in this respect has the same effect, for a vow is a species of promise. Hence, an act of virtue is all the more praiseworthy and meritorious, from being performed by a will strengthened by vow. This is proved also from the common practice of life, and is confirmed by the writings of Saint Augustine. Again, an act of lesser virtue, if directed towards a higher virtue, becomes so much the more praiseworthy and meritorious—abstinence, for instance, when it is ordered towards charity, or if it be directed towards the worship of God.† A vow is an act of the worship of God; for it is a promise made to the Almighty with respect to His worship. Fasting, therefore, is all the more meritorious, and the more praiseworthy, from being done under vow. The Angelical then proceeds to prove that it is a praiseworthy act to take a vow to join a regular Order. Children can take simple vows to enter religion, if they have come to the use of reason. If they make vows at an age in which they are subject to their parents, that is, under twelve, for girls, and fourteen, for boys; then, their parents, or the tutor who represents them, can revoke such vows. They may not take solemn vows till they arrive at twelve and fourteen years of age, respectively; that is, at the age of puberty; and then, the exterior solemnities must be performed in the same way as is done in the holy Orders of the Church.‡ A profession made before the age just mentioned, would be *ipso facto* null and void. This opinion is held commonly in the Church, though Innocent III. is said to have thought differently.

The thirteenth chapter solves objections, some of which are to the following effect:

1. The more a thing is a matter of necessity, the less it is a matter of merit: of necessity which runs counter to a man's will—true; of necessity which is self-imposed—false. Hence, S.

* 1 Cor., XV., 58.

† "Amplius considerandum est, quod opus inferioris virtutis laudabilis redditur, et magis meritorium, si ad superiorem virtutem ordinetur, sicut opus abstinence, si ordinetur ad caritatem. Pari ergo ratione, et si ordinetur ad latrarium, quæ est abstinence potior. Votum autem est latrarii actus, est enim promissio Deo facta de his que pertinent ad Dei obsequium: unde Isa. XIX., 21, dicitur: *Cognoscent Ægyptii Dominum in die illa, et colent eum in hostiis, et in muneribus, et vota vovebunt Domino, et solvent.* Jejunium igitur laudabilis erit, et magis meritorium, si fiat ex voto. Hinc est quod in Psalm. LXXV., 13, vel consultitur, vel mandatur: *Forote, et reddite Domino Deo vestro*: quod frustra mandaretur, vel consuleretur, nisi opus bonum ex voto facere melius esset." (*Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu*, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XII., p. 117.)

‡ According to the Council of Trent, no one can be admitted to profession before the completion of the sixteenth year. (See *Sessio XXV., Cap. XV.*)

Augustine says to Paulina: "Happy necessity, which constrains one to choose the better part."*

2. The Council of Toledo declares that the Jews are not to be forced to become Christians. But to take a vow to enter religion is to impose a necessity upon the will: therefore, it is contrary to the decrees of the Council to take such a vow. But, not so; for the vow does not offer violence to the will: it merely confirms it in that which is good.†

3. He who takes a vow may fall away from it, according to the words, addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees: "Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: because you go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, you make him the child of hell two-fold more than yourselves."‡ This argument, however, is refuted by the words of the Apostle: "Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?"§ That is to say, the fact that some men abuse what is good, is no prejudice to other men who persevere. It is also forcibly confirmed by Scripture; by the example of the Jews; and by the writings of S. Chrysostom and S. Paul.

4. Those who have taken a vow to enter religion, have, before now, broken their vow, and yet have become good bishops. This is false, for it contradicts the decretal of Pope Innocent. Men who transgress their vows cannot be good bishops, or good archdeacons.

5. It is wrong to induce any one to enter religion by the offer of temporal goods—it would be wrong to make a bargain: "Let there be no compact, and let all transactions cease." But it is not illicit to offer temporal advantages as a means of attracting men to spiritual good; otherwise, it would be unlawful to make certain distributions to those who minister in churches ||

* "His igitur visis, facile est ad omnia objecta respondere."

† Ad 1. Quod enim primo inducitur de verbis Prosperi: Sic jejunare debemus, ut non nos necessitati jejunandi subdamus; intelligitur de necessitate coactionis, quæ voluntario repugnat: unde subdit ne jam non devoti, sed inviti rem non voluntarie faciamus. Non autem loquitur de necessitate voti, per quam magis augetur devotio, quæ a devotendo nominatur."

‡ Ad 2. Quod vero secundo propositum est, quod necessarium est, minus meritorium, intelligendum est de necessitate quæ ab aliquo imponitur contra voluntatem ipsius. Sed cum aliquis sibi ipsi necessitatem imponit bene faciendi, ex hoc laudabilior reddita quia per hoc ac facit quodammodo servum justitie, ut Apostolus monet ad Rom. VI. Unde et Augustinus dicit in epistola ad Paulinum et Armentarium: Felix necessitas quæ ad meliora compellit." (Contra Pessiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religiosis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p. 118.)

§ Ad 3. Quod vero tertio propositum est de Judæis convertendis libera voluntate, patet ad propositum non pertinere: libertati enim voluntatis, non opponitur confirmatio voluntatis in bono: alioquin nec Deus, nec beati liberam voluntatem haberent. Opponitur autem ei necessitas coactionis ex violentia, vel metu procedens. Et ideo signanter dicit canon de Judæis: Præcepta sancta Synodus nemini detorceps ad credendum vim inferre. Per votum autem, aut juramentum non inferitur homini vis: sed ex eis voluntas hominis confirmatur in bonum: unde per hoc non redditur homo invitus, sed magis firmiter volens; et jam incipit homo quodammodo facere inquam se obliget ad faciendum. Et per hunc etiam modum nullus sane mentis diceret esse illicitum inducere Judæos ut se propria voluntate obligarent vel juramento vel voto ad accipiendum baptismum." (Contra Pessiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religiosis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p. 118.)

|| Matth., XXIII., 15.

§ Rom., III., 3.

|| "Quod autem septimo propositum est, quod non sunt aliqui ad Dei cultum muneris interventus provocandi, solvitur per idem cap. quod ad hoc inducunt. Sequitur enim post præmissa:

6. It is practising a deception to draw youths into the hardships of religious life. This contains falsity. The hardships are made known to them; nor is there anything deceitful in drawing persons into religion, where the difficulties are manifest, and where spiritual consolations are promised.

7. To take a vow to enter religion is contrary to the statute of Innocent IV., which requires a year's probation, and that the candidate should be fourteen years of age. This allegation is not to the point. The Pope speaks of solemn vows; we, of simple.

8. Vows made by children under a certain age can be cancelled by their parents; therefore, it is not lawful to take such vows. This objection has no force. Because an act can be revoked, it does not follow that it is therefore wrong. Were it wrong, it would be prohibited by the Canons which give power to parents to annul such vows.

9. The Canons forbid boys to be bound by oath before they are fourteen years old. This is not to the point; for the Canons do not forbid children to take an oath, but they forbid them to be compelled to do so.*

10. It is implied that those children who enter religion are miserable and senseless. Pious ears cannot bear such language. For who would suffer the boy Benedict to be accused of folly because he left his home, and his father's possessions, and, desiring to please God alone, sought out "the habit of holy conversation" in the desert? Who, but a heretic, would blame John the Baptist? of whom we read in S. Luke: "The child grew and was strengthened in spirit, and was in the desert until the day of his manifestation to Israel."†

Manifestly, these revilers prove themselves to be animals, for they hold those things to be folly which proceed from the Spirit of God—that Spirit which, according to S. Ambrose and Gregory,

Nisi forte de pauperum alimento quis in commune proponat, quorum nulli, cujuscumque professionis esset, victualia negabantur. Ex quo patet quod inconvenienter redargunt eos qui pauperibus scholaribus bursas procurant, et eos in studio nutriunt, ut postmodum sint religioni aptiores. Sed et si qua alia beneficia terrena alicui conferantur, ut ex hoc ejus familiaritate captata provocetur ad melius, non est illicitum: esset autem illicitum, si aliqua pactio, vel conventio interveniret. Unde et in cod. cap. subditur: Dum tamen omnis absit pactio, et omnia esset conventio. Alioquin si non liceret aliquem per temporalia beneficia provocare ad aliquod spirituale bonum, illicitum esset quod in quibusdam Ecclesiis quadam distribuuntur his qui ad officium divinum accedunt." (Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p. 119.)

* "Ea vero quæ undecimo de apparatu Decretalium, et Summis Juristarum proponuntur, ad propositum non faciunt: quia loquuntur de vota solemnium, quod monachum facit, vel ejuscumque religionis professum: de quo fuerunt inter Doctores juris canonici opiniones diversæ: quavis inconsonum, et derisibile videatur quod sacra doctrinæ professores Juristarum glossitas in auctoritatibus inducant, vel de eis discerpent."

† "Illum etiam quod duodecimo de Juramento proponitur, ad propositum non facit: quia non prohibent canones pueros jurare, sed decernunt quod jurare non cogantur."

"Quod vero tertio decimo proponitur falsitatem continet. Pueri enim ligati sunt professione fidei christianæ, quam etiam in baptismo sacramentaliter elegerunt. Unde possunt iterato ligari, et eligere perfectionis statum. Quavis et propter aliud hoc incongrue dicitur, quia et in ipso sacramento Baptismi pueri christianam religionem suscipiunt, et religantur Deo, ipsum, iterum eligentes, a quo per peccatum primi parentis fuerunt separati." (Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religionis Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p. 119.)

works such marvellous things amongst men. The Apostle says: "If any man among you seem to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise"*—a fool, according to the wisdom of the world, which is folly with God, but not according to the wisdom of God, which thus speaks to little ones: "O children, how long will you love childishness?" and afterwards: "Turn ye at My reproof; beloved, I will utter My Spirit to you."† The last three chapters state the arguments urged by opponents against the poverty of the Mendicants; confute the errors of their view; and upset, one by one, the fallacies adduced in proof of them.‡

The keenness with which the Saint felt these reasons put forward by the enemies of religious, to prevent youth joining the regular bodies, comes out in strong expression throughout the treatise. He finishes by saying: "This is what occurs to me at present to write against the erroneous and pestiferous teaching of those who would prevent men from entering religion. If anybody would combat what I have stated, let him not chatter before children, but let him write, and make his writing public, that the wise may judge what truth there is in his views, and that what is erroneous in them may be confuted by the authority of truth.§

In this Opusculum, in which the Angelical combats those who would hinder men from joining the Religious Orders of the Church, there are many arguments which are well worth diligent study at this day. The principle of liberalism, which induced William of S. Amour and those able and dangerous men who fol-

* Cor., III., 18.

† Prov., I., 22, 23.

‡ "Denum profanam conclusionem pueros stultitie arguentem, piorum aures ferre non valent. Quis enim puerum Benedictum stultitie argui patiatur, quod relicta domo, rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sancte conversationis habitum, et desertum quaesivit? Quis nisi haereticus blasphemet Joannem Baptistam, de quo legitur Luc. I. 80, quod puer crescebat, et confortabatur spiritu, et erat in desertis usque ad diem ostensionis suae ad Israel? Manifeste tales insultatores animales se esse demonstrant, dum stultitiam reputant ea, quae sunt spiritus Dei, qui, sicut Ambrosius dicit super Lucam, non coercetur aetatibus, non obitu extinguuntur, non alio matris excluduntur, et sicut Gregorius dicit in homilia Pentecostes, qui implet cythararum puerum, et Psalmistam facit; implet Psalterium, armentarium, sycomoros vellentem, et prophetam facit, implet puerum abstinentem, et iudicem sentem facit; implet piscatorem, et predicatorum facit; implet persecutorem, et doctorem gentium facit; implet publicanum, et Evangelistam facit. Ut ergo e contrario verbis Apostoli dicentis I ad Coriuth. III., 18. Si quis inter vos videtur sapiens in hoc saeculo, stultus fiat, ut sit sapiens. Stultus quidem secundum sapientiam mundi, qui stultitia est apud Deum; non autem secundum sapientiam Dei, quae, sicut legitur Proverb. I., 22, parvulus alloquitur dicens: Usquequo parvuli diligitis infantiam? Et post: (vers. 23.) Convertimini ad correptionem meam, et proferam vobis spiritum meum." (Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religione Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XIII., p. 120.)

§ "Quod vero octavo propositum est de hoc quod religiosi necesse habent circa eorum negotia sollicitari a quibus pascuntur; fateor quod habent quidem, sed circa spiritualem eorum salutem, vel ut tribulatos consolentur; quae quidem sollicitudo est caritatis, unde religiosi non repugnat; quinimo, ut dicitur Jacob. I. 27: Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et Patrem haec est, visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum. Quod autem ultimum propositum est, omnino est frivolum; quia ea quibus utuntur religiosi ad sustentationem vitae, non sunt eorum quantum ad proprietatem domini, sed dispensantur ad usum necessitatis eorum ab his qui harum rerum dominiolum habent, quicumque sint illi. Haec igitur sunt quae ad praesens ascribenda occurrunt contra errorem et pestiferam doctrinam avertentium homines a religionis ingressu. Si quis autem his contradicere voluerit non coram pueris garriat, sed scribat, et scripturam proponat in publico; ut ab intelligentibus dijudicari possit quod verum sit; et ut quod erroneum est, auctoritate veritatis confutetur." (Contra Pestiferam Doctrinam Retrahentium Homines a Religione Ingressu, Tom. XV., Opusc. III., Cap. XVI., p. 125.)

lowed him, to use their talents in an onslaught upon Religious Orders, still exists at the present time. Rationalism and irreverence have little sympathy with monastic theology, or with monastic life. When men have wholly abandoned a principle of action which their forefathers held in reverence, it is little surprising that they should do what they can to hinder others from embracing it also. The true significance of love, in its real depth—in the depth of its intensity, and in the height of its sacrifice—cannot well be understood by men, whose first principle of action is incompatible with an entire abandonment of self. When monastic theology teaches that a spirit of adoration, of subjection, of self-distrust, and of reverence is a necessary element in spiritual advance, and that humility of intellect is as essential as humility of will, such men as Abelard and William of S. Amour are urged, by a natural impulse, to oppose it as a method which strikes directly at the darling passion of their nature. The keenness of the contest in which the Angelical was engaged, is evident, not only from the first *Opusculum* which has been noticed, but it is perhaps, still more emphatically expressed in that which has just been touched upon. One thing it is to assail a theory, and that is bad enough; it is another thing to address oneself to individuals, and to use every effort to hinder souls, called by God, from entering religion. It must be remembered that the Angelical was not attacking some man of straw, or oversetting propositions which began and stopped with the disputations in the schools; but he was combating a living enemy—an enemy highly educated, with a strong position, and with many human elements of success, which were wanting to the friars.* He was engaged with an enemy who had, for some time past, been consolidating himself, and now thought himself strong enough to appear in the open field, and risk the chances of a decisive battle. The arms, certainly, were not those of brute force; they were the more precise and more delicate weapons of principle and logic. Well-seasoned professors; keen, sharp youths; deep thinkers; shallow, off-hand talkers; men of every calibre, and all degrees of culture, who filled the Paris schools, were open to the impress of talent and of truth. Though some might be tempted to be carried away

* Anyone desiring to convince himself of the difficult position in which the regulars were placed, might read the following Bulls of Alexander IV.: (1) "Cancellario Ecclesie S. Genovefæ Parisien., ne quis Licentie stadium decurrat, nisi juret ac Religiosis concordia conjunctissimum fore."—*Vid. Bullarium FF. Ord. Prædic.*, Vol. I., p. 375. "Episcopo Parisiensi, ne Parisienses cum Guillelmo de Sancto-amore usum illius rei consocient."—*Ibid.* "Nonnullorum Parisiensium Doctorum erga Fratres Predicatores, et Minores merita prædicans, ipsos ad perseverantiam cohortatur."—*Ibid.*, p. 376. "Episcopo Parisiensi, ut quæ de Studio Parisiensi sancita sunt, statuta servanda curet, Diploma, Fratres Predicatores et Minores illustri laude celebrans, indicet in vulgus, et in Guillotum quendam animadvertat."—*Ibid.* "Magistris et Scholaribus Parisiensibus, ne Guillelmo de Sancto-amore studeant, et ut Fratres Predicatores ac Minores habeant commendatos."—*Ibid.*, p. 377. "Regi Francorum, ut Episcopo Parisiensi manum auxiliarem præbeat adversus turbatores Parisiensis Studii."—*Ibid.*, p. 378; see also p. 379, beginning with the words, "Ad aures," "Meritis vestre," &c.

with the glowing rhetoric and brilliant sophisms of the secular party, still, men of character and religion must have been deeply influenced by the calm and clear expositions of the Angel of the Schools. Words which are delivered on the stump, or even the well-weighed, spoken addresses of an accurate thinker, have not the same influence on the understanding as a carefully written argument, which a man can look at with his eyes, and examine and take to pieces at his leisure. All the power of the secular party over the imagination would simply go for what it was worth, when their case had been drawn out on paper; and when such a man as the Angel of the Schools had taken their arguments point by point, and, after establishing the one principle which would crush them all, had displayed their worthlessness in detail.* Many a good and true cause has been spoiled by the blundering incompetence of an advocate. It is by no means every cause that is lost which could not have been triumphantly defended. It is quite possible, considering the state of the Paris schools, when the Angelical defended the monastic principle, that, had he not been gifted, in an extraordinary degree, with clearness, vigour, and great astuteness, the popular feeling in the University would have overpowered the regular bodies altogether. A complicated war requires an experienced and an able general and strategist. A difficult cause must be defended by an able man. The forces of the enemy must not only be met, but they must be overcome. Sense must subdue prejudice; reason must slay the fantastic creations of the imagination; the influence of duty must disarm mere sentiment; sound logic must be brought to bear, with all its crushing force, on fallacy, sophistry, and chicane; and, as error and delusion recede, and as truth pushes her advance with steadiness, the fair form of principle displays her beautiful proportions, and religion is at length seated safely on her throne.†

* If the estimate of the author of the *Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino* is not exaggerated, certainly the Angelical was quite capable of meeting and crushing any adversary:—"Se tutti i granelli dell'arena del mare, & tutte le frondi degl'alberi si convertissero in lingue eloquenti, non potrebbero a pieno celebrare l'heroiche virtù, & gli eccelsi Encomij di questo Angelico Dottore maraviglia, anzi stupore di tutto l'universo; Principe de' Dottori scolastici; lume delle verità Teologiche; ferma, & stabile colonna della Santa Chiesa Catholica; Inespugnabile scudo di tutta la cristianità; martello irrefragabile de' gl'empj heretici, & infedeli; lucido, & chiaro Sole, c'ha sgombrata tutto l'heretica pravità; gloria del Regno di Napoli; decore della nobilissima famiglia d'Aquino; specchio, & ornamento del sacro ordine de' Predicatori; pietra pretiosissima; & lucida gemma dell' alma, & regio Convento di S. Domenico di Napoli; incomparabile tesoro, & ricettacolo di santità, & di tutte l'altre virtù." (*Vita*, p. 4.)

† It may be said that, at the time of S. Thomas, the schools had reached their greatest power with respect to the influence of logic on the mind of Christendom. In earlier days, when merely a fragmentary knowledge of the Aristotelian teaching had been acquired, men had not sufficient hold upon the dialectical method to effect any great results; even Abelard, with all his brilliant keenness, appears rather to have dazzled his hearers, than to have instructed them much, or edified them. He possessed his instrument, but as yet the subject-matter of religion had not been brought in contact with it in a large and systematic way. It was only after more than one generation had been trained to the use of it, and the truths of religion had been brought fully under its influence, that theologians began to perceive how vast a power was in their hands, not merely for destroying error, but, after having destroyed it, for building up in symmetry and strength the grand fabric of theological truth.

And this seems to have been the work performed by the great Angelical. He confronts his adversaries fairly in the field; he states their arguments, with honesty and with force; he slurs nothing over; he meets each allegation point by point; if a false principle be stated, he throws the light of truth upon it, and exhibits all its hollowness; if a fallacy is advanced, he makes it collapse by touching it with the point of genuine logic; if error be pushed forward dressed in the garb of truth, he applies his test, and, dividing each from each, rejects the one, and takes the other under his protection: and finally, after having slain the enemy, he then proceeds to do what is still more important than mere destruction—to establish, upon a deep and broad basis of truth, that system which he had undertaken to defend against attack.*

It is especially in the *Opusculum* which I am going to notice, that the Angelical displays his great constructive powers. The tract, as it may be called: “On the Perfection of the Spiritual Life,” makes up the *triplex funus quod non facile rumpitur*—the three-fold cord which is not easily broken. The Saint felt that it is always a serviceable thing to pull down error; yet that it is a still more serviceable thing to build up truth. He not only desired to defend religion against assault, and to make her feared; he also wished to see her deeply loved. He desired to manifest her goodness, her beauty, and her truth.

As has been said before, either through malice, or through ignorance, or through the blindness which passion breeds, there were many at the University who made out all manner of foolish stories about the practices of Mendicants, and threw the whole action of religious life into a false light, turning it into ridicule, wounding it with sarcasms, and attributing principles to it as fundamental, which in reality, were not principles of monastic life at all.

Since, says the Saint, persons ignorant of perfection have presumed to say vain things regarding the religious life, it is our intention to write a treatise on Perfection, asking what it is to be perfect; how perfection is acquired; in what the state of perfection consists; and what are the duties of those who have embraced it.

Spiritual life consists, chiefly, in charity. He who does not

* “S. Tomaso fu quello, ch'aperse la Scuola della vera Teologia, manifestando à tutti i celesti secreti, & facendo chiare le cose difficultose. Nè vi è misterio tanto occulto, ch'egli à pieno dichiarato, & esposto non habbia, di maniera, che possi da tutti essere indubitatamente inteso. Non è testo nella santa, & divina scrittura dal principio del Genesi, insino all' ultimo capitolo dell' Apocalisse, ch'egli non l'abbia secondo il vero senso esposto, & dichiarato. Per mezzo della sua dottrina sono rimasti gli Heretici, & i Gentili confusi, & la santa Catholica fede fortificata & ampliata; di maniera tale, che i suoi nemici non hanno più forza di oppugnarla.” (*Vita*, p. 4.)

possess it, according to S. Paul,* is nothing, spiritually.† S. John makes the whole spiritual life to consist in love. He who is perfect in charity, is perfect in the spiritual life. There are two precepts of charity: the one appertains to the love of God; the other, to the love of one's neighbour. The perfection of the spiritual life consists, first and principally, in the love of God; secondarily, in the love of one's neighbour. There are many degrees of this perfection. A thing can be loved, so far forth as it is loveable; a thing can be loved inasmuch as the lover has a capacity for loving.‡ A thing is loveable in proportion to its goodness. The goodness of God being infinite, God is infinitely loveable. But no creature can love infinitely. A finite power cannot elicit an infinite act. God alone, then, can love Himself, according to the highest and most perfect degree of charity.

The perfect love of the rational creature is to love with all his powers, by actively keeping his whole being concentrated on the Supreme Good, in its fullest intensity of love. But this belongs, not to "*viatores*," but to "*comprehensores*." The third degree of love consists in referring all things, either actively or habitually, to God. This third degree is obligatory upon all men, by reason of the precept. The second degree is not possible to a man on earth, unless he be both a "*viator*," and a "*comprehensor*," as Jesus Christ was. But, though the second is not possible to us; still, we should strive our best to aim at something like it.§ It

* 1 Cor., XIII, 2. 1 John, III, 14.

† "Quoniam quidam perfectionis ignari, de perfectionis statu vana quedam dicere presumpserunt, propositum vestræ intentionis est de perfectione tractare, quid sit esse perfectum, qualiter perfectio acquiratur, quis sit perfectionis status, et quæ competant assumentibus perfectionis statum."

"Primum igitur considerare oportet, quod perfectum multipliciter dicitur. Est enim ali-quid simpliciter perfectum, ali-quid vero dicitur perfectum secundum quidd. Simpliciter quidem perfectum est quod attingit ad finem ejus quod ei competit secundum propriam rationem; secundum quid autem perfectum dici potest quod attingit ad finem alterius eorum quæ comitantur propriam rationem; sicut animal simpliciter dicitur esse perfectum, quando ad hunc finem pervenit ut nihil ei desit ex his quæ integritatem vite animalis constituunt, puta cum nihil ei desit ex numero, et dispositione membrorum, et debita corporis quantitate, et virtutibus quibus operationes vite animalis periclitantur; secundum quid autem perfectum animal dici potest si sit perfectum in albedine, aut in odore, aut in aliquo hujusmodi. Sic igitur et in spiritali vita, simpliciter quidem homo perfectus dicitur ratione ejus in quo principaliter spiritalis vita consistit; sed secundum quid perfectus dici potest ratione cujuscunque quod spiritali vite adjungitur." (*Opus. II., De Perfectione Vite Spiritualis, Tom. XV., Cap. I., p. 76.*)

‡ "Perfectione autem circa caritatem principaliter considerata, plane accipi potest in quo perfectio spiritalis vite consistat. Sunt enim duo precepta caritatis: quorum unum pertinet ad dilectionem Dei, aliud autem ad dilectionem proximi. Quæ quidem duo precepta ordinem quemdam ad invicem habent secundum ordinem caritatis. Nam id quod principaliter caritate diligendum est, est summum bonum, quod nos beatus efficit, scilicet Deus. Secundario vero diligendus ex caritate est proximus, qui nobis quodam socialis vite jure conjungitur in beatitudinis perceptione, vel participatione. Unde hoc est quod in proximo ex caritate debemus diligere, ut simul ad beatitudinem perveniamus. Hunc autem ordinem preceptorum caritatis Dominus in Evangelio Matth. XII. 37. ostendit dicens: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* Primo igitur et principaliter consistit spiritalis vite perfectio in dilectione Dei: unde Dominus ad Abraham loquens dicit Genes. XVII. 1. *Ego Dominus omnipotens: ambula coram me, et esto perfectus.* Ambulatur autem coram Deo non passibus corporis, sed affectibus mentis. Secundario vero consistit spiritalis vite perfectio in proximi dilectione: unde Dominus cum dixisset Matth. V. 44. *Diligite inimicos vestros, et plura adjunxisset quæ ad dilectionem proximi pertinent, concludit in fine [ver. 48.] Enote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester celestis perfectus est.*" (*De Perfectione Vite Spiritualis, Cap. II., p. 76.*)

§ How profound are not these words of the Angelical! How firmly he grasps the truth! "Comprehensionem autem accipit non secundum quod importat inclusionem, aut terminationem comprehensui, sic enim Deus incomprehensibilis est omni creature; sed secundum quod comprehensio importat consecutionem ejus quod insequendo aliquis quæsit. In illa autem coles-

is in this that the perfection of that life consists, to which we are invited by the counsels. It is evident, that the more the human heart is drawn from the love of *many* objects, so much the more intensely it can adhere to *one* object. So, the more the soul is withheld from the love of temporal things, so much the more will it be borne towards the love of God. Therefore, all the counsels by which we are urged to perfection have this one scope: to draw away the soul from creatures; that the mind may all the more freely go towards God, by contemplating, loving, and fulfilling His blessed Will.*

The Saint then dedicates a chapter to show how the practice of voluntary poverty, by which religious leave external goods, tends towards this end. Another chapter is written to prove how the renunciation of corporeal affections, and of marriage, sets a man at liberty to enter God's service, and to adhere all the more perfectly to Him. The ninth chapter contains useful and practical advice with regard to making good the above necessary renunciation. Then comes the third way of perfection, viz., the abnegation of one's own will.

Corresponding to these three ways, there is, in Religious Orders, a three-fold vow—of poverty, of continence, and of obedience unto death. It is becoming that this three-fold vow should enter into the idea of religion; for S. Augustine says: "Religion does not seem to signify any kind of *cultus*, but the worship of God." That *cultus* which belongs to God alone, is indicated by the act of sacrifice.† A sacrifice of external things is then offered to God,

ti beatitudine semper actualiter intellectus, et voluntas creature rationalis in Deum fertur, cum in divina fructione illa beatitudo consistat. Beatitudo autem non est in habitu, sed in actu. Et quia Deo creatura rationalis inherebit tamquam ultimo fini, qui est veritas summa; in finem autem ultimum omnia per intentionem referuntur, et secundum ultimum finem omnia exequenda disponuntur; consequens est quod in illa beatitudinis perfectione creatura rationalis diligit Deum ex toto corde, dum tota ejus intentio fertur in Deum ex omnibus que cogitat, amat, aut agit; ex toto mente, dum semper actualiter mens ejus fertur in Deum, ipsam semper videns, et omnia in ipso, et secundum ejus veritatem de omnibus judicans; ex tota anima, dum tota ejus affectio ad Deum diligendum fertur continue, et propter ipsum omnia diliguntur, ex tota fortitudine, vel ex omnibus viribus, dum omnium exteriorum actuum ratio erit Dei dilectio. Hic est ergo secundus perfectæ dilectionis divine modus, qui est beatorum." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spirituales*, Cap. IV., p. 77.)

* In these words the Angelical gives the grand principle of perfection:—"Sed cum Apostolus dixisset, *Non quod jam comprehenderim, aut perfectus sim*, subdit, *Sequitur autem si quo modo comprehendam*: et postmodum subdit: *Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus*. Ex quibus verbis manifeste accipitur quod etsi comprehensorum perfectio non sit nobis possibilis in hac vita, simulari tamen debemus ut in simulandum perfectionis illius, quantum possibile est, nos trahamus; et in hoc perfectio hujus vitæ consistit, ad quam per consilia invitamur. Manifestum namque est quod humanum cor tanto intusius in aliquid unum fertur, quanto magis a multis revocatur. Sic igitur tanto perfectius animus hominis ad Deum diligendum fertur, quanto magis ab affectu temporalium revocatur. Unde Augustinus in Lib. LXXXIII., *Questionum* dicit, quod *venenum caritatis est spes adipiscendarum, aut retinendarum temporalium rerum*; augmentum vero ejus est cupiditatis diminutio; perfectio vero nulla cupiditas. Omnia igitur consilia, quibus ad perfectionem invitamur, ad hoc pertinent ut animus hominis ab affectu rerum temporalium avertatur; ut sic liberius mens tendat in Deum, contemplando, amando, et ejus voluntatem implendo." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spirituales*, Cap. VI., p. 78.)

† "Secundum autem triplicem viam perfectionis assignatam, in religionibus triplex commune votum invenitur, scilicet votum paupertatis, continentie, et obedientie usque ad mortem. Per votum paupertatis privam perfectionis viam religiosi assumunt, omni proprietati abrenuntiantes. Per votum autem continentie aggrediuntur viam secundam, matrimonii perpetuo abrenuntiantes. Per votum autem obedientie maxime viam tertiam assumunt, voluntatem propriam abnegando. Hoc etiam triplex votum congrue religioni adaptatur. Nam, sicut dicit Augustinus X. de Civit. Dei, *religio non quælibet, sed Dei cultum significare videtur*. Unde et Tullius dicit in *Rhetorica*, quod religio est virtus quæ cuidam superiori naturæ, quam divinam vocant, cultum, ceremoniamque offert. Cultus autem soli Deo debitus in sacrificii oblatione ostenditur.

when, for God's sake, they are given away; according to that: "Do not forget to do good and to impart, for by such sacrifices, God's favour is obtained." * A man's own body is offered to God, "when they that are Christ's have crucified their flesh, with the vices and concupiscences," † as S. Paul says to the Galatians. Hence, he writes to the Romans: "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God." ‡ The third sacrifice is also most acceptable to God, when a man offers his spirit to God, according to the psalm: "A sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit." §

But, it should be understood that, as S. Gregory says, there is this difference between a holocaust and a sacrifice, viz., that every holocaust is a sacrifice, but every sacrifice is not a holocaust. In a sacrifice, a part is offered; in a holocaust, the whole. "When, therefore, a man dedicates to God, by vow, a portion of what he has, it is a sacrifice; but when he makes over to the Omnipotent God, by vow, all his substance, his whole life, and all his knowledge, it is a holocaust." || And this is accomplished by the three vows just named. The religious state not only contains the perfection of charity, but it contains the perfection of penance also. There is no sin so great, that a man can be ordered to enter religion as a penance for having committed it. Of these three vows, the principal one is that of obedience, which is evident for many reasons. First, because, by the vow of obedience, a man offers his own will to God; whilst, by the vow of continence, he offers to Him the sacrifice of his own body; and, by the vow of poverty, his external possessions. Now, since a man values his body more than his external goods, and his soul more than his body; so, the vow of continence is to be placed before the vow of poverty, and the vow of obedience before either. Secondly, because a man makes use, by means of his own will,

Offertur autem Deo sacrificium de exterioribus rebus, quando eas aliquis propter Deum, largitur, secundum illud Hebr. ult. 16. *Beneficentie, et communionis nolite oblivisci: talibus enim hostias promeretur Deus.* Offertur etiam Deo sacrificium de proprio corpore, quando scilicet qui Christi sunt, carnem suam crucificant cum vitiis, et concupiscentiis, ut dicit Apostolus Galat. V. Unde et ipse dicit Rom. XII., 1. *Exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem.* Est etiam sacrificium tertium Deo acceptissimum, quando aliquis spiritum suum offert Deo, secundum illud Psalm. L., 19. *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus.* (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritu- alis, Cap. XI., p. 83.*)

* Heb., XIII., 16.

† V., 24.

‡ Rom., XII., 1.

§ L., 19.

|| "Sed sciendum quod, sicut Gregorius dicit super Ezech. hoc inter sacrificium et holocaustum distat, quod omne holocaustum est sacrificium, et non omne sacrificium holocaustum. In sacrificio enim pars pecudis, in holocausto vero totum pecus offerri consuevit. Cum ergo aliquis suum aliquid Deo vovet, et aliquid non vovet, sacrificium est. Cum vero omne quod habet, omne quod vivit, omne quod a- pit, omnipotenti Deo poverit, holocaustum est. Quod quidem impletur per tria vota predicta. Unde manifestum est eos qui hujusmodi vota Deo emittunt, quasi propter holocausti excellentiam antonomastice religiosos vocari. Per sacrificii autem oblationem secundum legis mandatum pro peccatis satisfacere oportet, ut in Levitico expresse jubetur. Unde Paul. IV. cum dixisset: *Quæ dicitis in cordibus vestris, et in cubilibus vestris, compungimini:* statim de sacrificiatione scri- bens, dicit: *Sacrificate sacrificium justitiæ:* id est, opera facite iusta post penitentium lamenta, ut Glossa exponit. Sicut ergo holocaustum sacrificium est perfectum, ita per vota premissa per- fecte homo Deo satisfacit, cum et de exterioribus rebus, et de proprio spiritu holocaustum offert." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritu- alis, Cap. XI., p. 83.*)

both of his own body, and of external goods: so that a man who gives up his own will, may be said to have sacrificed all he possesses. Hence, the vow of obedience is more comprehensive than the vow of continence, or of poverty; and, in a certain way, includes them both. It is on this account that Samuel prefers obedience to all sacrifices, saying: "Obedience is better than sacrifices."*

Just as there are many degrees of the love of God, so there are many with respect to the love of one's neighbour. There is one perfection which falls under precept; another, which is included in counsel. The love of one's neighbour which falls under precept is this: that a man should "love his neighbour as himself"—that is, that he should wish him to have what is good, and be freed from what is evil; and also that he should manifest by act, the love he feels in his heart: "Little children, let us not love in word and in tongue, but in deed and in truth."† The perfection of the love of one's neighbour which falls under the counsel is divided into three heads.‡ First, respecting its extension; under this comes the love a man bears his relations; then, that love which he feels for those for whom he entertains a sort of natural affection; and, lastly, the love which is due to his enemies—this degree of love being taught by our Lord: "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you;"§ and in this He shows that the perfection of love is included. Hence, He ends by saying: "Be you therefore perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect." That the practice of this love is beyond common perfection is clear from the writings of S. Augustine. || It follows of necessity from

* The Saint's high appreciation of "obedience" is accounted for thus:—"Inter hec autem tria quæ ad religionis statum dixerimus pertinere, præcipuum est obedientiæ votum: quod quidem multipliciter apparet. Primo quidem, quia per obedientiæ votum homo Deo propriam voluntatem offert: per votum autem continentiæ offert ei sacrificium de proprio corpore; per votum vero paupertatis offert de exterioribus. Sicut ergo inter bona hominis corpus præfertur exterioribus rebus, et anima corpori; ita votum continentiæ voto paupertatis præfertur, votum autem obedientiæ utrique. Secundo, quia propter propriam voluntatem homo et exterioribus rebus utitur et proprio corpore. Sic igitur qui propriam voluntatem dat, totum dedisse videtur. Universalis igitur est obedientiæ votum quam continentiæ et paupertatis; et quodammodo includit utrumque. Hinc est quod Samuel obedientiam omnibus sacrificiis præfert, dicens I Reg., XV., 22: *Mellior est obedientia quam victimæ.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*, Cap. XI., p. 83.)

† John, III., 18.

‡ "His autem consideratis de perfectione caritatis quantum pertinet ad dilectionem Dei, considerandum relinquitur de caritatis perfectione quantum pertinet ad dilectionem proximi. Est autem considerandum multiplex gradus perfectionis circa dilectionem proximi, sicut et circa dilectionem Dei. Est enim quedam perfectio quæ requiritur ad salutem, quæ cadit sub necessitate præcepti: est etiam quedam ulterior perfectio superabundans, quæ sub consilio cadit. Perfectio autem dilectionis proximi necessaria ad salutem consideranda est ex ipso modo diligendi, qui nobis præscribitur in præcepto de proximi dilectione, cum dicitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* Quia enim Deus est universale bonum supra nos existens, ad perfectionem dilectionis divine requiritur ut totum cor hominis secundum aliquem modum convertatur in Deum, sicut ex supradictis patet. Et ideo modus divine dilectionis convenienter exprimitur per hoc quod dicitur: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo.* Proximus autem noster non est universale bonum supra nos existens, sed particulare infra nos constitutum: et ideo non determinatur nobis modus ut aliquis diligat proximum ex toto corde, sed sicut se ipsum." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*, Cap. XIII., p. 86.)

§ Matt., V., 44.

|| "Consideratis igitur his quibus dilectio proximi perficitur perfectione necessaria ad salutem, considerandum est de perfectione dilectionis proximi quæ communem perfectionem excedit, et sub consilio cadit. Hæc autem perfectio secundum tria attenditur. Primo quidem secundum extensionem. Quanto enim ad plures dilectio extenditur, tanto videtur dilectio proximi esse magis perfecta. In hac autem dilectionis extensione triplex gradus considerandus occurrit. Sunt enim quidam qui alios homines diligunt vel propter beneficia sibi impensa,

the precept, that a man exclude not his enemy from the general charity with which he is bound to love his neighbour, and that he admit not into his heart anything contrary to such a love. But, that a man should actually fix his mind, without necessity, upon the love of his enemy, appertains to the perfection of the counsel. This love of one's enemy is derived, directly, from the Divine love alone. God only is able to move man to a love of his enemy. And man loves him as the creature and the image of God. The more fully a man is possessed by the charity of God, so much the more easily is his mind capable of being bent to the love of his enemy. The second head regards the intensity of the love. It is evident that, in proportion to the intensity of a man's love, will be the ease with which he can condemn other things for that love's sake. There are three degrees of this contempt. There are some men who despise exterior goods: "If I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor:"* "If a man should give all the substance of his house for love, he shall despise it as nothing."† They are wanting in this perfection who, possessing goods, do not assist those who are in want: "He that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need, and shall put up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?"‡ The second degree is to expose one's body to labours, out of love for one's neighbour.§: "In labour and in toil we worked night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you."|| They fail in this, who, for the sake of others, will give up no pleasure, and put themselves to no inconvenience: "You that sleep on beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches; that eat the lamb out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd; you

vel propter naturalis cognationis vinculum, aut civilis; et iste dilectionis gradus terminus civilis amicitie coarctatur. Sunt autem alii qui dilectionis affectum etiam ad extraneos extendunt, dum tamen in eis non invenitur aliquid quod eis adversetur: et hic quidem dilectionis gradus quodammodo sub naturæ limitibus coarctatur. Quia enim omnes homines conveniunt in natura speciei, omnis homo est naturaliter omni homini amicus. Et hoc maxime ostenditur in hoc quod homo alium errantem in via dirigit, et a causa sublevat, et alios huiusmodi dilectionis effectus impendit. Sed quia homo naturaliter se ipsum magis quam alium diligit: ex eadem autem radice procedit ut aliquid diligatur, et ejus contrarium odio habeatur; consequens est ut infra naturalis dilectionis limites inimicorum dilectio non comprehendatur. Tertius autem dilectionis gradus est ut dilectio proximi etiam ad inimicos extendatur: quem quidem dilectionis gradum Dominus docet Matth. V. 44, dicens: *Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite his qui oderunt vos: et in hoc dilectionis perfectionem esse demonstrat: nunc concludit subdicens* (ver. 48.): *Estote igitur vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester perfectus est.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIV., p. 87.*)

* 1 Cor., XIII., 3.

† Cant., VIII., 7.

‡ 1 John., III., 19.

§ "Consideratur autem secundo perfectio dilectionis proximi secundum intensiorem amorem. Manifestum est enim quod tanto aliquis intensius amat, tanto facilius illa propter ipsum continentur. Ex his ergo quæ homo propter dilectionem proximi continuit, considerari potest an sit perfecta dilectio proximi. Hujus autem perfectionis triplex gradus invenitur. Sunt enim aliqui qui exteriora bona continentur propter dilectionem proximorum, dum vel ea particulatim proximis adiuvant, vel totaliter omnia necessitatibus erogant proximorum: quod videtur Apostolus tangere cum dicit 1 Cor. XIII. 3. *Si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnem substantiam*; Et Cant. VIII., 7, dicitur: *Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus sue pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet eam.* Unde et Dominus hoc comprehendere videtur, dum consilium de perfectione secunda eundem daret, dicens Matth. XIX. 21. *Si vis perfectus esse, vende, et vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus; et habebis thesaurum in celo: et veni, sequere me*; ubi omnium bonorum exteriorum abdicationem ad duo videtur ordinare: scilicet ad dilectionem proximi, cum dicit *Et da pauperibus*; et ad dilectionem Dei, cum dicit, *Sequere me.*" (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XIV., p. 88.*)

|| 2 Thess., III., 8.

that sing to the sound of the psalter; they have taught themselves to have instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments; and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph.* The third degree of this contempt is to lay down one's life for one's brethren. Hence, S. John says: "In this we have known the charity of God, because He hath laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."† In this third degree, the perfection of fraternal love consists.‡

And it not only concerns perfection to do what is perfect, but also to vow what is perfect. He who performs a perfect action, under vow, attains a double perfection. He who observes continence, for instance, possesses one perfection, whilst he who obliges himself to continence by vow, and keeps his promise, practices both the perfection of continence, and the perfection of the vow. Perfection, which proceeds from the vow, changes a man's state and condition, in so far forth as liberty and subjection are considered as distinct conditions or states. He who vows continence, deprives himself of the liberty of marrying. He however, who observes continence, without the vow, does not deprive himself of the said liberty.§ Then, if a man undertakes to do a special work, during a certain time, he only loses his liberty to the extent of his promise. But, he who gives himself up into another's power, without condition, and reserves no liberty to himself, such a one absolutely changes his condition, and becomes a complete slave. He who vows to fast, or to make a pilgrimage, does not change his state beyond the extent of his vow. But, he who gives his entire life over to God by vow, to serve Him in works of per-

* *Amos*, VI., 4.

† *1 Jn.*, III., 16.

‡ "Secundus autem gradus dilectionis est ut aliquis corpus suum laboribus exponat propter proximorum amorem cuius rei exemplum Apostolus in se ipso ostendit, cum dicit, 2 Thessa. III. 8: *In labore et fatigatione nocte et die operantes, ne quem vestrum gravavimus.* Et ad idem refertur, si quis tribulationes et persecutiones propter proximorum amorem pati non recuset: unde et Apostolus dicit, 2 Cor. I., 6: *Sive tribulamur, pro vestra exhortatione et salute:* et 2 Tim. II. 9. dicit: *Labore usque ad vincula quasi male operans; sed verbum Dei non est alligatum: ideo omnia sustinco propter electos, ut et ipsi salutem consequantur.* Ab hoc autem gradu deficient qui de deliciis nihil omittunt, nec aliquid incommodi sustinent pro aliorum amore: contra quos dicitur *Amos* VI. 4: *Qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lascivitis in stratis vestris: qui comeditis agnum de grege, et vitulos de medio armenti: qui canitis ad vocem psalterii, sicut David, putaverunt se habere vasa canticis bibentes vinum in phialis, et optimo unguento delibuti et nihil patiebantur super contritione Joseph.* Et *Ezech.* XIII. 5. dicitur: *Non ascendistis ex adverso, neque opposuistis vos murum pro domo Israel, ut staretis in prelio in die Domini.* Tertius autem gradus dilectionis est ut aliquis animam suam pro fratribus ponat: unde dicitur *1 Joan.*, III. 16: *In hoc cognoscimus charitatem Dei, quoniam ille pro nobis animam suam posuit et nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere.*" (*De Perfectione Vitis Spiritualis*, Cap. XIV., p. 88.)

§ "Est autem considerandum, quod, sicut supra præmissimus perfectionis est non solum aliquod opus perfectum facere: sed etiam opus perfectum vovere: de utroque enim consilium datur, ut supra dictum est. Qui ergo aliquod opus perfectum ex voto facit, ad duplicem perfectionem attingit: sicut qui continentiam servat, nam perfectionem habet: qui autem ex voto se obligat ad continentiam servandam, et eam servat, habet et continentiam perfectionem, et voti. Perfectio autem quæ est ex voto, conditionem mutat, et statum, secundum quod libertas, et servitus diversæ conditionis, vel status esse dicuntur. Sic enim accipitur status II. quest. IX. ubi Hadrianus Papa ait: *Si quando in causa capitali, vel causa status interpellatum fuerit, non per exploratores, sed per se ipsos esse agendum.* Nam dum aliquis vovet continentiam servare, adiungi sibi libertatem ducendi uxorem: qui autem simpliciter continet absque voto, predicta libertate non privatur. Non ergo in aliqua mutatur ejus conditio, sicut mutatur conditio ejus qui vovet. Nam et apud homines si quis alieni obsequatur, non ex hoc conditionem mutat; sed si obligat se ad serviendum, jam alterius conditionis efficitur." (*Ibid.*, Cap. XV., p. 89.)

fection, takes upon himself, absolutely, the state or condition of perfection. Sometimes, men do works of perfection which they have not vowed; sometimes, men do not perform the works of perfection which they have vowed. Hence, it follows that there are some who are perfect, and yet are not in the *state* of perfection; whilst others are imperfect, who are in the state of perfection.*

This state of perfection is proper to the Episcopate; for by virtue of their office, bishops are obliged to this perfection of charity, viz., that they lay down their lives for their brethren. They should also, like religious, love their enemies, and minister to them; they should expose themselves to danger of death in the interests of their flocks; they should order their whole lives towards the service of their neighbours, and render them spiritual assistance. Indeed, the episcopal state is more perfect than the religious state; for it is evident that greater perfection is required in one who has to make others perfect, than in one who has simply to perfect himself. Then, the obligations of bishops are heavier than those of religious. To give one's life for the salvation of others, is a greater and a more difficult undertaking than to observe the vows. Then, again, in a certain way, bishops are bound in the same manner as religious. They have to feed their flocks, not only by word and example, but also by material assistance. S. Gregory asks: "Who would not be ready to sacrifice his substance for his sheep, when he is prepared to give his life for them?"† Then, they have to be chaste. Religious are subject to one prelate. The bishop makes himself the servant of all those who are under his jurisdiction: "Whereas I was free as to all, I made myself the servant of all;"‡ "For we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ our Lord; and ourselves your servants, through

* "Sed considerandum est, quod potest aliquis sibi libertatem adimere vel simpliciter, vel secundum quid. Si enim aliquis se Deo, vel homini obliget ad aliquid faciendum speciale, et pro aliquo tempore, non simpliciter libertatem amisit, sed solum secundum illud, ad quod se obligavit. Si autem se totaliter in potestate alienius ponat, ita quod nihil sibi libertatis retinet, simpliciter conditionem mutavit factus simpliciter servus. Sic ergo dum aliquis Deo vovet aliquod particulare opus, puta peregrinationem, et jejunium, aut aliquod infusmodi, non simpliciter conditionem, vel statum mutavit, sed secundum aliquid tantum. Si vero totam vitam suam voto Deo obligavit, ut in operibus perfectionis ei deserviat; jam simpliciter conditionem, vel statum perfectionis assumpsit. Contingit autem aliquos opera perfectionis facere non videntes; aliquos vero totam vitam suam voto obligantes ad perfectionis opera, quæ non implent. Unde patet quosdam perfectos quidem esse, qui tamen perfectionis statum non habent; aliquos vero perfectionis statum habere, sed perfectos non esse." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XV., p. 89.*)

† "In his ipsis ad quæ religiosi obligantur, Episcopi quodammodo obligari videntur. Teneatur enim Episcopi bona temporalia quæ habent, in necessitate suis subditis exhibere, quos pascere debent non solum verbo, et exemplo, sed etiam temporalibus subsidio. Unde Petro Joan. ult. ter dictum est a Domino ut ejus gregem pasceret: quod ipse retinens, alios ad hoc ipsum exhortatur dicens I Petr. ult. 2. *Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Domini.* Et Gregorius dicit in auctoritate supra inducta, ex persona Episcoporum loquens: *Exteriora nostra misericorditer omnibus quæ debemus impendere: et postea subdit Qui non dat pro ovibus substantiam suam, quando pro his daturus est animam suam?* Ipsi etiam Episcopi ad castitatem obligantur. Nam cum alios mundare debeant, ipsos præcipue convenit esse mundos. Unde Dionysius dicit III. cap. Cæl. Hierar. quod purgativos ordines oportet ex abundantia purgationis aliis tradere de propria castitate. Et quidem religiosi per votum obedientie se uni prelati subieciunt; Episcopus vero servum se constituit omnium, quorum curam assumpsit, dum tenetur non quod aum est querere, sed quod multis prodest, ut *salvi fiant*, ut dicit Apostolus I Cor. X. 33." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis, Cap. XVII., p. 90, 91.*)

‡ I Cor., IX., 19.

Jesus"*—hence, the custom of the Sovereign Pontiff calling himself "Servant of the Servants of God." Again, bishops are obliged, by vow, to lead others to God. S. Gregory says that "no sacrifice is more pleasing to God than zeal for souls." Therefore, the episcopal state is most perfect. This is evident, too, from the practice of the Church, which absolves religious, when they are raised to the episcopate, from obedience to superiors; and this would not be lawful were not the episcopal state more perfect than the religious state. The Church of God follows the saying of S. Paul:† "Be zealous for the better gifts."‡ The eighteenth chapter answers objections which seem to have been framed against the perfection of the episcopal state; and the chapter following shows that, though the state of a bishop is more perfect than that of a religious, it is not on that account to be sought after. Though men can meritoriously desire to enter the religious state, they cannot thus desire to be bishops, without falling into the vice of ambition. A religious denies himself, and subjects himself to others: a bishop is placed in a position of dignity. To look out for such advancement is presumptuous; since greater influence, and greater honour, are due only to those who are more worthy. This is evident, from the writings of S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom. Again, the religious state does not suppose perfection, but it leads to perfection. The Pontifical dignity supposes it already attained. He who possesses the Pontifical honour assumes the spiritual "*magisterium*:" "I am appointed a preacher and an apostle (I say the truth, I lie not), a doctor of the Gentiles, in faith and truth."§ It is presumptuous for a man to consider himself to be perfect. || Hence, the Apostle: "Not as

* 2 Cor., IV., 5.

† 1 Cor., XII., 31.

‡ "Unde ipse de se dicit IX. cap. vers. 19. ejusdem epistolæ: *Cum liber essem ex omnibus, omnium me servum feci*: et 2 Corii. IV. 5. *Non nosmetipsos predicamus, sed Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, nos autem servos vestros per Jesum*. Unde et consuetudo inolevit ut summus Pontifex se scribat servum servorum Dei. Unde patet episcopalem statum majoris perfectionis esse quam statum religionis."

"Iterum. Dionysius dicit VI. cap. Eccles. Hierarchiæ, monachorum ordinem non esse ad ductivum aliorum, sed in se ipso stantem in singulari, et sancta statione. Ad Episcopos autem ex obligatione voti pertinet alios ad Deum adducere. Dicit autem Gregorius super Ezech., quod nullum sacrificium est magis Deo acceptum quam zelus animarum. Ordo igitur Episcoporum perfectissimus est. Hoc autem evidenter ostenditur ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine, per quam religiosi a sanctorum prelatorum obedientia absoluti, ad Episcopatus ordinem assumuntur. Quod quidem licitum non esset, nisi episcopalis status esset perfectior. Sequitur enim Ecclesiæ Dei Pauli sententiam, qui dicit 1 ad Corinth. XII. 31. *Emulamini charismata meliora*." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*, Cap. XVII., p. 90, 91.)

§ 1 Tim., II., 7.

|| "Est etiam et aliud advertendum, quod religionis status perfectionem non presupponit, sed ad perfectionem inducit: pontificalis autem dignitas perfectionem presupponit. Qui enim Pontificatus honorem suscipit, spirituale magisterium assumit. Unde Apostolus dicitur 1 Timoth. II. 7. *Positus sum ego predicator, et Apostolus [veritatem dico, non mentior] doctor gentium in fide, et veritate*. Ridiculum autem est perfectionis magistrum fieri qui perfectionem per experimentum non novit. Et sicut, dicit Gregorius in Pastoralis, *tantum debet actionem populi actio transcendere præsulis, quantum distare solet a grege vita pastoris*. Quæ quidem differentia ex verbis Domini manifeste colligitur. Cum enim Dominus paupertatis consilium daret, his verbis est usus [Matth. XIX. 21.] *Si vis perfectus esse, vende omnia quæ habes et da pauperibus*. Unde manifeste apparet quod paupertatis assumptio perfectionem non præexigit, sed ad eam ducit."

"Quod autem aliquis perfectionem desideret, et eam assequi velit, non presumptionis sed sanctæ emulationis esse videtur: ad quam Apostolus hortatur 1 Corin. XII. 31. *Emulamini charismata meliora*. Et ideo religionis statum assumere, laudabile est: ad prælatum autem fastidium anhælere nimis præsumptio est." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*, Cap. XII., p. 92, 93.)

though I had already attained, or were already perfect.”* and then: “Let us, therefore, as many as are perfect, be thus minded.” Then, religious relinquish property; those who become bishops acquire property. In support of this argument, S. Gregory is quoted at length; and then, S. Jerome is adduced, to show that he who becomes a monk, avoids the dangers into which other men are liable to fall.† The twentieth chapter gives the arguments of those who maintain that the state of those who have the cure of souls, viz., of curates and archdeacons, is more perfect than the religious state; and it gives their solutions also. One thing is an *act* of perfection; another thing is a *state* of perfection. Now, two things can be considered in those who have the cure of souls: the office, and the dignity. The former imposes no abiding duty; whilst the religious state entails a perpetual obligation. And, though men having the cure of souls may be perfect, as far as the habit of charity, and may participate in some works of perfection, they are not, on that account, in the *state* of perfection. By this principle, difficulties made up out of the words of S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome, are solved by the Angelical.

It appears that, after S. Thomas had written the above chapters, other objections were made against his thesis, by persons “desirous of creating a quarrel.”‡ And hence he dedicates another chapter to the confutation of their errors. He considers their objections to be frivolous, ridiculous, and, in many respects, erroneous.§ He shows that the authorities brought forward are not to the point; because the writers who are quoted, treat of the grade, and not of the state; and brings to bear, with great power and clearness, the principles which he has already established. The twenty-fourth chapter demonstrates, that solemn benediction and consecration do not, as some affirm, put a man in a state of perfection.|| The twenty-fifth chapter contains a series of solutions

* Philip, III., 12.

† “Dicit Gregorius, David auctoris iudicio pene in cunctis actibus placens, ut principatus pondere claruit, in tumorem vulneris erupit, factusque est in morte viri crudeliter rigidus, qui in appetitu femine fuit enerviter fluxus: prius ferire comprehensum persecutorem noluit, et post cum damno exercitus devotum militem sub studio fraudis extinxit. Qui autem statum religionis assumit, pericula peccati vitat. Unde Hieronymus ex persona monachi loquens in epistola contra Vigilantium dicit: Ego cum fugero, scilicet mundum, non vincor in eo quod fugio, sed ideo fugio ne vincar. Nulla securitas cum vicino serpente dormire: potest fieri ut me non mordeat, tamen potest fieri ut aliquando me mordeat. Quod ergo aliquis pericula peccati evitans religionis statum assumit, prudentia est. Quod vero sponte ad prelationis statum aspiret, vel nimis presumptionis est, si se tam fortem existimet esse ut inter pericula possit manere securus; vel omnino suae salutis curam non habens, si peccata vitare non curat. Ex his ergo apparet quod prelationis status, etsi perfectus sit, tamen absque vitio concupiscentiae appeti non potest.” (*De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis*, Cap. XIX., p. 93.)

‡ “Verum quidam contentione studio exagitati, neque quae dicunt, neque quae audiunt, debite ponderantes, adhuc conantur predictis contradicentes obviare: quorum obviationes postquam premissa conscripseram, ad me pervenerunt. Ad quorum confutationem, necesse est aliqua ex supra positis replicare.” (*De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis*, Cap. XXI., p. 95.)

§ “Haec autem quae posita sunt, quam sint frivola, derisibilia, et in multis erronea, demonstrandum est singulorum efficaciam diligenter ponderando.” (*Ibid.*, Cap. XXIII., p. 97.)

|| “Ostendo igitur quam frivole sunt rationes quae inducunt ad ostendendum, quod archidiaconi, et presbyteri curati, sunt in statu perfectiori quam religiosi; ostendendum est quam

to other objections, some of which appear so unmeaning and absurd in the eyes of our Saint, that, evidently, he hardly had patience to answer them seriously. The last chapter touches upon the objections which have already been mentioned, against monks studying, teaching, and having the power to preach, and to hear confessions; and the Saint concludes with these words, so worthy of him, and so full of meaning, and suggestive, even to modern controversialists. "I should by very glad," he writes, "if anyone would reply to what I have said; for there is no better means of displaying truth, and of confuting error, than by discussion; according to the words of Solomon: 'Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend;'* for God himself will judge between us and them, Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen."†

It may seem a pity, in writing the life of a Saint, to interrupt the course of his personal history, by making a long *resumé* of his works. The writer feels the full force of such an objection. But, were he to omit giving an insight into the Saint's mind and works, as manifested at this period, or were he to pass over lightly his immense influence on religious thought, it would be impossible for the reader fully to realize the texture and power of his mind, and the immense service he rendered to religion.‡

It is clear enough, from these three brochures; from the principles which the Saint felt himself obliged to re-establish; and from the nature of the objections which were advanced against religious life, that the state of men's minds at the University, during this period, gave cause for the greatest concern and alarm. The very first principles of Evangelical perfection were called in

frivolum sit quod obijciunt contra hoc quod dictum est, quod in statu perfectionis quis ponitur per solemnem benedictionem, aut consecrationem." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*, Cap. XXIV., p. 100.)

† *Prov.*, XXVII., 17.

‡ "Si autem hoc intendant, quod religiosi non possunt predicare, vel confessiones audire ex superiorum prelatorum commissione; patet hoc esse falsum: quia quanto quis est celsior, tanto, et illis erit potentior, ut habetur XVI. quest. 1. *Sunt nonnulli*. Unde si seculares sacerdotes non curati, possunt huiusmodi facere ex commissione prelatorum, multo magis hoc possunt religiosi, si eis committatur."

"Hæc respondenda occurrunt his, qui perfectionem religionis denigrare nituntur a contumeliis abstinendo: quia, sicut scriptum est, *Prov. X. 18. qui profert contumeliam, insipiens est*: et *XX. 3. Omnes stulti miscentur contumeliis*."

"Si qui vero contra hæc rescribere voluerint, mihi acceptissimum erit. Nullo enim modo melius quam contradicentibus resistendo, aperitur veritas, et falsitas confutatur, secundum illud Salomonis Proverb. XXVII. 17. *Ferrum ferro acuitur, et homo exacuit faciem amici sui*. Ipse autem Deus iudicat inter nos et eos qui est benedictus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." (*De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis*, Cap. XXVI., p. 102.)

* In point of fact, the life of a great thinker and writer must necessarily consist in a treatment, not so much of his personal adventure—for great scholars generally lead very quiet lives—as of his thought and of his influence. Were no lives to be written, except of those who had a long and eventful personal history, most of the greatest benefactors of the human race would soon fall out of men's remembrance. They would have no biographers. Plato and Aristotle, who form the two great hinges on which the intellect of the world has turned, would undergo the common fate; and unless a man made a great display of himself he would stand little chance of that immortality (a very miserable one) which is the greatest human reward that genius can desire. No; the history of a great thinker and writer is the history of his thought, of his position, of his action on the present, and of the change his influence has produced upon the world—a change which is arrived at by comparing the current as it approached him, with what it was when it left him, after it had been directed by the power of his genius.

question: and this not by men of damaged fame and small repute, alone; not by a handful of scoffers, and worldly men of wanton habits and idle lives; but by clever, shrewd professors, who were looked upon with reverence for their gifts; who were men of logical and powerful minds; and who, by their exceptional character and abilities, were gaining, daily, fresh influence over the young. The scholars, doctors, and students of a university cannot be put down by mere *verbiage*, nor reduced to silence by violence or force. If they have to be subjugated at all, they must be beaten with their own weapons. Not, indeed, by sarcasm or by ridicule, or by brilliant retort; but by reason, and logic, and sense. They must be fairly met, and fairly combated, and then truth, sooner or later, will surely conquer. Who, in the University, was capable of allaying passion by the power of his own self-control? * Who was the man for the emergency, fit to encounter clever, skilful fencers, practised to perfection in all the tricks and arts of thrust, and blow, and parry, and feint, and sudden lunge? Who could convince prejudice that she *was* prejudice; hit the nice division between right and wrong, and true and false; defend the right, admit the wrong, and acknowledge the imperfections which were mixed up in his cause, whilst, at the same time, victoriously defending it? Who, by the depth of his penetration, and the vigour of his grasp of principle, could get beneath the shallow, sparkling stream of words—the rapid sophistry of clever men—and uproot, and draw out, and expose to view, the flimsy framework of plausibility and pretence on which men seemed infallibly to count? Who could hammer and break to pieces false maxims and sharp sayings, and, with the same movement with which he ward off a deadly thrust, transfix the enemy in the very act of triumphing? Who could build up the crumbling walls of truth; complete the structure; encompass it with a powerful *enceinte*, and then, sally forth, in force, and triumphantly strike home amongst the enemy; and by superior weapons, skill, and strategy, at length drive him out of his position? †

* It is pretty clear whom Tocco would think capable of successfully fulfilling such a mission. He says:—"Et quia tam splendidum luminare, quod misericors Deus in mundi vespere fidelibus voluit mittere, ab ipso quasi mundi principio debuit pramonstrari; ideo in veteri Testamento predicti Doctoris multiplex figura non defuit, quæ præsignaret divinitus qualis fuit; ut sic novæ Legis fructus temporibus ultimis in figuris prænuñtiaretur antiquis; et Deus, dum in præsentibus implet præterita ad se ostendat pertinere futura. Unde hic Doctor mirabilis dici potuit esse prævisus in Isaac filio Abraham; qui cum ad agrum Scripturarum ad vespem senescentis Ecclesie ad meditandum egreditur, sicut ille Rebeccam, sic iste in sponsam Dei sapientiam habere meretur, per quam sicut deposita hydria servo Abraham, etiam camelis, potus tribuitur; sic per hujus scientiam, quasi hydriam, cunctis fidelibus aqua divinæ sapientiæ mira felicitate donatur." (*Tocco in Vita, Boll., Cap. III., n. 16, p. 682.*)

† Tocco compares the Angelical to Jacob thus:—"Dici potest hic congrue Jacob, qui post lectam devicti certaminis, et acceptam de rore cæli benedictionis dulcedinem, ad putem perveniens Scripturarum, hiansit quasi Rachelis ovibus, id est, Christi fidelibus, poculum et ipsam Rachellem Dei sapientiam habere meruit, quam aspiens concupivit, obtinuitque Angelica in sponsione Israelis vocabulum, postquam de Divinis Scripturis habuit clarum veritatis aspectum. Hic ut Jacob super Petram Christum, dum per humilitatem quævis subditus hieri meruit meditatione supremus; inde vidit in somnis scalam per quam ad summam veritatis notitiam debe-

The only man who had the requisite gifts for executing such a work as this, in the thirteenth century, was S. Thomas of Aquin. From boyhood he had earned the reputation of being a powerful and a brilliant debater. He possessed all the qualities necessary for success—weight of metal, as well as precision of aim; and his whole intelligence was thoroughly impregnated with the traditional teaching of the Church. It is true that Albert did his share of work, and S. Bonaventure wrote his excellent treatise: “On the Poverty of Christ,” as well as his “Apologia for the Poor.” But, after all, it was S. Thomas whose exceptional grasp embraced the entire religious question; and his genius it was which replaced the fundamental principles of the highest love of God in their old position of reverence and honour; and, in achieving this result, the Angelical left to all coming generations the most profound refutation of deadly error, and the most masterly exposition of religious truth which has ever been given to the world by any doctor of the Church.*

And the Angelical did something more than write an exposition. He was a living type of a perfect monk, a model for professors, a doctor in the truest and widest meaning of the word, and the most illuminated teacher amidst a host of distinguished men.† He had applied the principles of the monastic system to his own life. He had been drilled and trained according to the rules of perfect charity. His heart and mind had been elevated and purified by the highest and most noble influences; and

bat ascendere, cœlum attingere, et Angelos ascendentes per scalam, qui orantis Thomæ Deo offerrent oracula; et descendentes, qui contemplanti revelarent divina in veritate secreta; et Dominum innixum scalæ, qui prædicto Doctori ostenderet se inspirasse scientiam, et acceptare doctrinam. Quod bene per modum scalæ componitur, quia in ea semper aliquod notum principium, et quasi quibusdam gradibus, congruis propositionibus, conclusio veritatis inferitur.” (Boll., *Cap. III.*, n. 16, p. 662.)

* Tocco compares S. Thomas to Joseph, and to Moses:—“Hic est ille Joseph, qui dum Spiritu sapientiæ repletur in carcere, de ipso eductus meruit plus omnibus Ægyptiis divinæ cognoscere, et de utriusque Testamenti segetibus divini eloquii frumenta in libris, quasi in horreis collecta servare: qui, ut ille fratribus suis, primo frumenta divini eloquii gratis eorum ingenio tribuit, et toti Ecclesie postmodum de alluentis divinæ Sapientiæ sine Invidia distribuenda providit. Appropiate autem et singulariter dici potest, quod hic fuit quasi alter ille Moyses, qui de aqua invidiam vanitatis eductus, quia de Aquinorum prosapia generatur, miro modo per Pharaonis filiam matrem Ecclesiæ, cui tollitur, redditur, et uberibus divinæ sapientiæ lacte nutritur. Hic est Moyses, cui de rubo sub flamme ignis similitudine Dominus loquitur, et hic quasi Deus loquens ei fuerit, edocetur: qui missus ad fratres suos, non sine signis admirandis et prodigiis, ductor populi delegatur. Hic est Moyses, qui, sub duplici columna nubis et ignis, fideles de Ægypti tenebris duplicis scientiæ habitū doctus eduxit: ut in columna nubis intelligatur scientia secularium scripturarum, quam sensibus acquisivit; et in columna ignis lex illa ignea, quam ex dextera divinæ largitatis, Deo revelante, suscepit.” (Boll., *Cap. III.*, n. 16, p. 662.)

† “Hic est Moyses, qui montem divinæ speculationis ascendens, non sine divini stylo digiti scribentis in ejus animo, sub duarum tabularum similitudine duorum testamentorum scientiam de summa divinorum speculationum portavit. Hic est iterum Moyses, ejus ex divini sermonis consortio facies splendens efficitur, ut non possent filii Israel nisi velatis vultibus in ipsum aspiciere; quem Deus decreverat aliis illustrare, ut dum hodie quorundam facies velate permanent, ad hujus Doctoris intelligentiæ faciem, aut cœca æmulatione aut ignorantie tenebris obscurati eorum aspectus intelligentiæ non pertingant. Hic est Moyses qui facie ad faciem Domino loquitur: qui divina, quæ sibi Deus revelare voluit, sic intellexit lucide, velut ænigmatum illam Dei faciem in Scripturis vidisset aperte. Qui cum frequenter raptum a sensibus pateretur, supra humanum intellectum divinam vidisse creditur, quibus ejus animus sorberetur: quorum magnitudinem intellecta et scripta despiceret pro excellentia illorum, quæ vidisset: sicut circa finem suæ vitæ maxime patuit, cum præ revelationis magnitudine a scribendo ulterius præ stupore cessavit: quibus cum finem imposuit, admiranti de ejus raptu socio mysterium revelavit.” (Boll., *Cap. III.*, n. 16, p. 662.)

he stood before the eye of intellectual, criticizing Paris, as the pattern of a system of education which restless men were beginning to grow weary of, but which, through his genius and address, subdued its enemies, and established itself in a stronger position than ever it had held before. To read his arguments would, no doubt, in the case of an unimpassioned enquirer, have been sufficient to convince the intellect. Few men are so depraved as to be blind to the beauty of self-sacrifice, and the heroism of the followers of the Cross. Most men esteem—at a distance, at all events—the glorious courage of the martyrs, and the firmness of brave men professing the truth, for which they would consider it a joy to die. There is a natural generosity in the heart of every upright man, which springs with spontaneous sympathy towards what is true and noble, when presented forcibly before his consciousness.* Men who might, in theory, spurn the reverential principles of monastic life, could not refuse their admiration, were they actually forced to fix their attention upon the living expression of them in one of the saints of God. He who would mock at purity in theory, would be struck dumb with admiration, were he actually to see John's loving face, as he leans on the bosom of his Master. He who knows not what Divine love is, would so learn its secret, as never to forget, could he but behold the countenance of Christ, burning with charity for men; and he who never knew how to adore, or what adoration meant, would learn it for all his life, were he to watch Magdalene weeping at the feet of Jesus. Where theory does not move the heart; where it does not manifest itself as the informing principle of a course of action, or of suffering, its power is little felt, and little realized.†

So with the theory of monastic life. Men of the past, and men of the present, may pick holes in it—may misunderstand its drift; but they cannot mistake it, when thrust before their notice, in

* Nothing could hardly be more fanciful, or more unphilosophical, than the arbitrary position in which Dr. Temple, in his celebrated *Essay on the Education of the World*, places the power of example. In order to arrange his conceit about the growth of the world, so as to be in keeping with the progression of man from childhood to old age, he is obliged to make the period of youth, or "the meeting-point of the child and the man," be the special time in which "example" holds its principal sway. Who would ever have dreamt of doing this except a man who was working out a puzzle, or framing a theory into which *volens volens*, the order of reality and fact, was arbitrarily to be shoved? The power of human nature, and the influence of man on man, does not begin now, and stop then, but the broad experience of life teaches us that as long as the imagination or the passions can be impressed, evil company should be avoided; and that he who would be virtuous must keep good company.

† It is remarkable that, both in *Ecce Homo* and in Renan's *Life of Jesus*, the one great power that seems to attach those writers to the person of Christ is His moral beauty. They cannot get over it. They are obliged to make use of expressions, regarding the marvellous life, which, though they would have it not so, touches upon the absolutely divine. Without almost calling Him "God," they cannot even express to the cynical philosopher—the depreciating critic—the store of beauty, and transcendent moral loveliness, which, even they are obliged to admit, belongs to the name of Christ. The very thought of Him seems, in spite of "modern criticism," and "philosophical tests," to warm the cold heart and colour the washed-out imagination. Had they but seen Him in the flesh, and felt His eye as Peter did, then they would have, possibly, used Peter's language. But the point here is, that godly beauty *must* be recognized even by those who would deny it to be Divine. If those who disbelieved are so impressed, what must it not be with those who have the key!

living examples, and patterns of its actions.* The practice of voluntary poverty may, in the abstract, be combated; but, who can combat Christ, when, weary and exhausted, he meekly resigned himself to live in a condition of more abject poverty than that of the birds of the air, and of the foxes of the earth? The practice of chastity may be ridiculed and called unnatural; yet, who can look on the radiant spotlessness of God's tender saints, and cast a stone at them, or refuse to acknowledge the surpassing resplendence of holy purity? The practice of obedience may be called a slavery; but, who can look upon his Lord freely offering Himself, despising the shame, and obedient unto death, and not perceive in Him the fairest type of liberty? And when, by an irrevocable vow, these three practices of poverty, chastity, and obedience, become systematized into a rule of life, and are embraced by a body of men, the critic may carp at them in theory; but, when viewed in practice, if he has not lost his manhood, together with his sense of moral loveliness and beauty, he will be compelled to admit that, the more rigidly these vows are observed, so much the more closely will the Divine pattern be approached. In a word, no man, with a man's heart left, can look upon heroic purity, sacrifice, and charity, without being affected with a sense of adoration.†

Now, the life of the Angelical was a striking manifestation of the three-fold power of the vows. Love and sacrifice, in him, were realities that lived. The theory which he expresses so admirably, was carried out by him in perfect practice. Who so truly poor as he was, who had utterly abandoned all that the creature could offer him? Who so chaste as he, who overcame, once for all, his great temptation, and never once committed a deliberate sin; and who so obedient as he, who loved Another's will far better than his own, and found his true delight in living

* Even those who cannot fully take in the whole power of the monastic idea, for the simple reason that they are not Catholics, catch, however, glimpses of its beauty, and are impressed with its power to influence. The monks "upheld and exhibited the great—then almost original idea, [i] that men needed to rule and govern themselves, that they could do it, and that no use of life was noble and perfect without this ruling. It was hard and rough discipline, like the times, which were hard and rough. But they did good work then, and for future times, by impressing on society the idea of self-control and self-maintained discipline; and, rude as they were, they were capable of nurturing noble natures, single hearts, keen and powerful intellects, glowing and unselfish affections." (Church, *Life of S. Anselm*, Chap. III., p. 68.)

† With what profound thought does not Hettlinger identify Christ with Christianity:—"Aber das Christenthum ist nichts ohne Christus: es ist eben nur die Lehre von Christi Person und Werk; die Person des Erlösers ist das Centrum des ganzen Christenthums, von ihm gehen alle geistigen und sittlichen Kräfte aus, zu ihm kehren sie wieder zurück. Und seine Sittenlehre ist kein hohles, luftiges Gebilde der Phantasie, das bei näherer Betrachtung zerfließt, keine blossen Ideenlehre, keine abstracte Moral: sie ist nur das Bild Jesu Christi selbst, unser Vorbild und lebendiges Ideal das in die Geschichte eingetreten und Mensch geworden ist, und in ächt menschlicher Weise durch's Leben gegangen, 'uns gleich in Allem, die Sünde ausgenommen;' und alle sittliche Grösse besteht eben nur in der Annäherung an dieses concrete ächt menschliche Urbild des Menschenlebens, das unerreichbar hoch über uns steht, und doch uns wieder so unendlich nahe ist. Ein Blick auf das Bild Jesu, wie es uns in einfachen Zügen die Evangelien gezeichnet haben, die Betrachtung seines Lebens, wie es in der Öffentlichkeit und in Angesehenheit eines ganzen Volkes begonne ward und sich vollendet hat, wird uns auch ohne Wunder in unwidersprechlicher Weise das Göttliche in seiner Erscheinung darthun." (*Apologie des Christenthums*, Zweite Abtheilung, Achztehnter Vortrag, p. 787.)

in subjection, and had, as his only terror, the fear of being made something of? And what was the outcome of all this? A crystal clearness of intellect, undisturbed by any prejudice or passion; a vision into the unseen world, which became like the habit of a life; and a nobility, a refinement, and a delicacy of understanding; a tenderness, an expansion, and a gentleness of heart, which could only have been produced by the influence of a supernatural grace, acting on a soul of noblest creation.*

It was his being so firmly set in the monastic principle that made him so marvellously stable amidst the flow with which he was surrounded. It has often been said that whenever there was a difficult piece of work to be done, in the Church, at least, or tempestuous and dark times to be confronted and fought with, the man to do the work, and to fight the battle, would be a monk. Why? Because he had made the great venture, and had abandoned, out of love for the Crucified, all that *could* be dearest and tenderest to his heart; because he had thrown up earth for the sake of heaven. So he would be *free* to dedicate all his powers, without self-seeking, to furthering the glory of his Master. This was the case with the Angelical. He had, with his eyes open, renounced a brilliant future, the love of friends, and the pleasures of life—pride, ambition, fame. All he sought was "Wisdom." The stream might flow, the current might grow rapid, but to possess this one treasure was his passion; and to draw others to it was his one delight. The mists that float about the heart, and the vapourings which rise up from the passions, were unknown to the Angel of the Schools.

If the devoted and mortified lives of the Mendicants in the great university towns, served as lights in darkness, and as beacons in distress; if the licentious student, with all his lewdness, was compelled to respect purity, and charity, and spiritual-mindedness, and to condemn himself, in presence of those whose simplicity of life, and guilelessness of character, were a continual protest against his own misdeeds; if, in the face of high morality, license stood self-condemned; so, also, was it with regard to faith and infidelity.† Where monastic virtue really flourishes, there,

* Tocco likens the Angelical to Solomon and to the Apostle, S. Thomas:—"Hic disputavit, ut Salomon a cedro, quæ est in Libano, usque ad hyssopum, qui de pariete oritur, id est, a Dei filio, divinitatis candore de Patre genio, usque ad eundem de gloriosa Virgine cum corpore nostre humanitatis assumpto; a quo sicut studium inspiratæ veritatis incepit sic scribendi et videndi terminum in eo, qui scire et vivere dederat, felici morte finivit. Unum adhuc hic Doctor dici potest, quasi ille Thomas non dubius, sed quasi certus in scientia divinarum; qui dictus est abyssus propter profunditatem ingenii, vel qui abyssum in Christi latius invitatus ingreditur, et ad scrutanda divinarum secreta tam certa notitia sibi inspirata descripsit in libris, quasi ipsa haberet præ oculis, et quasi ipsa manu contingeret, que intelligentiæ digito indicaret: ut jam non restaret amplius, nisi ut supra intellectum, quantum homini erat possibile, in divinitate ipsum conspiceret, quem supra alios ænigmatice didicisset." (*Holl., Cap. III., n. 16, p. 662.*)

† The influence of morals on faith has not been as earnestly insisted on in these days as it deserves; and this itself is one of the results of the decay of the supernatural in the hearts of men. Where the disease is not fully understood, and where its seriousness is not appreciated,

true faith resides. True reverence, true intellectual humility, together with calm vision, always accompany that obedience which makes man free; that chastity which makes him clean of heart to see without disguise; that poverty which robs him of all things, save one treasure alone, viz., the love and possession of his Sovereign Good. Here it was that the Angelical excelled, viz., in firm belief, in adoring reverence, and in tender love; and then, in giant grasp, in force of logic, and readiness of intuition; in mastery of methods, and in intellectual sway.* In the midst of the mental lawlessness and revelry which encompassed him, he was, just as he had been amongst Albert's scholars at Cologne, as unmoved as he was gentle. The boldness and prying curiosity of the rationalistic spirit had no influence over him. On the contrary, he exerted his influence over it. He perceived, and took possession of, what was good in it; and, leaving the chaff, turned it to the best account. Wherever truth displayed itself, in the midst of those days of unrestraint, he seized upon it, as upon his birthright, and revered it as the gift of God, and exhibited it in its proper colour and form. He used the powers of darkness to bring forth light, and vanquished the enemy with his own weapons, being guided, as he was, by the light of revelation, as it presented itself to the mirror of his mind, which was brightened for its reception by the ceaseless practice of monastic life.† Speaking of the activity of the human reason, and of the works of the Mendicants at this period, Dr. Newman says: "If there ever was a time when the intellect went wild, and had a licentious revel, it was at the date I speak of. When was there ever

there, as a necessary consequence, the remedy is neither much cared for, nor vigorously applied. Let the full light of revelation be brought to bear upon men's consciences, and then they will, whilst looking on truth and all its beauty, see also themselves, and get a glimpse of their own errors and deformity. There is a profounder meaning in the words: "He that believes shall be saved," than many people imagine. Fragmentary faith is followed by fragmentary morals. What is concave on one side, is convex on the other. Where the understanding is darkened, the will is at fault.

* And though S. Thomas was so active a logician, he was still pre-eminently a contemplative. It is a vulgar error to imagine that contemplation leads to inactivity, or to fanaticism. When that sublime practice is regulated by the rules of spiritual science, it leads to great and telling results, even in the material order. Görres says that those saints who were most remarkable for their mystic learning and piety "were far from exhibiting, in their features and expression, the characteristics usually attributed to them. They are popularly considered, and by artists represented, as soft, fainting, and, perhaps, hysterical persons; whereas their portraits present to us countenances of men, or women, of practical, businesslike, working character. . . . Her true portraits all represent her (S. Teresa) with strong, firmly-set, and almost masculine features; with forms and lines that denote vigour, resolution, and strong sense. Her handwriting perfectly suggests the same conclusion." (*Vide Cardinal Wiseman's Preface to Mr. Lewis's excellent translation of The Complete Works of S. John of the Cross.*)

† Father Lallemant, who had had a great experience of the intellectual advantage of "purity of heart," offers matter for deep thought in the following words: "Concupiscence and the passions insensibly extinguish the infused and supernatural lights of the understanding, so that in the end they succeed in stifling them entirely. Hence it is that we see minds of a high order extremely blind nevertheless in spiritual things. A man enjoys strong sight, but it does not therefore follow that he has a strong mind; the two faculties are quite distinct. Such as are led by passion to make a profession of heresy . . . are, at the beginning, heretics only by humor and passion. . . . But in course of time, as passion strengthens, and sins multiply, all that remained of the light of faith is lost, the understanding is darkened, and they become altogether heretics." (See Lallemant's *Spiritual Doctrine, Princip. III., Chap. II., Art. II., & III., p. 104.*) Now, "cleaning the mirror," according to monastic theology is practising purity of heart, and curbing and overcoming concupiscence and the passions. *Beati mundo corde!*

a more curious, more meddling, bolder, keener, more penetrating, more rationalistic exercise of the reason than at that time? What class of questions did that subtle, metaphysical spirit not scrutinize? What premiss was allowed without examination? What principle was not traced to its first origin, and exhibited in its most naked shape? What whole was not analysed? What complex idea was not elaborately traced out, and, as it were, finely painted, for the contemplation of the mind, till it was spread out in all its minutest portions, as perfectly and delicately as a frog's foot shows under the intense scrutiny of the microscope? Well, I repeat, here was something which came somewhat nearer to theology than physical research comes. Aristotle was a somewhat more serious foe, beyond all mistake, than Bacon has been since. Did the Church take a high hand with philosophy then? No; not though it was metaphysical. It was a time when she had temporal power, and could have exterminated the spirit of enquiry with fire and sword; but she determined to put it down by *argument*. She said: 'Two can play at that, and my argument is the better.' She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being S. Thomas, who, in those mediæval universities, fought the battle of revelation with the weapons of heathenism.* It was no matter whose the weapon was: truth was truth all the world over. With the jawbone of an ass, with the skeleton philosophy of pagan Greece, did the Samson of the Schools put to flight his thousand philistines.†

Yes; "it was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being S. Thomas," who had to steer the ship, and keep her steady in a gale of wind, with a chopping sea, and amidst dangerous breakers; who had to combat enemies without, and allay discords which raged within; who had to bring to bear upon the society of that day the force of supernatural principle, and the power of a supernatural life. There was a store of brilliant men and learned scholars, of the secular order, in the Paris schools; but it was not *talent* which was to do the work, but reverence, and

* Bishop Hampden shows very well, in the second Lecture on *Scholastic Philosophy*, how the mediæval doctors formed, of the truths of reason and revelation combined, one grand system for attack or defence. The object was "to erect theology into a perfect science, to enable the Christian, when assailed on points of heresy, or perplexed with questionings as to truths simply proposed to his belief, to give a *reason* of the doctrines of his faith. Assuming that matters of faith might become matters of understanding to those who believed, it attempted to establish, by processes of reasoning from given principles of theology, each doctrine of religion, independently of the sacred authority on which it rests in the Scriptures. Arguments, proposed originally as answers to an opponent . . . were applied as grounds of evidence for the establishment of the truth universally. And thus a vast collection of principles was obtained, from which conclusions in theology might be drawn. At length, theology rose into a regular demonstrative science, built up on axioms of metaphysics, and cohering in all its parts, by the cement of logical connexion." (*Lect. II., p. 77.*)

† *Lectures on University Subjects*, p. 281, 282.

piety, and prayer.* If God must be in the heart truly to love, God must be also in the mind rightly to know. There was plenty of the wisdom of fools; what was wanted was the wisdom of the divinely wise.

It is passing strange that philosophers, men who pride themselves in tracing out the working of cause and effect, should not have perceived the immense influence which the monastic principle exerts upon the intellectual man.† Its action is essentially to maintain man's intellect in its supremacy, and to affect the will. As long as the faculties remain in their right moral order, their operations will be just. But it is evident, from the constant experience of every one, that, to preserve that right order is the one great difficulty of life. The will, the passions, the affections, and the imagination, are all of them strong energizing powers; but they have no regulating quality of their own. They have impetus, but it is blind: they require direction; and, for that, they must be under complete control. "Till the passions and affections are rightly subordinated, the imagination restrained and tamed down to the service of the reason; till the reason is either independent of the will, or directed by it in the right order; till the will is habituated to a normal state of action; till, in a word, the eye of the intellect is quite clear from the films of prejudice and self-regard, it cannot see clear, and, therefore, cannot be a safe guide. But, this is not the work of a day. It requires patient labour, and the acquisition of confirmed moral habits. Such an excellence is not even the property of those who, *on the whole*, preserve themselves from the excess of passion (*εγκρατεις*), though they may partially possess it. In its fulness, it is the exclusive property of him who is altogether free from such aberrations, and is secure in his liberty—the *σωφρον* of Aristotle. He it is, then, who has what the great philosopher calls the 'eye of practical experience.' The film has been removed from his sight—that film which clouds the vision of the many. He is not an inventor or dreamer, but *seer*."‡

The intellect, then, cannot be "a safe guide," until a man has,

* Theology seems almost to be the *test* of pride, conceit, and immorality. How long does a man who dedicates himself to teaching or studying that divine science remain orthodox after he has been possessed, either by the intellectual devil of pride, or the corporeal devil of carnality? Will talent, quickness, logic, keenness in discovering a flaw, readiness in pointing out an error, swiftness of speech and readiness of reply, help him? Does wind and sail help a ship which has sprung a leak, and which is simply filling with water? Do they not rather hasten her to the bottom? Theology is a thing of God. He who deals with God should come with his heart pure and his hands clean. The mediæval doctors knew this. See the Angelical bent in prayer: see him prostrate before the crucifix! Then, see him so modestly triumphing in the schools! Yet, it was rather love than talent that was victorious.

† Fichte has said many a foolish and unmeaning thing, but nothing could be more profound than this:—"Unser Denksystem ist oft nur die Geschichte unseres Herzens." (*Die Bestimmung des Menschen, Sämmtliche Werke, B. II., p. 253.*)

‡ See a remarkable treatise *On Moral*, by F. Harper, in *The Month*, Vol. XIII., No. LXXVII. New Series, No. XI., Nov. 1870.

through "patient labour," acquired "confirmed moral habits;" that is, until the mind be made clean and bright, and is kept so, it will not be able, securely, to see things as they are located in the world of reality, and to form true judgments as to their relative worth and position. And to do this perfectly, it is not enough for a man to be free from the excesses of passion, "on the whole," but he must be altogether free from them. All this is intelligible; and, by its own reasonableness, is conformable to the sound and practical judgment of the mind. It is not so much a question of religion, as of cause and effect—of the influence of passion on passion, and of the relative import of the various faculties of the human soul.* What is taught, on this point, in the Catholic schools, is confirmed by the authority of Aristotle and the pagans, and by all philosophers, whatever their religious bias, who have written upon morals and psychology.

Now, it is not for a moment doubted that many intelligent men do, very seriously, exercise themselves in such a way as to form habits of mind conducive to the acquisition of truth.† The heathens themselves have done this. "Good men," even amongst those who did not believe in God at all, from the fact of their "goodness," were thought capable of exerting an influence, and eliciting actions, which others, less virtuous than themselves, were unable to emulate, even at a distance. All this, far from weakening what is going to be said, tends to increase its force. For, if individuals, through their own unaided exertions, have so trained themselves as to rise head and shoulders above their fellows, how much more effectual would not be the action of a *system*, constructed by the wisest, and holiest, and keenest men, for achieving the same result?—a system, too, which not merely has been formed by wisdom and prudence, but which has also been tested by experience, and brought into perfection, by the action of time, and the force of circumstances, and the practical bearing of events—a system which essentially aims at directing man's mind to the highest goodness and perfection; which cuts off from him a thousand disturbing influences; which deprives

* De Bonald, in the *Preface* to his *Démonstration Philosophique*, brings out with great force the influence of passion upon the reason. He says:—"On demandera peut-être pourquoi il y a tant d'incrédulés et d'ennemis de la religion, si elle est prouvée à la fois par la raison et par l'autorité. La réponse est facile: Il y a longtemps qu'on a dit que, s'il résultait quelque obligation morale de la proposition géométrique, que les trois angles d'un triangle sont égaux à deux angles droits, cette proposition serait combattue et sa certitude mise en problème."

† S. Augustine clearly saw the intimate connection between sin and intellectual error. "Unde falsitas oritur," he says, "non rebus ipsis fallentibus, quæ nihil aliud ostendunt sentienti quam speciem suam, quam pro suæ pulchritudinis acceperunt gradu; neque ipsis sensibus fallentibus, qui pro natura sui corporis affecti, non aliud quam suas affectiones presidenti animo nuntiavit: sed peccata animas fallunt, cum verum quærunt, relictæ et neglectæ veritate. Nam quoniam opera magis quam artificem atque ipsam artem dilexerunt, hoc errore puniuntur, ut in operibus artificem artemque conquirant; et cum invenire nequiverint (Deus enim non corporalibus sensibus subjacet, sed ipsi menti supremæ), ipsa opera existimant esse et artem et artificem." (*De Vera Religione*, Cap. XXXVI., n. 67, p. 152. *Patrologus Lat.*, Tom. XXXIV. Migne.)

him, by a solemn, irrevocable vow, of all present and future power of possessing the distracting goods of this life; which crushes passion, by trampling upon the flesh with an uncompromising severity; and which frees him, as much as possible, even from himself, through the action of that obligatory obedience which he promises, from the purest of motives, to a man whom he looks upon as God's representative in his regard.* His one interest now becomes to look upon, and love the Source of all Light, and the Fount of all Moral Perfection. He takes his position as a creature, and the Creator is acknowledged to be God, not simply in *theory*, but with the most intimate persuasion of the entire being, and with the intensest worship of the heart. Those things which grow upon other men, and sometimes master, and occasionally enslave them, upon him exert no abnormal action.† He knows their value. His imagination does not bear him away into the dangerous realm of unreality; time receives its colour from eternity; the creature is seen in the light of an eternal future; human interests do not rise above their intrinsic worth; all things are located and adjusted by a wisdom which springs from a Divine illumination, shedding its light upon an intellect spotless as a mirror, and prepared by a process of constant brightening and cleansing for performing its allotted task. And not merely does the mind perceive and weigh natural things in the scales of unbiassed judgment, but it also can apprehend more clearly its own proper object—moral and intellectual truth.‡ It sees, as others cannot see, the abstract world of thought, and possesses a spirituality, an angelic quickness of perception, a spontaneity of intuition, and an accuracy and breadth of mind, which is an earnest of the soul's perfection, when it shall rejoice in a closer

* For a most interesting and profound treatment of the influence of the moral state of man upon his intellectual action, and of goodness upon truth, see Hettinger's *Apologie des Christenthums*, Erster Band, Der Beweis des Christenthums, Erste Abtheilung, Erster Vortrag, Der Religiöse Zweifel, p. 1-48.

† "Desire and sensual satisfactions hinder the knowledge of high things, as it is written: 'The bewitching of vanity obscureth good things, and the wandering of concupiscence overturneth the innocent mind.' Those persons, therefore, who are not so spiritually advanced as to be perfectly purified from their desires and inclinations, but are still somewhat sensual, believe and account those things to be important which are, in truth, of no account in spirituality, being intimately connected with sense; they make no account [of] and despise those things which are highly spiritual, further removed from sense. yea, sometimes they look upon them as folly, as it is written. 'The sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God: for it is foolishness to him, and he cannot understand.'" (See Lewis's *Complete Works of S. John of the Cross*, Vol. II., p. 291.) All writers on spiritual life insist on the necessity of repressing passion and mere feeling, that the higher powers may have fair play.

‡ Let the reader study the Sixth Book of Plato's *Republic*, and he will find that those qualities, which, in that philosopher's opinion, go to form the true philosophic disposition, are just those which are developed by the monastic system. "Those who are able to apprehend the eternal and immutable, are philosophers; while those who are incapable of this, and who wander in the region of change and multiformity, are not philosophers. . . . Do you think that there is a particle of difference between the condition of blind persons, and the state of those who are absolutely destitute of the knowledge of things as they really are, and who possess in their soul no distinct exemplar, and cannot, like painters, fix their eyes on perfect truth as a perpetual standard of reference, to be contemplated with the minutest care, before they proceed to deal with earthly canons about things beautiful and just, and good—laying them down where they are required; and where they already exist, watching over their preservation?" (Davies and Vaughan, *The Republic*, Book VI., n. 484, 485.)

and more intimate union with its Supreme Reward. What is brought about in the moral order by contemplation, is, in its measure, realized also in the intellectual. The doctor-saints of the Church possessed a kind of vision. The Angelical, we are told, till we are almost tired, learnt his theology by "prayer," through "divine illumination," "at the foot of the crucifix," "from the mouth of Christ." His biographers never weary of repeating this, and in saying it, they are simply recording the perfection of S. Thomas in the religious state. They show the effects of a *system*, constructed in order to lead men to love and to embrace truth. They manifest its workings in the scientific and intellectual, as well as in the moral order; and they seem to say to the "learned" of the present day: "If you would be truly scientific men—men of rare intelligence, do not under-value the methods of the saints, and the systems constructed by the Church for insuring to man true activity, liberty, and stability—true expansion, spontaneity, and freedom in the search of truth."* There never was a profounder utterance than the words of Göthe:—

"Wie Einer ist, so ist sein Gott,
Darum ward Gott so oft zu Spott."†

And whilst this is said, no one for a moment denies that what in itself is good may be misused. *Corruptio optimi pessima* is as trite as it is true. If monks have been saints, monks have also been sinners. The angels, the prophets, the apostles, the deacons—every order has had its tokens of weakness and infirmity. Monks, before now, have become apostates, and have turned atheists and infidels. But was it their monasticism that made them prevaricators? Was it not, rather, one of two: either the demon of pride, or the demon of carnality, which they did not resist in time, and which finally enchained them, and then dragged them from their high estate into the abyss? If history—both the history of the world, and the history of man's nature—may be believed, pride and sensuality form the soil from which springs that bitter and half-devilish hatred with which men regard those amongst their fellows who have sacrificed all that nature loves, for

* Does not the following character of the Angelical, given by Tocco, speak of the training of religious life, and is it not most beautiful, and most winning!—"Erat enim predictus Doctor in sui reputatione humillimus, corpore et mente purissimus, oratione devotus, consilio providus, conversatione placidus, caritate diffusus, intellectu lucidus, ingenio acutus, iudicio certus, memoria retentivus, a sensibus quasi quotidie elevatus, et omnium quasi contemptivus temporalium, ut omnium virtutum unus homo haberet habitus, ex quibus sibi ad meritum et aliis in exemplum similes producerentur effectus Unde cum potuisset Doctor mirabilis ex illa sublimi speculatione a divinis ad humana descendere, sic erat in conversatione tractabilis et in locutione suavis, ut vere ostenderet a Christi forma se exemplariter procedere, cuius vitam meruit et contemplando cognoscere et predicando docere quia non potuisset a Deo tantum habere scientiam, nisi vivendo prius didicisset ejus humilitate doctrinam." (*Bolt.*, Cap. V., n. 24, 25, p. 666.)

† *Zahme Xenien*, IV.

high and noble motives. The very sight of a priest, to a man given over to leading a mere gross, natural life—to a man who indulges his passions, and places his heaven in making the best of earth, is unspeakably distasteful. He does not take the pains—indeed, most likely, he does not know how—to analyze the uncomfortable feeling that possesses his mind. But, if he did try and get to the bottom of it, he would, most probably, discover that it proceeded from the alternative latently suggesting itself, that either he himself must be a mere animal, or the priest must be an imposter and a hypocrite. The mixture, or confusion, which would be created in his intelligence by the conflict of these two ideas, would naturally result in an excessively painful feeling, and in his turning, mentally, at least, upon the priest, as the occasion of his suffering.* Then, the nicety of the balance between his willingness to condemn his neighbour of hypocrisy, and his secret misgivings as to whether or not he himself were living a low and sensual life, would add to his discomfort. For the fact seems to be that, though men are not in the habit of making known their consciences to each other, it seldom happens that a man is able, in his inmost heart, to persuade himself that he is innocent when he is guilty; and that one who is really living a purer, holier, and more devout life than himself, is, in reality, beneath him in the moral scale. In the conscience, more truths are spoken than men care to tell; and what is more unpalatable to a bad man than the rebuke administered to him by his moral sense, in reality through the influence of one who lives a life, and displays a set of principles, which are the direct condemnation of his own?

There was a day when, in this our own country, the high principles of monastic life were held in veneration, and when the noblest and the most pure-minded in the land looked upon the poverty and obedience of Christ, manifested in His servants, with tenderness and unfeigned regard.† But the day came when the

* "Utque deam vidit, formaque armisque decoram,
Ingemnit, vultumque ima ad suspiria duxit.
Pallor in ore sedet: macies in corpore toto:
Nusquam recta acies: livent rubigine dentes:
Pectora felle virent: lingua est suffusa veneno.
Risus abest: nisi quem visi movere dolores.
Nec fruitur somno, vigilacibus exalta curis:
Sed videt ingratos, intabescitque videndo,
Successus hominum: carpitque et carpitur una:
Suppliciumque sumo est."

(Ovid, *Met.*, Lib. II., n. 774. Ed. Delphin.)

† See what, in justice, a Protestant is forced to say of a man who, from childhood, loved the monastery best, and was a pattern of the action of monastic life:—"S. Anselm," says Mr. Church, was "a great teacher, a great thinker, a great kindler of thought in others, he was also an example of gallant and unselfish public service, rendered without a thought of his own convenience or honour, to fulfil what seemed a plain duty, in itself very distasteful, and not difficult to evade, if he had wished to evade it. Penetrated, too, as he was by the unflinching austerity of that hard and stern time, he was remembered among men, less as the great sage who had opened new paths to thought, or as the great archbishop who had not been afraid of the face of kings, or as the severe restorer of an uncompromising and high-aiming discipline,

sins of some, and the imperfections of individuals, were made use of as pretexts, by carnal men, for bringing to ruin the whole system of the saints spread throughout the land. The same odium and detestation which William of S. Amour endeavoured to create against monasticism in the Paris schools, was implanted in the breasts of the many, by the envy, rapacity, and spitefulness of the wicked, and the sensuality of the worldly in England. For, not only those who were scandals to religion were spurned, but those also who manifested in their lives the highest perfection of the Cross, were treated with indifference; and the cardinal principles of the perfect love of God—of genuine sacrifice, being first misinterpreted and then misunderstood, have finally been scouted with scorn, or treated with serene and unctuous contempt.* It was an awful change that came over the moral life of England, a terrible eclipse, when the models of perfect heroism were taken down, and hacked to pieces, and buried out of sight, or scattered to the winds; an awful day, when the exponents of the life of Christ Crucified were nailed, like their Master, to the tree, or hung on a gibbet for derision. What would become of England's military prowess, or of the loyalty of her people, if, in detestation of the strategy of war, or if, in abhorrence of her kingly rule, the statutes of her greatest generals were smashed to bits, on the one hand; or the emblems of the Queen, her arms and crown, were broken to atoms, on the other? To declare, as a palliation, that war leads to bloodshed, and sovereignty leads to despotism, would not be received as any justification by thinking men.† To destroy the rarest specimens of brightest virtue, and then to turn round, and declare, as an excuse, that virtue sometimes degenerates into vice, would be to add the foulest hypocrisy to the most brutal form of unmitigated wickedness.

than as the loving and sympathizing Christian brother, full of sweetness, full of affection, full of goodness, full of allowance and patience for others, whom men of all conditions liked to converse with, and whom neither high nor low ever felt cold in his friendship, or unnatural or forced in his condescension." (*Life of S. Anselm, Chap. I., p. 7.*)

* Plato tells us the fate of the "just man" at the hands of those "who commend injustice above justice. They say that in such a situation the just man will be scourged, racked, fettered, will have his eyes burnt out, and at last, after suffering every kind of torture, will be crucified; and thus learn that it is best to resolve not to be, but to seem, just. Indeed, those words of Æschylus [a man of true simplicity and nobleness, resolved not to seem, but to be, good] are far more applicable to the unjust man than to the just. For it is, in fact, the unjust man, they will maintain, inasmuch as he devotes himself to a course which is allied to reality, and does not live with an eye to appearances, who 'is resolved not to seem, but to be, unjust.'" (Davies and Vaughan, *The Republic, Book II., p. 44, n. 362.*)

† Plato, in constructing his Republic, places greatest stress upon the influence, not merely of standards but on "fables" taught to children. Does not the following, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to our day?—"Then you are aware that, in every work, the beginning is the most important part, especially in dealing with anything young and tender! for that is the time when any impression, which one may desire to communicate, is most readily stamped and taken. Precisely so. Shall we then permit our children, without scruple, to hear any fables, composed by any authors, indifferently; and so to receive into their minds opinions generally the reverse of those which, when they are grown to manhood, we shall think they ought to entertain? No, we shall not permit it on any account. Then, apparently, our first duty will be to exercise a superintendence over the authors of fables—selecting their good productions, and rejecting the bad. And the selected fables we shall advise our nurses and mothers to repeat to their children, that they may thus mould their minds with the fables, even more than they shape their bodies with their hands. But we shall have to repudiate the greater part of those which are now in vogue." (Davies and Vaughan, *The Republic, Book II., n. 377, p. 65.*)

It is to be hoped that we are coming to a day when our countrymen will think better of the past. England is less isolated than she was. The pestilence of the Reformation is gradually giving way to larger views, and higher aims and aspirations.* If, on the one hand, naturalism and infidelity are absorbing a large portion of the population, it cannot be denied, that, upon the other, there is a growing class, which is being drawn to see through the mist that surrounds them, and to follow the higher dictates of their hearts. It is something when such pagans as Seneca, and Epicuretus, and Marcus Aurelius, are appreciated, for their superior gifts, and for their natural virtue. It is encouraging when men begin to put what is best in paganism on a pedestal, and to point out pagan heroes as patterns upon which Christian men should endeavour to mould their lives. It is a hopeful sign when a Christian clergyman tells Christian people that they are far below the standard of the infidel.† It is encouraging, and it is hopeful, because, when the depth of their degradation is pointed out to Englishmen, and that by one who is a Christian minister, and who, with an inimitable simplicity, is wholly unconscious of the shame he is thereby bringing upon England's Christianity—there is some chance of the thoughtful perceiving the condition to which the religion of their country has been reduced. Not that anyone would blame a man, because he indicated the good that is in any creature, however far from the Christian standard, provided that he insisted, at the same time, on the immense difference between the Christian and the pagan ideal. The heroism, the courage, the truth, and the simplicity of life of the worshipper of stocks and stones, can be used as a spur to urge on Christians to a fuller performance of their duty;—doubtless.‡ But, what is

* That selfishness which naturally results from having abandoned the great Christian ideals, and the practice of heroism in religion, as is easily explained, has made its way into the arts. Speaking of Architecture, for instance, Mr. Ruskin says: "There is not a building that I know of, lately raised, wherein it is not sufficiently evident that neither architect nor builder has done his best. It is the especial characteristic of modern work. All old work nearly has been hard work. It may be the hard work of children, of barbarians, of rustics; but it is always their utmost. Ours has constantly the look of money's worth, of a stopping short wherever and whenever we can, of a lazy compliance with low conditions; never of a fair putting forth of our strength . . . let us confess our poverty or our parsimony. It is not even a question of how much we are to do, but of how it is to be done; it is not a question of doing more, but of doing better. Do not let us boss our roofs with wretched, half-worked, blunt-edged rosettes; do not let us flank our gates with rigid imitations of mediæval statuary. Such things are mere insults to common sense, and only unfit us for feeling the nobility of their prototypes." (See *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, by John Ruskin, A.M., Chap. I., p. 19, 20.)

† "And yet with all our knowledge and enlightenment, we fall far short of some of them [the Pagans]; we are less stern with our faults, less watchful, less self-denying, less tender to one another. . . . We ought to have attained to far loftier moral altitudes than they, but we have not. . . . Some of these heathens showed themselves to be nobler, loftier, holier, freer from vanity, freer from meanness, freer from special pleading, freer from falsehood, more spiritual, more reasonable—on some points, even more enlightened, than many among ourselves. . . . Perhaps the contemplation of virtue, and zeal, and integrity, and consistency, even in heathen lives, may produce, at least, some infinitesimal effect in arousing some of us to a desire for 'something more high and heroic in religion than the present age affecteth.' " (See *Seekers after God*, by the Rev. F. W. Farrar, M.A., F.R.S. Preface, p. X.)

‡ Professor M. Ott, of Rottwill, has shown the real position of Seneca and the pagans in their relation to Christianity in a very remarkable paper in the *Theologische Quartalsschrift* (Drittes Quartalheft Tübingen, 1870) headed: "Die Humanitätslehren heidnischer Philosophie um die Zeit Christi." After showing what Seneca and others did, Professor Ott says: "Durch solche

dangerous and confusing in the extreme is, when a teacher of morality manifestly is either ignorant of, or ignores, the distinct line that should be drawn between pagan and Christian virtue, and the motive which should give soul and life to human action since the Incarnation; when *teachers* see little difference between the courage of Epictetus, and that of S. Francis; between the truthfulness of Seneca, and that of S. Dominic; between the uprightness of Marcus Aurelius, and that of S. Bernard or S. Norbert—when, in a word, Christianity and heathenism are coupled together in the moral order, the “saints” of the one standing side by side with the Saints of the other, it is time to look forward to the general break-up of everything like the reality of a Christ-like life. Where the supernatural is ignored, or denied, that which issues from the supernatural, will, of a certainty, be misunderstood.* Saints that spring out of the earth, and do not grow from heaven, will be like the earth, earthly; and hence men see little incongruity in placing the Christian ideals on a line with the heroes of philosophy. Those who have not the gift to see, farther than the natural eye will carry them, into the lives of the saints of God—whose history is an enigma, without a recognition of the action of grace in the supernatural order—will very possibly perceive in them, not only much which is unintelligible, but something, also, which will shock. They can grasp the pagan conception with much greater readiness. The stoic’s virtues are comprehensible enough. He is no foreigner, speaking a strange language, practising strange customs, and holding views which are extravagant, and wanting in hard, common, worldly sense. Still, it may be opined that some men in the Anglican Church look further, and see somewhat beyond the bare flesh-and-blood materialism of mere natural religion; and that they are becoming daily more sensible to the incongruity of speaking in the same breath of Socrates and S. Anselm, of Seneca and S. Thomas, of Epictetus and S. Paul, and of Aurelius and S. Polycarp, or S. Justin Martyr. They will by degrees, it is to be hoped, look higher than paganism for their model men. They will no longer

und ähnliche Bewegungen auf dem geistigen Gebiet um die Zeit Christi hat sich der Boden gelockert, der den Samen des Evangeliums aufzunehmen sollte, hat die Vorsehung mitten unter den Dornestrüppen des Heidenthums Saatkfelder für das Christenthum bestellt und hergerichtet. Denn solasterhaft im Grossen die alte Welt geworden war, war es doch nicht lauter Sumpf und Moder der Verworfenheit, dem die Christusreligion gleichsam eingepflanzt, werden sollte.” (p. 400.)

* Any thinking man who traces the fall of individuals and of nations, will discover the genesis of their gradual decay to arise, first, from some weakness; then, from a habit formed in consequence of indulging in that weakness. After the habit has become a second nature by repetition, moral and intellectual blindness is the inevitable consequence—that is, the conscience becomes seared, and the mind ceases to apprehend the deordination which has been produced. Indeed, at length it begins to maintain that the new nature which has been created is a good one; false maxims are formed, falling in with the dictates of this corrupted state of being, and evil takes the place of good, paganism takes the place of Christianity, self-indulgence of restraint, the natural man supplants the supernatural, and the monastic principle makes way for moderated sensuality, and respectable self-indulgence.

be content with mere natural virtue. They will yearn after *Christian* heroism, and long to fix their eyes upon a Divine original, and never be content till they have before them the highest pattern of all human and Divine perfection, of natural and supernatural virtue—and that displayed in its sublimest form—in the Image of Christ crucified, and of those noble saints who, out of sheer love for Him, have been crucified together with Him.*

And what is the out-come of this love and reverence for Christ? It is this: that he who admires the original, admires the copy also, and admires it in proportion, as it is true to the original. He who loves and reverences Christ, and bears a personal love for Him, will love those nearest to Him and dearest, and most resembling Him. He will see in the monastic system, not a harsh, minute, meaningless, and enslaving complication of rules and observances—a mere military system of police; but a large and loving method of truly Christianizing the heart and mind of man. † He will detect, in the essential elements of religious life, in the practice of chastity, obedience and poverty, under vow, that quality which beams forth, with radiant light, in every action, and in every word of the Saviour of the world; and he will be able to imagine, with all his thought, no method of multiplying the Life and character of our Lord upon the earth, more effective or successful than that which is based upon Evangelical perfection. He who loves Christ and thinks Him great and noble, though he may not hold Him to be Divine, cannot, without committing a flagrant breach of logic and consistency, reject the beauty of the monastic life, which turns out monastic men; for no man, unless he be a hypocrite or an idiot, can detest in the copy what he admires in the original.

If Englishmen would measure monastic and religious life by the rule of the Cross, they would possess the key to many an enigma. If they would judge an organism by the spirit which

* How profoundly Hettinger speaks of the difference between Christ our model, and the wise men of the heathen: "Auch die antike Welt," he says, "hatte Ideale eines Weisen; aber es waren auch nur Ideale, nie sind sie Leben und Wirklichkeit geworden. Und selbst in Jenen, welche die Weisheit lehrten, wie gross ist der Abstand zwischen Wort und That, Lehre und Leben! blieb doch selbst der Beste unter den Besseren der Vorzeit seiner Lehre nicht getreu da er in der Stunde vor seinem Tode dem Aberglauben seines Volkes huldigte. Nicht so Christus. Wie er lehrte, so lebte er wie er lebte, so starb er. Es ist diess ein Einklang von Wort und That, von Lehre und Leben, wie er nur einmal in der Weltgeschichte, einzig in ihm erschienen ist. Es ist die Idee und Wirklichkeit zugleich wie es seine Lebensbeschreiber in dem kurzen Wort zusammengefasst haben: es fing Jesus an zu thun und zu lehren." (See *Der Beweis des Christenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Achtzehnter Vortrag*, p. 800, 801.)

† Though Mr. Church writes gracefully, in his *Life of S. Anselm*, it cannot be expected that he should be able to fathom the depth of the monastic principle. How different a view from Dr. Newman's *Summa Quies*, and comparatively how shallow is the following: "The governing thought of monastic life was that it was a warfare, a *millitia*, and a monastery was a camp or barrack: there was continual drill and exercise, early hours, fixed times, appointed tasks, hard fare, stern punishment; watchfulness was to be incessant, obedience prompt and absolute; no man was to have a will of his own, no man was to murmur; . . . training as rigorous . . . as in a regiment or ship's crew which is to do good service." (See *Life of S. Anselm*, Chap. III., p. 43, 44.) Like most outsiders, Mr. Church sees the regular and ordered movement of the visible body, but he has not grasped the true character of the soul. "The governing thought of monastic life" is rather *peace*, than war.

inhabits it, and not ignorantly condemn, from outside, what they cannot straightway understand, they would speedily begin to perceive how mighty a power of order, stability, and reverence, monasticism might be, amidst the turmoil and uncertainty of this anarchical world.* For what are the three crying evils of the present age? The first, is it not a brutalizing immorality amongst the people, and a refined lewdness amongst the rich? Is not the second an overweening regard for material prosperity? and the third, a license and liberty of will without control? And, to add a fourth, is there not an instability of mind, and an infidelity of heart, which, like some terrible disease, is eating into the vitals of all genuine belief? Now, what is the principle of monasticism but the very reverse and corrective of all this?† What is it but preaching on the house-top—preaching, in the practice of a life, the law of purity, spiritual-mindedness and subordination? What is it but a grand manifestation of stability and truthful faith, which, if men would not imitate, they would be constrained, at all events to admire? What would monasticism in England be at this hour, but a display of the principles of social as well as of spiritual salvation—but a continual reminder, bringing before men's consciousness and imagination the fact that the supernatural virtues of religion have not died out; and that, if future and inevitable disorder and ruin are to be prevented, it will alone be done by introducing those principles of stability, of subordination, and of self-restraint, which form the basis of the monastic life?‡

* This is one of the miseries encouraged by so much printing and desultory reading. Men who write, have no time to think. Those who read, do not study—but they *skim*. Few go below the surface: fewer still, meditate. Thus, prejudice, old associations, thoughts and views that have been made to order, are upheld, as fresh and new as if they possessed the immortality of truth itself! Men are content with their stock-in-trade, and look upon views different from their own as the fashion of the foreigner; or, if they happen to be the principles and persuasions of their forefathers, as antiquated or exploded judgments or opinions, which might have passed muster in their day, but which no more become the present age than would the costumes which were worn by those who maintained them. . . . Let men only meditate; let those who write, think; let those who read, study; and the value of reverence, purity, love, and adoration in a social, nay, and even in a political point of view, will be recognized in course of time—men will admire, and not spurn the monk.

† Tosti shows the intimate connection of monasticism with Christ and the Church:—"L'ideale Cristiano," he says, "percorrea tutte le forme della primitiva Chiesa, dico il vivere in comune, l'affrontare le morte, l'innocenza dei costumi, e in nessuna di queste posava come in parola suprema di se stesso. Solo nelle Vergini e nei Padri del deserto posava, come in suprema forma, cioè il determinava e l'esprimeva perfettamente. Pel celibato e pel monachismo sappiamo che la Chiesa non solo conosce, ma sente il Cristo. Per la qual cosa, quelle non sono istituzioni, ma naturali manifestazioni di un morale individuo, quale, è la Chiesa che svolge pel sentimento la coscienza del Cristo. Chi vuol sapere della origine del celibato e del monachismo cattolico, non deve andare a interrogare scritture e tradizioni, perché perderebbe il tempo e la speranza di vincere i contraddittori di quei due fatti: ma egli deve assergere alla economia psicologica della Chiesa, e troverà come il celibato ed il monacato non sia legge bandita da alcun uomo, ma sia un fatto che obbedisce alle leggi generali dell' umano sentimento." (*Prolegomeni alla Storia Universale della Chiesa, Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 290, 291.*)

* The three great virtues of poverty, chastity, and obedience, have before now been called by English critics the "dead virtues." It is the tendency of flippant and smart writers to make sharp hits at what can much easier be ridiculed, than fully understood. Flippancy and smartness would have no play, if serious matters had to be treated in a serious manner. The evil which arises from such superficialness cannot easily be exaggerated. The very foundations of society at length begin to be tampered with; frivolity becomes the order of the day, and men by degrees become unable to appreciate the relative value of principles and of things. When a man does not see the difference between trifling with a crest or tile, and trifling with a foundation-stone—if he be a trifle—the house which he amuses himself with will not stand long.

If men will see the power of these principles, let them study them as illustrated by the Angel of the Schools. Let them see what his life did. Clever infidels cannot jeer at him, for they know that he was cleverer than they; heresy itself treats him with marked respect; the Eastern and the Jew pay him exceptional honor. Whilst the prince of dialecticians, he is the gentlest and tenderest of companions; whilst his breadth and largeness of mind are of the proportions of a giant, he is precise and minute in the observance of his rule; whilst filled with the spirit of the widest and freest charity, he is uncompromising in his maintenance of truth, and fearless in his condemnation of error; whilst possessing all the stability and balance—the habit of silence and solitude of the Benedictine, he manifests all the highest gifts of the active and chivalrous S. Dominic. And, no doubt, this perfection of character in him was based upon a happy disposition and rare natural gifts; but these were perfected by the practices of religion, and they were developed and brought to perfection under the influence of the holy vows.

Nor is the case of the Angelical an isolated one. He did not become what he was in spite of the influence of the system into which he threw himself, but through its workings upon his heart and mind.* The animating centre-principle, or soul of monastic life, when once it masters a man or woman in its fullness, of a necessity lifts up the mind, enlarges the heart, and ennobles the entire being. When men tell us that the scope of religious life is to fight—to become soldiers of Christ; or that it is peace or rest—that men may, undisturbed by creatures, contemplate the Creator, they do not express the vital idea of the monastic state.† It is war, yes—to repel the onslaught of the enemy of Him we love; it is peace and rest, yes—to live and bask in His beautiful light, and to breathe securely under His immediate Eye: but it is more than this, it is not simply resting and fighting: it is something that nerves the arm to combat, and soothe the heart into repose. In a word, it is the principle of *heroic love*, thrown into system by the saints;—*love*, for it is the abandonment of the entire being—the venturing all for Him, with the hope of serving

* For a beautiful account of the monastic virtues of the Angelical, see besides Tocco and Tourou, Frigerio's *Vita di S. Tomaso D'Aquino, Libro Secondo, Delle Virtù*, Cap. I., p. 65; Cap. X., p. 119.

† There is little doubt that in proportion as the power of the Catholic faith decreases in a nation, in that same proportion the personal love of Christ as Man-God, with body and soul, with features and expression, and human heart and feelings, as well as with Divinity, dies out in the consciences of the men who compose it, and an *abstraction* is consequently set up in the place of the real living Christ. For if it be not Christ, as He is in reality, that men love: it must be something which is not Christ, or at best, an abstraction, which can save no soul, and pour grace into no heart. Honest men fall back upon duty, honour, self-respect, the feeling of a gentleman, personal dignity, and the like—in a word, they fall back upon *self*; and when once a man or a nation habitually makes that blunder, the consequence is inevitable, viz., private judgment; then, anarchy in religious thought; next, rationalism and indifference; and finally, general, moral, and intellectual corruption.

Him with more devotedness, and of offering Him the heart, with a larger, a more sovereign, and exclusive charity;—*heroic*, because self, with life and death, and all the world can offer, or passion or affection hold out, is trodden upon, and spurned, through the mighty energy of the soul which has one, swift, direct, unswerving aim—that of being His, and His only; and working for Him, and for Him alone. When the spirit is once thus affected, then, it may bravely fight, or gently rest, according as the voice of duty to the Supreme Love of the monk's heart speaks to his conscience. It was this high holocaustic love which made men saints. It was this devotion that made S. Anthony, S. Pachomius, S. Basil, S. Benedict, S. Francis, S. Dominic, and the other great founders of Religious Orders, lights to the world in days of darkness and storm. Man may do much; natural virtue is beautiful; courage, simplicity, truth, and, sometimes, even purity, can spring from innate uprightness of character; but it is love alone that can do great things, resist violent temptations, persevere in arduous ways, and—with elasticity of step, and abandonment of devotedness—run the way of God's commandments, through all the chequered vicissitudes of human life.* The heroism of the Cross is not a work which is carried out by fits and starts; it is not the bare performance of one high act of sacrifice, which requires some great effort, and then is over; but it is the long strain of a life's service; a systematic progression, and steady advance out of the darkness of self, and the mists of the creature, into the fair open—into the broad expanses and clear distances where rests the Spiritual City of the supernatural world. Yes, and in the advance, as creature-ties fall away, and the soul feels itself more and more free, then the pure air of a heavenly atmosphere fills the lungs, and invigorates the whole frame, imparting to the creature of clay the power of heaven, and fashioning selfish, cowardly, blinded man into a model of heroism, of purity, and of Christian courage.

If Englishmen could only see with their eyes and hear with their ears—fix their eyes on true nobility of soul, and listen to the accents of the saints—the democratic wave, which is threatening

* What is monastic life, after all, but carrying out, in its fullest meaning and widest scope, the principle of "*Frui et Uti*" of S. Augustine, which was so often insisted on by the Scholastics, and by the Lombard in particular?—"Frui enim est amore alicui rei inhaerere propter seipsam. Uti autem, quod in usum venerit ad id quod amas obtinendum referre, si tamen amandum est. Nam usus illicitus, abusus potius vel abusus nominandus est. Quomodo ergo, si essemus peregrini, qui beate vivere nisi in patria non possemus, eaque peregrinatione utique miseri et miseriam finire cupientes, in patriam redire vellemus, opus esset vel terrestribus vel marinis vehiculis quibus utendum esset ut ad patriam, qua fruendum erat, pervenire valeremus . . . in huius mortalitatis vita peregrinantes a Domino (2 Cor., V., 6.) si redire in patriam volumus, ubi beati esse possumus, utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum; ut invidibilia Dei, per ea que facta sunt, intellecta conspiciantur (Rom. I., 20.), hoc est, ut de corporalibus temporalibusque rebus aterna et spiritualia capiamus." (*De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. I. Cap. IV., p. 20, 21. Patrol. Lat., Tom. XXXIV. Migne.*)

to level down everything in England, might be broken in its force; and that scourge, which only those who are deluded by a false security do not perceive, might be, in part at least, averted. Nations cannot last long in stability without religion. Nations with a sham religion, or an imperfect dogmatic teaching, will be hypocritical in morals, or faulty in their rule of life; and nations which are founded in insincerity, and act on an untruth, will, with that certainty with which a cause produces its effect, in due course of time, break up, fall to pieces, and cease to possess an organic form. A nation which habitually breaks the law of God will soon lose all respect for the laws of men.

But enough has now been said on the principles of monastic life—that is, of the highest and noblest dictates of Christianity—to convince the reader that the Angelical, in confronting, as he did, rationalism and irreverence, was engaged, not in a work of second-rate importance, but in a warfare upon which political as well as religious life depended. The stronghold of religion was being attacked. He repelled the onslaught, and established the citadel of Christian heroism and perfection on a firmer and wider basis than before.

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THE LIFE AND LABORS

OF

S. THOMAS OF AQUIN.

THE LIFE AND LABORS

OF
J. THOMAS OF ARLIN

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. II, OF THE ENGLISH EDITION.

THIS volume completes the sketch of S. Thomas, determines his position in the Schools as a Theologian, contrasts him with the classical Fathers of the Ancient Church, and opens out the sources, describes the character, and indicates the practical scope of his crowning work, the "*Summa Theologica*."

The "*Summa Theologica*" is a mighty synthesis, thrown into technical and scientific form, of the Catholic traditions of East and West, of the infallible *dicta* of the Sacred Page, and of the most enlightened conclusions of human reason, gathered from the soaring intuitions of the Academy, and the rigid severity of the Lyceum.

Its author was a man endowed with the characteristic notes of the three great Fathers of Greek Philosophy: he possessed the intellectual honesty and precision of Socrates, the analytical keenness of Aristotle, and that yearning after wisdom and light which was the distinguishing mark of "Plato the divine," and which has ever been one of the essential conditions of the highest intuitions of religion. He had more than this: the mere natural talent of the greatest of mankind would be inadequate to the construction of such a master-piece as the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas. The Stagyrte himself, with his piercing intellect, who is so matchless while dealing with secular philosophy, when he attempts to soar up to the Divinity, staggers, as if struck by the Hand of God, or proves himself little better than a clumsy charlatan. Something beyond natural keenness and cultivated sagacity is required in one who would deal successfully with the supernatural world of grace and glory. Before rising into this finer atmosphere, the soul must be steeped in supernatural light, and comforted by an element more potent far than the strongest flame of the active intellect: in fact, an angelic man, leading a stainless life, almost as if he had never suffered taint in nature, alone would be capable of receiving into his spirit, and of drawing out before the world, the vast and complicated scheme of the divine economy, and the typical figure of what a man should be. Compare the *Ethics* of the Stagyrte with the "*Summa Theologica*," and the *Timæus* of Plato with our Saint's theory of religious life, and the contrast will act with the force of demonstration.

The Angelical, besides possessing the endowments of the three Greek masters, was lifted into a finer and purer atmosphere than they. Whilst they lay amongst the idolaters in the camp, he went through the cloud up the mountain of Revelation, and conversed with the mighty men of God; and there, on that elevated platform, away from the mist of earth and the din of life, he garnered into the chambers of his memory the rich traditions of the past, and conceived the leading outlines of the "*Summa Theologica*." His timbre of mind, the keynote to his whole career, is not merely supernatural, it is Benedictine and Patristic. His width, his depth, his catholic grasp, speak of the Desert Athletes, the Eastern Fathers, and the impress of the Roman will. These master-influences not only ripened and mellowed his natural character and gifts, but they helped to enrich and enlarge his vision—they taught his reason to expand in proportion to the greatness of the Truth which was presented to its view. And since S. Thomas knew, as it were by heart, the main writings of the Fathers, his plastic mind must have

been deeply affected by their gentleness of sympathy, their force of intellect, and the giant purpose of their lives. For, unlike himself, they did not veil themselves away from the sight of men when they took up their pens to write; but, on the contrary, with beautiful frankness and simplicity, they wove their own portraits in amongst their teachings, and that with a grace and an unconsciousness of self, which are amongst the most charming manifestations of single-minded genius.

Thus the great Angelical drew two things from a patristic source: the tradition of Apostolical religion, and the broad outlines of the perfections, in the active order, of the Christian man. His "*Summa Theologica*" expresses scientifically all that is most important in the accumulated teaching of the Ancient Saints; whilst his own personal life displays, in the highest order of human energy, the dominant principles which animated them. The ruling Christ-principle of S. Benedict came originally from the East. The heart of S. Anthony of Egypt, was warmed by the same sacred fire as burnt in the bosom of the patriarch of Latin monks. The great classic Doctors of East and West, those eight noble columns which so majestically support the Holy Ark, spring from a monastic pedestal. That principle which penetrated their beings like a thread of supernatural heroism, and gave oneness to their career and unity to their aim, pierced into the spirit of the Angelical as well, and became a tie of brotherhood between him and the early athletes, between his character and theirs, and stamped its royal signature upon the "*Summa Theologica*."

This "*Summa*" represents in theory what S. Thomas and the Fathers were in practice: it is not only a powerful machine for creating Theologians, but also a mighty instrument for educating Men: its aim is to reproduce the patristic character as well as the patristic mind.

Thus, the fact of the lives of the classic Fathers occupying a considerable space in the present volume is accounted for at once. Their biographies offer the best index to the nature of those writings which form the principal materials of which the "*Summa*" is composed; whilst the character of the Angelical himself was greatly influenced by their practical example. Though living in a scholastic age, he evidently was not cast in the ordinary scholastic mould; his simplicity and force are of the best days of the East; his calibre and breadth speak of S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, and S. Augustine. His logic was almost the only connection he had with the characteristics of the Schools, which represent, with brilliant exceptions, a contentious and comparatively minute and feeble class of Theologians. This can only be realized by comparing the columnal Saints with the writers of the Middle Age: then, it becomes clear at a glance, that S. Thomas was not so much a scholastic, as a Father, who lived in the mediæval time, and aimed at reproducing the spirit of the Patristic Doctors, and at giving to the world the scientific exposition of their united teaching.

But an acquaintance with Patrology, however accurate, would not suffice for the construction of a perfect synthesis of Christian Truth. Two rays of light affect the Catholic mind, and offer it a double illumination: that of the supernatural revelation of the Written and Spoken Word, and that which is proper to the intellect itself. These, proceeding from a single Sun, can never cross in conflict, but mutually witness to each other, and to that Primeval Truth from which they originally spring. The principal revelation of the Oral Word is conveyed through the teaching of the Fathers, the Councils, and the Pontiffs; that of the Written, is to be found in the Sacred Page; whilst the most perfect manifestation of the natural revelation of the Human Reason is contained in the writings of the most gifted and most cultivated intellects of the most gifted and cultivated people of the world.

Hence, the Angelical did not confine himself to the study of the classic Fathers: he also mastered Holy Scripture and Greek Philosophy: these formed the three-fold basis of the "*Summa Theologica*."

And so with the present volume: after dwelling upon the Saint's labours on Tradition, then his Commentaries on the Gospels, and his Expositions on the fourteen Epistles of S. Paul, on Job, the Psalms, the Canticle of Canticles, and the Prophets of the Ancient Law, are brought before the consid-

eration of the reader; whilst, with regard to human reason, the action of the Socratic mind, the influence of Platonic elevation, and the intellectual mastery of Aristotle over secular philosophy in relation to the Angelical, are carefully considered. Nor is this all: a rapid sketch of the Saint's studies on the Stagyrte has also been attempted, more especially with regard to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which go to form in part the ground-work of the moral portion of the "*Summa Theologica*."

Besides his triple study of original founts the Angelical was, through life, making steady advances, in his own compositions, towards the realization of his master-piece. Each *Opusculum* and Commentary, as it came forth from his hand, represented a progression towards a more universal and scientific exposition—each was a block or pillar ready squared and cut to fit into its place. Each, moreover, had its own independent scope in the development of a given truth, or in the annihilation of some special error. To those various aberrations mentioned in the first volume the antidote is now discovered. The rationalism and irreverence of the Schools, the dangerous bias of the Stagyrte, the pantheism of the Arabians, the teachings of Averroës and Avicenna, and their corruption of the text of the "Philosopher," as well as the schism of the Greeks with their three-fold dogmatic heresy, and the darkness of the Jews regarding the Messiah;—all these are encountered by the great Angelical, and are beaten back by him, till, finally, having confronted them one by one, he now attacks them simultaneously; and, by means of his synthetic power, his opulence of principle, his divine illumination, and his logical sagacity, he throws an *enceinte* of adamant around the Spiritual City, which, by the very fact of occupying the ground, displaces or destroys almost every theological error which has the capacity of germinating in the human mind.

Then, besides this, the "*Summa Theologica*" is shown to aim at practical results.

It is proved to be a formidable instrument for turning out world-saving men. The classic Fathers of the Church are types of such as it would realize; and the Angelical points to the Episcopate as the most perfect state to which a Christian can be called. The principles on which those are formed who possess the plenitude of the priesthood are the principles of monastic sacrifice. Whilst the religious, under vow, is striving after the perfection of holocaustic charity towards God and man, the Bishop is supposed already to have attained it. These ruling principles of an exalted service have been already drawn out at length in the first volume of this work, and they find a vivid illustration in the lives of the eight Ecumenical Doctors of the Church, and in the daily life of the Angel of the Schools. It is the grand Christ-principle of monastic charity which has been the main and secret spring of all that is mighty, tender, and governing in the renowned Champions of the Ark of God, and in the most Catholic princes of the civil order. In proportion as the Priest, the Statesman, or the Sovereign has acted, in his place and measure, in harmony with this principle, in that very same proportion he has been a light to the world, and as salt to the earth.

Nor are these elements of high heroism dead or effete. They still live. And if the world would study them, and look on them in their highest manifestations, as exhibited, for example, in Anthony, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Thomas of Aquino, it would speedily discover where its salvation lies. It would with reverence replace those standards and patterns which have been too long thrust out of sight. The "*Summa*" would be recognized by serious men as an educating power. Pagan *Ethics*, German dreams, and liberalesque philosophy, would vanish with the night; and a class of men would be moulded into shape, through the action of this mighty instrument, such as alone would be able to calm the fierce democracy, and, through the very splendour of their lives, to subdue into obedience the masses of the people.

The author has already suggested that it is not possible "adequately to delineate" the labours of the Angelical within the present limits, and that his "full Biography would occupy many thousand pages."* Three more

* See Preface, p. —.

volumes would help to complete the entire scheme; one on the Saint's Philosophy; and another on his Theology; and a third on the influence of these, as presented in the "*Summa Theologica*," upon the leading thinkers of mediæval and modern times.

Indeed, the present work can hardly be looked upon as more than containing the *Prolegomena* to this three-fold exposition. Here the reader is introduced to those Schools of thought, and to those ruling minds, whose tenets and traditions will have to be weighed and measured in their proper place. Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome are pointed out indeed, but there has been no time for dwelling on them; the action of the Easterns and the Commentators, and the impress of the Masters of Greek Philosophy, are not omitted, but are not manifested fully; the various figures connected with S. Thomas are brought upon the scene and are described, but space does not permit of an analysis of each of them, nor of showing the exact position which they relatively hold in the formation of the mind of the Angel of the Schools. What relation did S. Thomas bear to S. Chrysostom in Exegesis? How did the School of Alexandria temper his method of exposition? When does he differ from S. Augustine, on what principle, and to what extent? How was he impressed with the moral teaching of the Stagyrte, of S. Gregory the Great, of S. Jerome, and S. Ambrose? How does he differ from the Scholastics? In what is he unlike the classic Fathers? What is the history of that gift which taught him how to draw the best and truest from every source, even the most corrupt, without suffering from the slightest taint of poison? What is the characteristic of his method in the plain of human reason? How does this method influence his teaching upon Dogma, and what is the secret of the paramount hold of the "*Summa Theologica*" on the thinking mind of Christendom?

All such questions as these require full and careful treatment. They cannot be more than touched upon in a work which principally aims at clearing the way, marking out the ground, and offering a general survey, intelligible if not detailed, of a vast and complicated subject. Here the object has not been to instruct the Theologian or Professor, but on the contrary, to make the "LIFE AND LABOURS OF S. THOMAS OF AQUIN" as intelligible as possible to the general reader, and to provide the Student with some kind of introduction to the "*Summa Theologica*."*

With respect to the authorities which have been relied on in the present volume, they are, with accidental exceptions, mentioned in the "Notes." Such translations of the works of the Fathers as were at hand have been made use of where their words are quoted in the English. In turning the Latin of S. Thomas into the vernacular, the author, in several instances, where the sense permits it, has condensed or abbreviated the original form. The excellent reprint of the *Bollandists* by PALME has been of service in the strictly biographical portions of either volume.† Whenever the Fathers or Schoolmen are quoted, the "Patrology" of MIGNÉ must be consulted. The "*Opuscula*" are numbered according to the edition of the Saint's "*Opera Omnia*," brought out by FIACCADORI, at Parma; and, except in three unimportant instances, to this edition the reader is invariably referred.‡

* See Preface, p. —.

† For the *Life of S. Thomas*, see Vol. VII., 1865.

‡ Tom. I., 1852; Tom. Ult. XXIV., 1869.

CHAPTER I.

S. THOMAS MADE DOCTOR.

"Tolle Thomam, et Ecclesiam Romanam subverterem."
(Bucer.)

IN looking back upon the differences between the Angelical and William of S. Amour, what is to be seen, save a repetition of that contest, which had been waged so many years before, between the austere S. Bernard and the brilliant Abelard? The same principles of antagonism had survived after the death of their respective champions; and when two fresh spirits, sufficiently active, and interested in the subject, became animated with their vitality, the same battle again commenced, differing only inasmuch as it took its character and direction from the divers natures and talents of the combatants—William, proud, sour, and not wanting in artifice and talent; S. Thomas, meek, gentle, and overwhelming from his intellectual weight, and overpowering in his grasp of truth, and in his dexterity in the use of it.* Yet, the Angelical does not appear before the mind's eye as an antagonist of error so much as an august arbiter of truth. Fighting implies, if not anger, certainly, passion. In him, there was destroying force, but never, violence; there was intensest power, but passion, never. With calm, forcible exposition, with inimitable skill, with cautious reserve, with entire self-control, yet with unruffled confidence, he displays the full form of truth, and is victorious. Yet *he* does not triumph; he does not advert to his own successes; it is truth, and reverence, and authority which is lifted up in victory; and if he be lifted with them, he spares not a thought for self.†

* He who weighs well the following words, will realize how great a power the Angelical must have been:—"La santa Romana Chiesa madre di tutti i fedeli, & delli suoi credenti vera, & saggia Maestra, alla quale appartiene di determinare la vera, & Catholica dottrina, con molte autorità conferma, & approba questa santa dottrina di questo Angelico Dottore. La onde l'incenzo V. sommo Pontefice, retto, e governato dallo Spirito Santo, nel Sermone, che cominciava; *Ecce plusquam Salomon hic*; così dice, *Huius Doctoris sapientia prae ceteris excepta canonica habet proprietatem verborum modum dicendorum, veritatem sententiarum. Ita quod qui eum tenuit, nunquam inventus est a veritatis tramite deviasse; & qui eum impugnavit, semper fuit de veritate suspectus.*" (*Vita*, p. 4.)

† "Dicea per nostro ammaestramento Tomaso, che chiunque per giusto che sia, può, e dee senza nota di falsità stimarsi ad ogni altro inferiore, sì per gli occulti proprii mancamenti, come

And it was this sublime self-repression, or rather self-forgetfulness (for self-repression implies self-consciousness), which was the secret of the Angelical's extraordinary discriminating power—of that keenness and security with which he could put his finger straight down on that minute thread at which truth and error seem to meet, and separate them clean.* And this high gift it was which secured to him so vast a sway over the deepest minds, and the hardest students, of the Paris University. Passion, prejudice, small narrow self-seeking ways, and miserable blindness, were unknown to him, except in theory, or in his having to suffer from the action of such agencies in others.

The history of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" illustrates his impartiality.

It will be remembered that, whilst the Angelical was earnestly engaged in bringing the "Perils" of William of S. Amour to condemnation, William, on his part, was doing his utmost to secure the same fate for the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel."† In the former work, the secular party of the University was compromised; and in the latter, the regulars were unpleasantly mixed up. In fact, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" was the composition of a certain Br. Gerard, who was a Franciscan friar. This friar, urged on by a fanatical monk, a native of Calabria, named Leonard, and Leonard, in turn, being urged on by him, both of them worked, each upon the other, to such a degree, that they finally became possessed by the conviction that the "*Ordo Parvulorum*"—that is, the "Order of Minorites"—was to form the one great absorbing spiritual power in the world; and that all those inanities and follies, written down by one of them in the "Introduction," would come to pass amongst mankind.‡ Now, the influence of men who are verging on insanity, and yet can hardly be called mad, is proverbially great. The proverb is illustrated by the case in point. For Br. Gerard, and Br. Leonard, fired by their belief in the glorious future of their Order, and disordered in brain by the reveries of Abbot Joachim, soon made many converts.§ Men starting life with an intense devotedness to their Order, men who could not help seeing how great a work

per le virtù da lui nel prossimo ignorate; nella maniera appunto, c'honestà douzella alla maritata si humilia e sottopone con questo concetto, che quella forse sia più di lei fervente. o divota." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. IX.*, n. 14, p. 117.)

* "Et quia ad subtilitatem ingenii sequitur iudicii certitudo, dum intellectus, quod potest subtilitate capere, valeat etiam quod verum est iudicare; ideo conveniens fuit, ut predictus Doctor, sicut subtilis ingenii fuisse dicitur, sic et certi iudicii fuisse evidentissime iudicaretur. Nam opiniones et rationes, quas adhuc Bacellarius advenit, paucis exceptis, magister effectus scripsit, tenuit, et defendit." (Tocco, *Bolt., Cap. VII.*, n. 41, p. 670.)

† "Avant que de se retirer de la Cour de Rome, les Députés de l'Université de Paris, demandèrent la condamnation d'un Ecrit, qui scandalisoit déjà toute l'Eglise; & qui dans la suite ne contribua pas peu à former une secte de faux spirituels. Ce Livre étoit intitulé, *l'Evangile éternel*." (Tourou, *Liv. II., Chap. XII.*, p. 143; Cf. Bareille, *Chap. XVIII.*, p. 194.)

‡ Vid. Labbe, *SS. Concilia, Tom. XI.*, p. 2360, ad. an. 1260.

§ For full account, see Tourou, *Liv. II., Chap. XII.*, p. 141-147.

had been done already, were soothed and flattered by the vivid pictures presented to them by these new apostles. Weak minds, and pious minds too, were tinged with the new fanaticism. Not only the silent novice, and the active preaching friar, but men of great authority in the Order could not resist, altogether, the fascinating influence of forecastings and prophecies which foretold the future splendour, and imperial advance, of the institute they loved so well.* Even the General of the Franciscan Order had, himself, eventually, in consequence of his being compromised in the affairs of Br. Gerard, to resign his high office, and hide himself away in the obscure retirement of conventual life.†

But the keen eye of that hawk, William of S. Amour—as has been said in another place—at once perceived its opportunity. He who would take the trouble to write and publish, far and wide, a book against the Mendicants, would be only too charmed to snatch their own weapons out of their hands, or to make them slay themselves with their own sword. The “Introduction to the Eternal Gospel” became as popular as the book of the “Perils.” Men who were glad to ridicule the friars, and turn them into mockery by means of a book which was written purposely against them, found their zest sharpened when they were able to laugh at them, and turn them into foolery, by means of a book which they had written in favour of themselves. Possibly, the people living in a university city in the thirteenth century, may have had their wits exercised more than others, and may have been trained to appreciate, more keenly, the humorous and the severe, through their constant intercourse with noisy students and sharpset professors.‡ Anyhow, the populace in Paris always seem to have been on the *qui vive* to catch at anything that might create a laugh, especially if they thought they saw the glancing edge, and the keen point, of genuine satire; or hoped to witness an interchange of caustic repartees and pungent sarcasm. Though few of the population could read or write, all of them could hear and see. They were quick, observant, full of vivacity, easily carried away, impetuous,

* See Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Tom. IV., Liv. IV., Chap. IX., p. 10.

† Some have even been of the opinion that the “Introduction” was written by John of Parma:—“Hujus libri auctorem Joannem de Parma, Italum, Ordinis Minorum 7. generalem ministrum, Eymericus inquisitor vulgo existimatum ait. Auctorem non nominat Ptolomeus Lucensis, nec tot et tam crassos illius errores commemorat, sed hunc unum; ‘quod lex evangelii neminem ad perfectum ducebat, sed lex spiritus: unde sic se habebat lex evangelii ad legem spiritus, sicut lex vetus ad legem gratiæ; et quod lex evangelica Christi in 1260 annis evanuari debebat, et lex spiritus subintrare.’” (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.*, Tom. XV. Art. IV., p. 159.)

‡ The familiarity of the students of the University with the citizens is evident from the quarrels and disturbances that seem ever to have been taking place between them—a familiarity which, whilst it bred contempt, also, no doubt, had its influence upon the minds and imaginations of the people. They received, without knowing it, a species of “education”—something, perhaps, resembling that which the Athenians so many hundred years before received from the talkers and sophists of that day. (For the relations of the students to the Parisians, see Fleury, *Disc. sur L’Hist. Eccl.*, Cinquième Disc., § X., *Mœurs des Etudiants*, p. 212–216.)

and overflowing with *esprit*; and bright, ready, and free as summer birds.

The song of the minstrel, the play of the buffoon, the constant presence of the Paris student, had developed their intelligence beyond all power of books.* What better material to work upon could William of S. Amour have desired?† Could only the laugh be turned against the friars; could they only be made the objects of ridicule and wit—then, they would speedily lose their power. The enemies of the Minorites set about their work, not only in earnest, but in the right way. Copies of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" were sold and distributed in the public market-places. They were used as quivers, out of which to draw all manner of barbs—small, sharp, swift-flying shafts, and poisoned arrows too. The grave professor would draw from it, and fire off his learned disquisition; the quick-witted student would pour out his voluble mixture of ready wit and ready nonsense; the tumbling buffoon would join the chorus, and turn a crowd of listeners into a shout of boisterous laughter; whilst the troubadour would throw into song, partly playful, partly spiteful, always telling, that general sentiment, which glowed in the imagination of the people, but had not the gift of breaking into words. It is sufficient to read Rutebœuf's "*Complainte de Constantinople*," to be convinced, not only of the damage which the "*Introductorius*" had done the regulars, but also of the bitterness and mockery which, in consequence of it, were poured upon them.‡ John de Meung, another caustic satirist, a few years later, proves, in his "*Roman de la Rose*," that the strong feeling of the people had by no means died away.§

* The Jongleurs (*Joeculatores*) were the men who helped to encourage a love of fun and humour in the people. Some, indeed, confined themselves to singing of the deeds of princes, and of the lives of saints; others gave free play, without restraint, to their ribaldry and antics. Preachers of the day paint them "prenant part aux noces et aux festins, réjouissant les convives par des chants légers, recevant en cadeau des robes précieuses de vair ou de gris, assistant aux tournois pour encourager les champions, mais se distinguant eux-mêmes par leur conardise, leur avidité, leurs bavardages, enfin se couvrant le visage de masques colorés (*qui dicuntur artificia gallicè*), pour amuser et tromper leur public." (De La Marche, *La Chaire Française*, Troisième Partie, Chap. VI., p. 444—445.)

† If, what William of S. Amour says be true, the "Eternal Gospel" seems to have been absolutely used as a text-book in some of the schools. In the eighth chapter of the "*De Periculis*," he says of it:—"Illa doctrina, que predicabitur tempore Antichristi, videlicet *Evangelium Æternum*, Parisius, ubi viget S. Scripturæ studium, jam publice posita fuit ad explicandum A. D. 1254." (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.*, Tom. XV., Art. IV., p. 159.)

‡ "Zu welchen Diffamationen und Aggressionen es benützt wurde, davon ein paar Proben aus zeitgenössischen Dichtern: 'Insel Creta, Corsica, Cypern, holde Länder'—ruft Rutebœuf in seiner *Complainte de Constantinople* aus—'wer beschützt euch nun! Wenn euch der Fremde (Saracene) unter seine Botmäßigkeit gebracht haben wird, dann wird der König (Ludwig IX.), in seine Staaten zurückgekehrt, Rath pflegen und entscheiden: dass er will Klöster bauen lassen für Jene, so einen neuen Glauben ausstellen, einen neuen Gott machen, ein neues Evangelium verkünden.'" (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 209.)

§ Werner quotes John de Meung thus:—"Ohne die Universalität"—drückt sich Johann de Meung aus, *Roman de la Rose*, tom. II., p. 368—"wäre Alles Kopf über, Kopf unter gegangen, als sie (die Bettelmönche) 1255 mit einem Buche an's Licht traten, das ihnen ohne Zweifel der Böse eingegeben hatte. Ich meine das ewige Evangelium, das, wie der Titel besagt, vom heiligen Geiste komme; ein Buch für den Holzstosa. Es heisst darin: So lange Petrus die Macht hält, kann Johannes die Kraft nicht zeigen. Unter Petrus verstehe den Papst und die Weltgeistlichkeit, die das Gesetz Christi bewachen und vertheidigen; unter Johannes die Prediger (Bettelorden), die behaupten, es gebe nur Eine wahre Lehre, das ewige Evangelium nämlich; dieses soll uns den rechten Weg zeigen. Es steht darin geschrieben,

The activity of William of S. Amour, the energy of the buffoons and singing minstrels, and the hostility of party feeling, created so strong a bias against the "*Introductorius*," and those connected with it, that Rome was called upon to interfere. As she had condemned the "Perils" of S. Amour, so now, though the honour of an Order which was one of her strenuous supporters appeared to be at stake, she would not shrink, as she never has shrunk from dealing out to all men even-handed justice.

The Holy See commissioned the learned Cardinal, Hugh of S. Caro, and the Bishop of Messina, both of them Dominicans, to study, and then report upon the work. The result of their labours was what could only have been expected. The "*Introductorius*," like the "Perils," was sentenced to be burned by the common hangman; but with this reserve, that it should be given to the flames in private—not in a public place—as a mark of delicacy to that Order which had always stood so firmly by the Church, and with which, unfortunately, it was in a certain way connected.*

This vigorous action of the supreme power deeply affected the General of the Franciscans. He had, by some mischance, compromised himself with the reveries of the *exalté* friar, and the imaginative monk. John of Parma was, no doubt, a pious man, but he hardly had shown himself a prudent one. He tendered the resignation of his office, and then suggested S. Bonaventure as his successor. The Order received his resignation; and, though only four-and-thirty years of age, the seraphic friend of the Angelical was elected General of the Order, by the Chapter which met in Rome, at Araceli.†

S. Bonaventure's dignity brought with it a heavy crown of thorns. He found himself in a position of great difficulty and delicacy. Those who were determined to keep the Mendicants straight, were by no means contented with the resignation of the General, and the burning of the book. A clamour was raised for

dass Alle, die für Petrus sind, ungebracht werden müssen; allein ihr werdet sie nicht besiegen, noch eure Drohungen sie erschrecken. Die Lehre Petri wird bleiben, die eure aber untergehen." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 209.)

* "Nachdem der Cardinal Hugo von St. Caro und der Bischof von Messina, beide dem Predigerorden angehörig, das ihnen vom Papste abverlangte Gutachten über das Buch erstattet hatten, wurde es gleich der Schrift *de periculis* zur Verbrennung durch Henkershand verdammt, das Urtheil jedoch nicht auf offenem Platze, sondern im Geheimen vollzogen, aus Schonung gegen die verdienstreiche Genossenschaft, welcher der unglückliche Verfasser angehörte." (See Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 210.)

† "Ihr General, Johann von Parma, dankte in Folge dessen ab, und schlug Thomas' heiligen Freund, Bonaventura, zu seinem Nachfolger vor, der denn auch, obwohl erst vierunddreissig Jahre zählend, von dem im römischen Kloster Araceli versammelten Generalcapitel einstimmig gewählt wurde. Der neue Obere war in die Lage versetzt, seine Amtsführung mit einem Aelte beginnen zu müssen, der ihm, wie kein anderer während seines Lebens, schwer fallen mochte—mit einer Untersuchung wider seinen Vorgänger und dessen Freunde, welche der Hinnneigung zu Joachim's Lehren bezüchtigt waren." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 210.)

investigation. S. Bonaventure did what he could to prevent things running to extremes. But the opponents of the regulars had got hold of too fine a bone to be easily dropped until it had been thoroughly well picked. A process was instituted against Gerard the Franciscan and Leonard the Monk. As ringleaders and originators of the scandal of the "*Introductorius*," they were sentenced to imprisonment for life.* But even this was not sufficient to satisfy the craving of the public feeling. Why should so great a prize as the General of an Order be suffered to escape?† In vain the gentle, loving Bonaventure pleaded for his familiar friend; in vain he tried to pacify the eager, greedy crowd of persecutors. The cry was too powerful. John of Parma had to stand his trial like the rest. It must have been a bitter, heart-destroying blow to that pious man, when he presented himself before his judges.‡ But, fortunately for him, he was not without his friends. Cardinal Cajetan de' Ursini, who afterwards became Pope Nicholas III., presided at the trial; and, through the energetic and powerful protection of Cardinal Ottoboni, nephew of the reigning Pontiff, and afterwards pope himself, under the title of Adrian V., he was allowed to depart without any sentence of condemnation being passed upon him.§ His public career was at an end. All he looked for was to prepare for death. Bonaventure permitted him to select a convent, to which he was suffered to retire. He chose one at Greccio, near Rieti; and when the tomb closed over him, he left, as a legacy amongst his brethren, the odour of a saintly name.||

Such is a brief account of the fate of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," of its authors, and of those who were smitten by its prophetic dreams. What had the Angelical to do with it? He had been a strenuous adversary of William of S. Amour, and all that violent party of which he was the spokesman. He himself wore the regular habit which he loved and prized above all

* "Nachdem er [Bonaventura] vergebens versucht, die Sache niederzuschlagen, leitete er endlich, mit Umgehung Johani's, den Process gegen die übrigen Meinungsgenossen desselben ein: zwei derselben, Gerhard, Verfasser des *Introductorius* und der Mönch Leonhard wurden als heftigste Vertheidiger der falschen Lehren zu lebenslänglichem Gefängnisse verurtheilt." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 210.) Some say that the friar and the monk were punished by perpetual imprisonment because they obstinately persisted in defending the errors of Abbot Joachim. (See Natalis Alexander, *Tom. XV., Art. IV., p. 153.*)

† John of Parma had been a disciplinarian, and had done his best to restore lax discipline. Those whom he had corrected, or offended, now took their revenge. (See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XV., Art. IV., p. 153.*)

‡ Nicolas Eymericus (circa 1356) makes him out to be the author of the "*Introductorius*," Wadding, on the other hand, denies such to be the case. (*Ann. 1256, n. 31.*)

§ "Auch den längere Zeit geschützten Johann von Parma musste er auf fortwährendes Andringen der Ankläger letztlich vor ein geistliches Gericht stellen lassen, unter dem Vorsitz des Cardinals Cajetan Ursini (nachmaligen Papstes Nicolans III.). Die eindringliche Vertheidigung des Angeklagten durch den Neffen des Papstes, Cardinal Ottoboni (nachmaligen Papst Hadrian IV. [I]), führte einen tröstlichen Ausgang herbei; Johann wurde ohne Strafe entlassen." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 210—211.)

|| "Da Bonaventura ihm die Wahl seines zukünftigen Aufenthaltes frei stellte, zog er sich in das Kloster Greccia [I] bei Rieti zurück, wo er später im Rufe der Heiligkeit starb." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p. 211.)

earth could give. S. Francis and S. Dominic were bound together with chains of tenderest love and fellowship; the honour of the one was the honour of the other: what stained S. Francis left its mark on Dominic too. Then, the Angelical had fought and conquered in the same combat, for the same victory, and almost with the same weapons, as the Minorites. S. Bonaventure was his nearest, familiar friend. His whole spirit and sympathy leaned toward those preachers of poverty, and lovers of the Cross of Christ. How did he act regarding the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel?" That he would defend the wrong done, no one could suspect or could believe. But might he not shield the authors? Could he not explain away? Might he not at least be silent?

He who would know the conduct of the Angel of the Schools, must calm his spirit, cleanse his intellectual eye, and fix it upon the truth, and follow it. Small men engrossed in earth, men spoilt by dealing with creatures, men blinded by looking only on clay, and deaf from the whirl and din of perishing humanity, easily become confused and scared when two great roads open suddenly upon them, and they are obliged to choose the way. The promptings of passion, and the idle voice of sloth, the command of pride, or the fascinations of ambition—heat their brain, and parch and warp their judgment. The Angelical had cast all this on one side; he had flung self, and all its chains from him. "Wisdom" was his passion; Truth was his goal; God alone was his reward; and God's larger glory his one aim in life.*

As a bird bursts its way out of a thicket into the expanding blue of heaven, and can then look down on earth without impediment, so was it with our great Angelical. He rose above all human littleness and party feeling, and lived with that Truth which alone he fought for and defended.

Hence, far from justifying the errors of spiritual men, he at once acknowledged them. He saw clearly that there is nothing more dangerous than a false philosophy, or a false mysticism, amongst the clergy. That which is their daily food—their staff of spiritual life—ought to be wholesome. And no taint is more

* How beautifully Frigerio shows what the Saint understood this "Wisdom" to be!—"Il pregatissimo dono della sapientia da Tomaso appellato *digitissimum donorum*, per testimonianza di lui medesimo, si possiede da chiunque è di eminente sufficienza dotato a potere per cause altissime e divine conoscere cose rare e maravigliose dalla communal conoscenza lontane, con sì ferma certezza, che formar ne possa buono e intero giuditio, con saper anche ammaestrarne altrui. Ma sì fatta sufficienza, che talvolta a forza di studio e di vivacità d'ingegno s'acquista, chiamata dal filosofo nell'Etica virtù intellettuale, in altri trovasi (soggiunge quivi l'Angelico) *per quamdam affinitatem ad divina*, per una tal connaturalità ed unione alle cose di sopra, nella maniera appunto, che l'Areopagita ragiona di Hierotheo, il quale in se stesso ricevendo le cose divine, felicemente l'imparò, ed essendo in questa guisa elevato alle cose soprannaturali, gli fu poi connaturale il farne sano e fermo giuditio. In questa conformità scrisse l'Apostolo a' Corinthi: *Spiritualis utem indicat omnia*." (Frigerio, *Lib. III.*, Cap. I., p. 123—124.)

difficult wholly to expunge, than the stain imprinted on the minds of holy men, by a highly-wrought spirituality, based upon an unscriptural foundation.

This, the clear mind of the Angelical must have vividly perceived. His love for the Religious Orders of the Church, especially for the Minorites, spurred his zeal to do all he could to apply an antidote to the poison which had been introduced into many minds. He could not help feeling that the "Fraterculi," and other Apocalyptic enthusiasts, who rested their fanatical teaching on the theories of Abbot Joachim—theories which they had distorted into a mixture of wildness, wickedness, and blasphemy, essentially their own—would, unless sharply checked, spread like fire, without being as easily extinguished.* True charity and wise love does not conceal the flaw, but points it out, and makes it good.

And the Angelical took the best possible means for doing this. Tocco tells us that he absolutely "destroyed" the heresy in question.† And how? Whilst still in Italy, he went to a certain monastery—indeed, some say he travelled about to many monasteries on the same errand—and asked the Abbot for the writings of Abbot Joachim, which formed the basis of the fanaticism which then was rife. He studied them from end to end. When he had thoroughly mastered them, then, he took his pen, and marked those portions underneath which were erroneous, or savoured in any way of error; and drew his pen across other portions which should neither be read, nor be believed in. And thus, he restored the book to the Abbot, touched and corrected with a master's hand. There is little doubt that the work thus altered served as a guide and test to hundreds of spiritual men. For the Angelical's reputation was very high for learning and acuteness. And there is little doubt that religious men, living in days of violent spiritual delusions, were only too glad to obtain a work which would be at once a sure guide and a useful warning. One small effort of a master-workman exerts its influence and power—not because of the size of the volume, but on account of the skill and reputation of its author. It seems but a trivial undertaking to mark with a pen the errors in a

* "Cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant Fraternos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis Sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant: quos captos potius heretica pravitate fermentant, quorum mentes, dum non probant utrum a Deo sint spiritus, sic mendax spiritus dementavit, ut quasi sub uno capite Christo duas ligant Ecclesias: unam carnalium, super quam Summus Romanus Pontifex presidet. Qui dum dicunt se ducl spiritu libertatis, in omnem servititem pravitatis hereticæ eodem spiritu præcipitante labuntur, criminibus miserimis, quia divisionis spiritus et erroris, quot potuit ipsorum phantasias subvertere, tot dedit sectas pravitatis hereticæ invenire." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. IV., n. 21, p. 665.)

† "Destruunt et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem Doctor iste mirabilis, qui error antiquus extitit, et periculosior de novo surrexit, qui sub pio nomine omnem impietatis perniciem continens, vocatur de novo spiritu libertatis." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. IV., n. 21, p. 665.)

spiritual book. It was the high reputation of the Saint that made his work of deep importance.*

But, though the Angelical "destroyed" the heresy—that is to say, clearly manifested the folly and unreason of many positions taken up by Abbot Joachim—he did not all at once destroy the heretics. Many years elapsed before the heated dreams of Br. Gerard died out amongst the Franciscan friars. Only let the "Spirit of Liberty" take possession of men who have dedicated their lives to the supreme service of their Maker, and wild confusion, and fierce unrestrained fanaticism must be the logical result. For, given an ardent, generous nature, full of burning aspirations, overflowing with heroic resolves; given the impetus and the *elan*; and suddenly withdraw the directing and controlling power—and then, mind and imagination, at once, blaze and flare out into all manner of spiritual extravagances, and are worked up into a species of frenzy, which alone can be produced by the mingled influence of high religious pressure, heated fantasy, and spiritual pride.† When once those who appear called to heroic sacrifice, and mighty spiritual deeds, abandon that one only power which has force enough to hold them in restraint, and wisdom and experience enough to give them a right direction; when once the proud human spirit breaks free from the firm, tender hand of the Church of Christ,—like the chariot of the sun—it is soon seen tumbling down the slope of heaven. Take but a cursory view of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; read the history of that monster Tanchelin‡ (1115—1124), and Eudo de Stella; recall what has been said about the Catharites; study the lives of Henry and De Bruys; think of the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and the Brothers of the Free Spirit; look upon the sect of Halle (1248)—which declared the hierarchy to be abolished—and upon the Apostolic Brothers: and some notion may be formed of the wild and maddening extravagances, of the cruelties and immoralities, which spring from a fiery spiritual energy which has broken away from the influence of the Church.

* Tocco thus describes the work of the Angelical:—"Et quia ex dictis Abbatis Joachim predicti heretici fomentum sumunt prefati erroris pestiferi, predictus Doctor in quodam monasterio petivit librum prefati Abbatis, et oblatum totum perlegit, et ubi aliquid erroneum reperit vel suspectum, cum linea subducta damnavit, quod totum legi et credi prohibuit, quod ipse sua manu docta cassavit." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. IV., n. 21, p. 665.) It is worthy of remark, that these Apocalyptic fanatics, whom the Angelical opposed, put forward as one of their principal merits that they were led *spiritu libertatis*, by a "spirit of liberty." Here, again, the Saint opposes reverence and authority against the licence and rashness of men run wild with false asceticism.

† See Hull's *Gieseler*, Vol. III., Chap. III., § 70, p. 251—§ 72, p. 268, from which much may be learnt regarding the excited state of many religious minds in the middle ages; though much which is advanced must be taken *cum grano*.

‡ "Declamabat, Ecclesias Dei lupanaria esse reputanda; nihil esse quod sacerdotum officio in mensa dominica conficeretur; pollutiones, non sacramenta nominanda; ex meritis et sanctitate ministrorum virtutem sacramentis accedere . . . Talibus nequitie accessibus misero homini tanta sceleris accessit audacia, ut etiam se Deum diceret, asserens, quia si Christus ideo Deus est, quia Spiritum sanctum habuisset, se non inferius nec dissimilius Deum, quia plenitudinem Spiritus sancti accepisset." (See Hull's *Gieseler*, Vol. III., Third Period, Chap. I II., note, p. 398; see also *Acta Sanctorum Vita S. Norberti*, Jun. VI., Cap. XIII., n. 76—81, p. 83.)

If history tells any truth with severe distinctness, and illustrates it with terrible examples in every century of her course since the Christian era, it is this: that no monastic life can long endure, except it be subject to the guidance and control of the Catholic Church.* Attempts may be made; they may stand for a season—but they cannot bide; they have no sap of life; they either sicken and wither into the earth from which they spring, or they are set on fire by their own heat, and are charred and burnt to death by that same erratic spark which brought them into being. Examples are not wanting, even at the present hour.

Those who are curious to trace the genesis of a spiritual flame which ended in a conflagration, have simply to begin with the teachings of Abbot Joachim, who, after all, was a good and simple man; to watch his false maxims expand in the imagination of Gerard and Leonard; and to see them, then, kindle and blaze in the great Franciscan Order, and take possession of many ardent minds.† Give the flame but a brief season to work its way, and shortly, the Fraterculi, and the Spiritualists, form centres of fierce fanaticism. The most extravagant Franciscan zealot is now too moderate to suit their burning zeal; and they throw themselves into the hands of, and make common cause with, such monomaniacs as the Apostolic Brothers, the Catharites, and the Beghards.‡ A small spark, truly, can set in motion a terrible conflagration.

Well was it, indeed, for the great Angelical that his vast powers of intellect and reason were seated so firmly in the grand monastic principles of reverence, love, purity, and adoration; well was it for him that he supported his enormous power of mind upon the teaching of the Church—that he leaned upon her bosom, and drank from her sources, with all the trust of a little child; well, indeed, was it for him that he mistrusted *self*, and sought light from heaven, and only then felt himself to be in

* The fact is that, in Europe, at least, no religious organism has ever been constructed to meet, outside the Church, the case of "monasticism." Nor, indeed, did the fanatical religions of the East guide or restrain the spiritual fever of the monastic bodies which were attached to them. Both the system, and its monastic development, partook of the same exciting and uncontrolled enthusiasm: fire does not modify or extinguish fire. Alone, under the firm unimpassioned sway of that Mother of men, the Church, we witness an example of intense ardour, of untold power, guiding and repressing the crude aspirations and vain longings of the human heart, after a state of things not made for man.

† His principal fault seems to have been a *penchant* for prophesying. The fact of his predictions sometimes turning out true, gave him, amongst some, the character of a prophet; but S. Thomas, as well as William of Paris, and Trithemius, by no means admit his right to such a title. He wrote voluminously on Holy Scripture. Of his sanctity, Du Pin speaks thus:—"Il fut de son vivant en réputation de sainteté, et même d'avoir le don de Prophétie." (Du Pin, *Nouvel. Bib.*, Tom. X., Chap. IV., p. 58—59. Paris, MDCC.) How strange a likeness between Schelling's Theology, and that system which originated in this holy Abbot! (See Werner, S. Thomas von Aquino, B. III., p. 750.)

‡ The Beghards appear to have carried the fanaticism and blasphemy of spiritual aberration to its utmost limit. To give one or two of their tenets as an example:—"Dicunt enim, credunt et tenent quod Deus sit formaliter omne quod est. Item dicunt, quod homo possit sic uniri Deo, quod ipsius sit idem posse ac velle et operari quodcumque, quod est ipsius Dei. Item credunt, se esse Deum per naturam sine distinctione. Item quod sint in eis omnes perfectiones divine, ita quod dicunt, se esse æternos et in eternitate. Item, dicunt se omni creaturæ, et plus creaturæ, quam Deo. Item, quod nullo indigent nec Deo, nec Deitate. Item, quod sunt impeccabiles," &c., &c. (See Mosheim, *De Beghards*, p. 210.)

safety when he was in company with the Holy Scriptures, and with the teachings of the great fathers of the Church—of S. Augustine, and the Damascene, of S. Chrysostom, S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, and S. Jerome. So towering a superstructure, so high a reach of intellectual power, required a deep, broad, and solid foundation: or how great might not have been its collapse and ruin!—too terrible to contemplate, looking on the Angelical, as we do, with such tenderness and love.*

That S. Thomas clearly perceived that a poisonous quality lay concealed in the writings of Abbot Joachim, and that he did not cease to keep his eye upon the "*Introductorius*," is evident from many passages in his *Summa*. One of the principal errors of the Abbot, and perhaps the most dangerous, consisted in his laying down that, as the Old Testament Law had passed away, so would that of the New Testament; and that, in its place, the "Eternal Gospel" which he had written was to take possession of the world. The Father and the Son were to give way to the Holy Spirit; the state of marriage, and the clerical state, were to yield to the Order of Friars. And the friars were to be glorified in the third period of a larger grace, which was to be ministered to them by the Holy Ghost himself; for it was of this period that our Lord spoke, when He said: "When the Spirit of Truth shall come, He will teach you all truth." It was this tissue of vanity and folly, of blasphemy and conceit, that acted with such magic effect on so many otherwise pious mediæval minds.†

The whole of the teaching of Abbot Joachim was based upon this one principle, viz.: that God was going to improve upon the revelation of Jesus Christ; and the mainspring of the consequent religious aberration was fixed in pride, and was formed of this one conceit: "And we are the men to enforce the covenant to come!"‡

Now, turn for a moment to the "*Prima Secunda*"—the first part of the second portion of the *Summa*. There, is displayed the great Angelical's special gift. He, with the instinct of genius, found the root, and, with the power of a giant, he severs

* Tonron gives a clue to the whole secret of his security in the following words:—"Il ne suffit pas de dire du Docteur Angélique, qu'il a été véritablement sçavant, et encore plus saint: il faut aussi reconnaître, que c'est sa sainteté qui l'a fait sçavant, comme la science a servi à perfectionner sa sainteté. Si ses lumières ont nourri sa tendre piété, sa charité, sa confiance, et toutes les vertus chrétiennes: il n'est pas moins vrai que la ferveur de sa dévotion, la vivacité de sa foi, son humilité, sa pureté, son attrait pour l'oraison, ont d'autant plus contribué à étendre ses connoissances, qu'on sçait assez que le propre des vertus est de purifier l'esprit et le cœur." (*La Vie de S. Thomas, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., p. 357.*)

† See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XV., Cap. III., Art. IV., p. 155—160.*

‡ In all the violent spiritual institutions, and frantic sects, of the middle, indeed of all ages, one principle is ever prominent—pride. Spiritual pride appears to be a devil of fire: burning the imagination, and acting on the whole mental system with corroding violence; eating out of the mind every element of calm judgment, and producing pictures which terrify and scare. Spiritual "passion" in so far, it would seem, as the soul transcends the body, so far is more enslaving, and holds a more despotic sway than carnal passion. Generally, one is the product, or the occasion, of the other.

it in two. The hundred and sixth, seventh, and eighth Questions—in all consisting of twelve Articles—sweep away, for ever, all the pretensions of the Abbot Joachim and of his dupes. Take, simply as a specimen, the fourth Article in the hundred and sixth Question: it alone is sufficient to act as an antidote to the evil of which we speak. The Question under which this Article is placed treats of the Evangelical Law—which is called the New Law—considered in its own nature.* The First Article asks whether the New Law is a written Law; the second, whether it justifies; the third, whether it ought to have been given from the beginning of the world; and the fourth, which is the Article in question, whether the New Law will last to the end of the world: † for if so, evidently there is no room, either for the “Eternal Gospel” or for the display of a new Order of transcendental friars.

That this article was written to meet the above case is evident from the fact that the Angelical, though he mentions no names, states the exact propositions attributed to the “Eternal Gospel,” and then overthrows them. His method is the following. He first gives four arguments against his own thesis, viz.: arguments which seem to prove that the New Law will *not* last to the end of the world. Next, he states his own case. Having clearly laid down his master-principle, he then analyzes, or explains, or expands it, letting in a flood of light on the miserable arguments or rather sophisms of the other side. ‡ Having thus exposed their impotence in general, he takes them one by one, and, applying his principle, seems to shake the logical, or rather, sophistical life out of them, and then marches on to other conquests.

To give the entire Article would occupy too much space. As an example, take at random the third argument against his thesis. § Having laid down the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the objection frames an argument upon their difference:—

* Quæstio CVI. De Lege Evangelica, quæ dicitur Lex Nova, secundum se. See S. Thomas Aquinatis, *Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Tom. II., p. 416. Ed. Parm.*

† “Circa primum quaruntur quatuor: 1^o, Qualls sit, utrum scilicet sit scripta, vel iudita; 2^o, de virtute ejus, utrum iustificet; 3^o, de principio ejus, utrum debuerit dari a principio mundi; 4^o, de termino ejus, utrum, scilicet duratura usque ad finem, an debeat ei alia lex succedere.” (*Ibidem.*)

‡ The central illumination which lights up to the right, as it were, the “arguments” of opponents, and to the left, the detailed solution of those “arguments,” acts upon the mind, very often, so suddenly, and with such force, as to produce the sensation of an “enlargement.” The quick transition from intellectual darkness, or twilight, to a perception, clear as day, of all that which was obscure before—and that through the brilliant shining of one simple principle—beats about with it a certain fascination for the mind, and causes the student to smile unconsciously with a species of delight. Who has not felt this?

§ “3. Præterea, sicut Pater est alius a Filio, et Filius a Patre, ita Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio. Sed fuit quidam status conveniens personæ Patris, scilicet status veteris legis, in quo homines generationi intendebant; similiter etiam est alius status conveniens personæ Filii, scilicet status novæ legis, in quo clerici intendentes sapientiam, quæ appropriatur Filio, principantur. Ergo erit status tertius Spiritus sancti, in quo spirituales viri principabuntur.” (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Tom. II., Quæst. CVI., Art. IV., n. 3, p. 418.*)

"Since there was a certain order of things which harmonized with the Person of the Father, that is to say, the order of things as it was under the Old Law, when men were bent on the multiplication of the species: so, also, in like manner, there is a condition of things which harmonizes with the Person of the Son, viz., the condition of things as it is under the New Law, when clerics, who occupy themselves with wisdom, which is the speciality of the Son, are in the ascendant. Therefore, there will be a third condition of things, that of the Holy Spirit, when spiritual men will be the rulers."

Here, unmistakably, are the "Eternal Gospel" and the illuminated friars.

The proposition of the Angelical, which stands like a wall of brass against this last fallacy and the three preceding it, is the following:—*

"But what the Lord says, in the thirty-fourth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of S. Matthew, is adverse, viz.: 'Amen, I say to you that this generation shall not pass till all these things be done,' which S. Chrysostom applies to the generation of the faithful of Christ. Therefore, the estate of the faithful of Christ will remain to the consummation of the world."

Next, comes the analysis and development:—

"I reply that the condition of the world may vary in two ways—in one way, with regard to a change of Law; and, as far as this is concerned, no other condition will succeed to the present state of the New Law. For the dispensation of the New Law succeeded to that of the Old, as the perfect to the imperfect.† But no condition of the present life can be more perfect than the state of the New Law; for nothing can approach nearer to the last end than that which immediately conducts into the last end; and this is what the New Law does. Hence, the Apostle says, in the nineteenth verse of the tenth chapter to the Hebrews:—'Having, therefore, brethren, a confidence in the entering into the Holies by the blood of Christ, let us approach the new way which He hath begun for us.' Hence, there cannot be any more perfect state of the present life than that of the New Law: for in so far forth, anything is perfect, as it is near its last end."‡

"In another way, the condition of men may change, according as they are related, in a more perfect or less perfect manner, to the same law; and in this way, the condition of the Old Law was frequently changed, since, at one time, the laws were kept very perfectly; at another time, they were not obeyed at all. Just as the condition of the New Law varies according to

* "Sed contra est quod Dominius dicit, Matth. XXIV., 34: *Dico vobis quia non preteribit generatio hæc, donec omnia fiant*; quod Chrysostomus (Hom. 78, in Matth., parum a princip.), exposuit de generatione fidelium Christi. Ergo status fidelium Christi manebit usque ad consummationem sæculi." (*Summa Theologica, Quæst. CVL., Art. IV., p. 419.*)

† "Respondeo dicendum, quod status mundi variari potest dupliciter: uno modo secundum diversitatem legis; et sic huius statui novæ legis nullus alius status succedet. Successit enim status novæ legis statui veteris legis, tanquam perfectior imperfectiori." (*Summa Theologica, Quæst. CVL., Art. IV., p. 419.*)

‡ "Nullus autem status præsentis vitæ potest esse perfectior quam status novæ legis; nihil enim potest esse propinquius finis ultimo quam quod immediate in finem ultimum introducit; hoc autem facit nova lex: unde Apostolus dicit, ad Heb., X., 19: *Habentes itaque, fratres, aduocum in introitu sanctorum in sanguine Christi, quam initiavit nobis viam novam, accedamus*. Unde non potest esse aliquis perfectior status præsentis vitæ quam status novæ legis: quia tanto est unumquodque perfectius, quanto est ultimo finis propinquius." (*Ibidem.*)

places, and times, and persons, inasmuch as men are more or less perfectly possessed of the grace of the Holy Ghost."*

"But it is not to be expected that a time will ever come in which the grace of the Holy Spirit will be more perfectly possessed than it has been heretofore, specially amongst the Apostles who 'received the first-fruits of the Spirit,' that is, as the Interlinear Gloss says, 'first in point of time, and more abundantly than all.'"

Having thus enlarged upon his thesis, the Angelical next answers in detail each of the four contrary arguments. The third, which alone has been touched upon here, receives its *quietus* thus:—

"To the third [argument], it is to be said, that the Old Law was not only given by the Father, but also by the Son, for Christ was figured in the Old Law; hence, the Lord says, in the forty-sixth verse of the fifth chapter of S. John:—'For if you did believe Moses, you would, perhaps, believe Me also, for he wrote of Me.' In like manner, the New Law is not only the Law of Christ, but the Law of the Holy Spirit also, according to S. Paul to the Romans (VIII., 2): 'The Law of the Spirit of Life, in Christ Jesus, &c.' Hence, another law, which is to be that of the Holy Spirit, must not be looked for."†

This is a mere sample of the way in which the Angelical, in the *Summa*—of which more will be said later on—grasped error with the strength of a vice, and then poured upon it a flood of intellectual light, displaying all its hollowness, bringing out all its deformity, till it shrank, and shrivelled up into the mere husk of its former self; till what was at first a formidable argument, a difficult objection, became a flimsy fallacy, or transparent impertinence or pretence. Those threatening figures, which, at dusk, looked, in the distance, like armed marauders, turn out, when the morning sun strikes upon them, to be old pollards in the hedge, or stunted trees on the horizon.

Our keen Angelical, though he loved so well to bide alone under the calm Eye of God, was never unmindful of his Master's work, or of the intellectual troubles of his fellow-men. In proportion as he lived his serene and tranquil life, near to the spotless light which shines down from heaven on loving hearts—in

* "Alio modo status hominum variari potest, secundum quod homines diversimode se habent ad eandem legem, vel perfectius, vel minus perfecte; et sic status veteris legis frequenter fuit mutatus; cum quandoque leges optime custodirentur, quandoque autem omnino pratermitterentur. Sicut etiam et status novæ legis diversificatur secundum diversa loca et tempora et personas, inquantum gratia Spiritus sancti perfectius vel minus perfecte ab aliquibus habetur."

"Non est tamen expectandum quod sit aliquis status futurus in quo perfectius gratia Spiritus sancti habeatur, quam hactenus habita fuerit, et maxime ab Apostolis, qui primitias Spiritus acceperunt, id est, et tempore prius, et cæteris abundantius, ut Glossa interl. dicit, Rom., 8." (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Tom. II., Quæst. CVI., Art. IV., p. 419.*)

† "Ad tertium dicendum, quod lex vetus non solum fuit Patris, sed etiam Filii, quia Christus in veteri lege figurabatur; unde Dominus dicit Joan. V., 46: *Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis forsitan et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit.* Similiter etiam lex nova non solum est Christi, sed etiam Spiritus sancti, secundum illud Rom. VIII., 2: *Lex Spiritus vitæ in Christo Jesu, &c.*, unde non est expectanda alia lex quæ sit Spiritus sancti." (*Ibidem.*)

that very same proportion he fully realized the mental trials of those who dwelt in "the shadows of death," or in the mists created by the creature, or in those sad clouds which gather about the mind when the heart gets wrong. He fully understood the human spirit.* The wearing pain of doubt, the stress of uncertainty, that loneliness which verges on despair, the cry for light, the agony of the heart, the dislocation of the entire intellectual system, which show themselves in different degrees and shapes, in those who still possess the sense of longing, but feel about in vain for light—he knew it all, beginning with the first approaches of unrest, to that stage in which, like children waking suddenly in utter darkness, the stifled spirit pants for at least one tiny ray of light on which to fix the feverish eye.

People are in the habit of imagining that "experience" of men, and of their maladies, can only be learnt by mixing busily amongst them. The Angelical teaches a different lesson. He who knows God first, will soon know man's frame, remembering that he is dust. He who knows himself in the light of God, and lives out of self in God, such a man has that within him which can see and measure both men and things.† He does not see them in the light of a world which has created a chaos in the order of affairs, but he sees them in the light of the sanctuary, and measures them in the scales of God. Thus, did the Angelical; he knew, and held, and acted on this principle, viz.: that what comes from above is illumination; what comes from below is darkness, or, at best, obscurity. Hence, his dwelling is in the Unseen. He lived out of the fog and the mist. He came below, indeed, to seek out error, but it was simply that he might throw the Light upon it; that he might draw men out of it; that he might urge them to partake of his own blessedness.‡

The work of the *Summa* is a marvellous proof of this. The extract which has just been given is simply one specimen out of

* Gibelli tells us beautifully whence the Angelical drew his knowledge:—"Equi mette bene di considerare che alle sue scientifiche speculazioni sempre andava innauzi l'orazione, e dall' orazione erano ainate; il Crocifisso gli era, dirò così, quel libro, ond'egli traeva quella nobilissima e felice disposizione d'intelletto, per la quale riusciva, studiando, ad alto segno; al Crocifisso, semprechè gli tornava malagevole l'apprendere checchessia, ricorreva; dal Crocifisso teneva la grazia di potere durare a lunghissime fatiche; il Crocifisso, in brieve, eragli lume all' intelletto, conforto al cuore, avvaloramento alla vita ed ogni maniera di bene." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Cap. XII., p. 49. Seconda Ediz.)

† There are endless examples, in the lives of the Saints, of that wisdom which takes the place of experience. Indeed, the practice of the Church, in training those who have, in their ministry, to deal with the horrors of the world's wickedness, shows how implicitly she trusts to the principle of a man knowing how to avoid or detect evil by clearly knowing and being sensible of what is good. He who has his ear carefully trained to hear nothing but good music, will not require an education in discords to learn what they are. Accustom him to them, and the jar they produced, at first, becomes gradually less violent; instead of shrinking from them more, he becomes less sensible to them.

‡ Tocco speaks most touchingly of his tenderness towards others, a tenderness mixed with so beautiful a gentleness and spiritual refinement, that, simply to read what is said of it, draws the heart towards him. See the paragraph beginning with the words: "Et quia conveniens satis erat, ut qui tot beneficia a Divina largitate abundantius aliis suscepisset, se omnibus caritate diffunderet; fuit etiam predictus Doctor caritate et pietate diffusus, ut alios a se ipso preveiret in gratiis, quibus datus erat divinitus ut splendesceret in doctrina." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. VI., n. 37, p. 669.)

a thousand. Who, but a man who felt both keenly and abidingly for others, would have gone through what S. Thomas went through, in hunting up, and preserving, the innumerable difficulties of every class of mind with which his great work is full? How carefully he states the case, how fully; how fair he is; how anxious that its entire force should be elicited. Is this a mere vain love of science; a bump of order? no; it is the gentle Angelical's tender love of Christ—his love of the souls for which Christ died. He prized science and logic, inasmuch as science and logic pushed on the Truth which saves. His greatness, the majesty of his mind, was far above all wretched human vanity and the itch of such scientific men as the modern world of materialistic thought has made its slaves. The entire spring of his life and action, the one prime-mover of all he did, had nothing to do with any created craving or ambition.* In the ordinary run of men, the motive power of their lives has its centre somewhere on earth. Hence, those who stand on the earth can shake it, or damage it, or destroy it; hence, the happiness of him who is bound up with it is dependent upon the caprice of men, weak like himself. His peace of mind is at their mercy; and so he is never certain of happiness for a single day. Shake, damage, or destroy the prime object for which a man lives, and you have almost done what is equivalent to shaking, damaging, or destroying the man himself. But let the prime mover of human activity be placed out of man's reach—let it be God, and "God alone," and man, at once, is made partaker of the peace, security, and stability of heaven. He who *really* rests on the Eternal and Immoveable, cannot be swayed or shuffled about by men. Men do not, cannot move him: he moves, manages, and controls them.† They do not know how it is, or whence it comes, but the fact remains—such an one becomes a power, and, if he have great mental gifts, a giant intellectual power, fixed in the stability of the unseen kingdom. Men must give way before his force of character, and acknowledge his larger, steadier, and brighter light.

* So much was this the case, that Toceco declares that though his body was on the earth, he seemed in reality to be living up in heaven:—"Fuit præterea prædictus Doctor mihi modo contemplativus, et celestibus deditus, majori enim sui parte a sensibus aberat, qui totus celestibus inhæbat, ut crederetur verius esse, ubi mente tenderet, quam ubi carne maneret. Erat enim mirabilis, videre hominem, nisi sensibus, et conversari cum sensibus in cibo vel aliquorum consortio, quantumcumque nobilium personarum, in quibus sævus consueverunt distrinhi, subito celestibus elevari; quasi non esset, ubi corporaliter sisteret, sed ubi mentaliter inhæreret." (Toceco, *Boll.*, Cap. VII., n. 44, p. 671.)

† Peter Grassus, when examined before the Commissioners who were employed in the process of canonization of the Saint, gives his testimony on oath regarding his great influence. He quotes the Archbishop of Naples, James of Viterbo, to the effect that no one at his day considered that he possessed a full knowledge of sacred science if he had not mastered the writings of Brother Thomas of Aquino:—"Et addidit quod . . . dixit ipse Archiepiscopus, quod nulli sibi attribuit vel ascribit in sacra scientia aliquid, plene scire, nisi qui sequuntur et inhærent scientiæ et scriptis Fr. Thomæ de Aquino, qui viam apernit intelligentibus ad sciendum." (Vide *Boll.*, *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap. II., n. 6, p. 686.)

A man with the power possessed by the Angelical, could afford to be serene and tranquil. He lived, as it were, behind the veil: he saw through, and valued at its intrinsic worth, this earth's stage, and took the measure of all the actors on it.* Like Moses, he came down from the mountain, into the turmoil of the chafing world below, and, enlarged by the greatness of the vision in which he habitually lived, it shrank into insignificance before his eye; and those events or influences which excited the minds of others, and disturbed their peace, were looked upon by him somewhat in the same way as we may imagine some majestic, solitary eagle surveys from his high crag, with half-unconscious eye, the world of woods below him. The Angelical himself had drawn his first lessons from a mountain eyrie. His elastic mind, even as a boy, had expanded, as he looked down from the mighty Abbey, on teeming plain and rugged mountain, with the far-distant ranges of the snowy Apennines standing up delicate and crisp against the sky. God, who made all this, had drawn him to Himself, and the fingers of a heavenly hand, striking on his large, solitary heart, had sealed him, imperially, for all his life to come, as the great master of the heavenly science, and as the gentle prince of peace.†

The fascinating influence exerted by the Saint, on all who were drawn within his power, seems to have been the product of a most unusual synthesis. Since his real life-spring was fixed in the unseen world, his whole method before men spoke of that intellectual might, and that Divine tenderness, which is an expression of the most perfect form of supernatural strength.‡ Immense weight of character, surpassing grasp of mind, and keenness of logical discernment, added to a sovereign benignity and patience, and to a gentleness and grace, which spoke from his eyes, and thrilled in the accents of his voice, made men conscious, when in

* Frigerio speaks of his meekness, saying:—"Questa virtù, che secondo il lume della retta ragione raffrena l'impeto dell'ira, si riduce per ammaestramento del santo Dottore al dono della forza, di cui proprio è incorar l'anima non solamente, ne' gravissimi pericoli, ma anche fortificarla nell'affannose molestie, che ne muovono all'ira ed allo sdegno, quali la mansuetudine col predetto dono accoppiata, pone a terra. Or quanto Tomaso si rendesse per questa virtù accetto a Dio ed a gli uomini, apertamente il dimostreranno le sante vendette da esso prese nelle ricevute ingiurie, e l'animo suo sommamente mansueto in sofferrle, come seguentemente diremo." (*Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 1, p. 108.*)

† Tocco, speaking of the utter contempt that the Angelical had for mere created things as proceeding from his high love of God, says:—"Et quia de necessitate sequitur, ut terrena homo despicat, quem affectio divina decorat: ideo conveniens fuit, ut predictus Doctor mundana despicere, qui non inveniret in sensibus, quod amaret: cum de ipso dicatur, quod mirabili modo fuit temporalium contemptivus: sive rerum, quibus homo pro necessario victu corpora utitur, sive horum, quorum dignitas prelatiouis ambitur." (*Tocco, Boll., Cap. VII., n. 43, p. 670.*)

‡ Gibelli tells us how the influence of heaven seemed to manifest itself in his very bearing and appearance:—"Sempre e ove che fosse, nel suo sembiante, nel portamento, in ogni suo atto si pareva un non so che di celeste, e quasi direi, un irraggiamento di Paradiso; che, lasciando stare altre cose, egli avea del continuo vivissimo il sentimento della divina presenza; onde incontrava che, le persone, le quali li miravano, di una cotai riverenza si sentivan comprese. Non per tanto il suo conversare tornava gradito e amabile a tutti; a tutti egli era cortese, a tutti officioso, a tutti riverente; i suoi costumi e le sue maniere facevano fede al della tranquillità e qualità della sua mente, sì di quel fervore di carità, ch'era la vita dell'anima sua. La discrezione, la quale è la temperatrice di tutte le virtù, informava a meraviglia ogni sua parola, ogni sua azione." (*Gibelli, Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino Cap. XII., p. 48-49. Seconda Edizione.*)

contact with him, that they were in the presence of a man of untold gifts, and yet, of one so exquisitely noble as never to display them, save for the benefit of others. Men knew that he had the power to crush them; but since he was so great, they knew also that he never would misuse it; they found him ever self-forgetting and self-restrained. A character with such a capability of asserting itself, and yet ever manifesting such gentle self-repression, must have acted with a singular fascination on any generous mind that came into relation with it.* It is evident, from Tocco and S. Antoninus, that the one abiding speciality, which receives an illustration in every chapter, nay, in almost every paragraph of their biographies of the Saint, is that of his possessing vast power, combined with a royal gentleness in the use of it.† Largeness of mind and self-control—those two great Benedictine characteristics—separated him off, with marked distinctness, from the common herd of students and professors in the thirteenth century.

Indeed, one of the great works which he was raised up to accomplish, was to bring into the midst of the heats and disputations of the University a portion of that lofty spirit of serene self-government which sat so naturally upon him.‡

How different from him was the great mass of teachers of that day who gave the tone to the schools, and created the *morale* of the place! In the description of "Paris" attempted in our first volume,§ sufficient has been said to suggest to the reader the condition of the University, and to prepare him for what is about to follow.

Thousands of noisy dissipated youths, from every quarter of the then known world, made up the majority of those who had to be taught. The teachers, as a rule, were, in their measure, little better than their scholars. Ignorant and vain, random talkers, quick without being deep, ready without being accurate, bold in argument, careless of truth, reckless in statement, violent in manner, overbearing in language and reply, filled with that nervous

* As described by Tocco, whose style is meagre and dry, the virtues of the Angelical point him out as a marvellous creature, of highest nature and choicest grace:—"Erat enim prædictus Doctor in sui reputatione humillimus, corpore et mente purissimus, oratione devotus, consilio providus, conversatione placidus, caritate diffusus, intellectus lucidus, ingenio acutus, iudicio certus, memoria retentivus, a sensibus quasi quotidie elevatus, et omnium quasi contemptivus temporalium, ut omnium virtutum unus homo haberet habitus, ex quibus sibi ad meritum et aliis in exemplum similes producerentur effectus." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. V., n. 24, p. 666.)

† See how beautifully Montalembert shows *benignitas* and *simplicitas* to be the special notes of the old Benedictines, quoting that touching epitaph, beginning:—"Mittis erat cunctis, snavis, plus . . ." (*Les Moines d'Occident*, *Introd.*, p. 160.)

‡ Who, after studying the life of the Angelical—after deeply studying it, can come to any other conclusion than this, that his whole temper of mind falls in exactly with "the normal condition of the monk?" The following expresses what is here meant:—"Nature for art, the wide earth and the majestic heavens for the crowded city, the subdued and docile beasts of the field for the wild passions and rivalries of social life, tranquillity for ambition and care, divine meditation for the exploits of the intellect, the Creator for the creature—such was the normal condition of the monk." Dr. Newman's *Mission of the Benedictine Order*, *The Atlantis*, Vol. I., p. 16.)

§ *Chap. XVI., XVII.*, p. 350—426.)

excitability which springs from, and is aggravated by, the continued working of an overwrought brain—they did little else than keep the schools in a continual fever, and encourage, in those who required just the opposite kind of training, an overweening thirst for intellectual tournament, with its brilliant paradox, its dashing sarcasm, its sparkling repartee, and its unfailing flashes of sheet lightning and of intellectual vapour.* Bright, sudden coruscations that lit up the imagination for a moment, the gossamer net of syllogistic display, the clever retort, and the caustic rejoinder, as well as the brutal jest, and the rude voiceless swagger of shameless ignorance—anything that looked like power, victory, or force, was sure to find admirers and followers in the Paris schools. If a Master broached some novel subject, and defended, as Masters often did, some startling proposition, or advanced some pet blasphemy, he was sure of an eager following. Let him attack the dogmas of the Church, let him get into his chair and deny the immortality of the soul, or try to prove that all souls are one—that man is God, and that God is nature—or speak patronizingly of Christ and his Redemption: and hundreds of itching ears and glistening eyes will be found shoving their way through the crowd to get nearer to his chair.† Scores of burning imaginations will go home charred for life; hundreds of minds will carry away a seed within them which may eventually germinate, and burst into spiritual monomania, or hysterical fanaticism, or absolute madness. Did not pantheism grow out of the Paris University? Was not “Averroës” taught there? Was not the book “*De Causis*” explained there? Was not David of Dinanto a professor there, and Amalric as well?

Then, see them disputing in the schools‡—the Master in his great wooden chair, with its high carved back, the Bachelor close below him, hundreds of young fellows of all ages and complexions, indeed, middle-aged men, rich as well as poor, the sharp and the dull, the ragged and the spruce, filling the great

* “Sed quid docebant novi doctores, et qui plus somniorum quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophia consumperant?—Ecce novæ fiebant omnia: innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica . . . solam convenientiam sine ratione loquebantur . . . Indignantur ergo puri philosophi, et qui omnia præter logicam delignantur . . . ut ait Seneca in l. Declam. Nihil est odibilius subtilitate, ubi nihil aliud est quam subtilitas: et ad Lucillum: Nihil est acutius arista, sed hæc ad quid utilis? tale utile est illud ingenium, quod sola subtilitate lascivens, nulla residet gravitate.” (Metalogicus, Vid. Lib. I., Cap. III.—Lib. II., Cap. VIII.; see also the *Polyraticus*, which has much on the same point, Lib. VII., Cap. VII.—XIV.) Of course, with all this, it is not denied that there were grave and learned professors, and attentive and well-behaved students in Paris. Here the question regards what S. Thomas had to correct, not what he had to perfect.

† See the *Verbum Abbreviatum* of Peter the Cantor, Cap. V., n. 11—12, p. 34—35; also, the letter (251) of Bishop Stephen of Tournay (1192—1200) to Pope Celestine III., beginning:—“Lapsa sunt apud nos,” &c., quoted by Gieseler, Vol. III., § 74, p. 295, note.

‡ How well Tosti describes the temper and influence of school dialectics!—“S’ incominciò ad entrare pian piano, ma con molta irriverenza di modi, nel santuario della filosofia. Ma i sapienti che vissero prima della metà del XII. secolo tanto fortemente stettero su la forma filosofica, che non pensarono alla cosa. Della forma abbisognavano, perchè volevano lottare, perchè volevano provare il piacere di un intoppo sormontato.” (*Storia di Abelardo* Prologo, p. 13.)

hall, and fixing themselves, as best they can, on the benches or amongst the straw. All are staring in one direction. All fasten their bright eyes with expectation upon the Doctor, now that the Bachelor has just finished making his Commentary on the Lombard, and that the book is closed. A proposition is selected by the presiding Master for one of the young men in the middle of the hall to defend. The youth—with those earnest faces, those prying, curious, criticizing eyes intent upon him—deliberately repeats the proposition. If he be well drilled in intellectual fence, if he be brilliant after the fashion of Abelard, with the quickness of an expert, he proves—deftly and neatly, with his ready major minor and conclusion, with his authorities, and his arguments from reason, ever keeping his middle term well in hand—the thesis which is presented to him.* If he be a clumsy fellow—in the midst of expressions of noisy contempt, careless laughter, and rude scurrility which the Master can with difficulty suppress, he blunders and puzzles over his defence, and at length, perhaps, the students getting wearied of him, a physical argument, administered by some impatient Cornifician standing by, drives his thesis out of his head altogether: his brain becomes confused, he loses his presence of mind and subsides into sullen silence. Or, if he be of another disposition, suddenly leaving his intellectual combat for the moment, with the quickness of lightning he draws out his knife, or, in his passion, plants his clenched fist in the face of his rash disturber: the students begin shouting and hustling—and at once the whole school is thrown into indescribable uproar and confusion.†

But let us suppose that the disorder has subsided. The clever student first mentioned is suffered to develop his thesis. This being done, the intellectual tournament begins in earnest. Ob-

* The love of "display" was so great, at least in the days of John of Salisbury, that, if what he says be true, a master of dialectics would stand a good chance of emptying his school if he taught with simplicity, and made his lessons too plain:—"Deridebat eos noster ille Anglus Peripateticus Adam, cujus vestigia sequuntur multi, sed pauci præpediente invidia profitentur; dicebatque, se aut nullum aut auditores paucissimos habiturum, si ea simplicitate sermonum et facilitate sententiarum dialecticam traderet, qua ipsam doceri expediret." (*Meta-log.*, Lib. III., Cap. III.—V.)

† Prantl quotes some curious lines under the title of "*De Presbytero et Logico*," which show the high feeling and excitement which existed between the reckless noisy logicians of the schools, and the more solid and serious section:—

"*Logicus*.—Fallis, fallis, presbyter, cœtum, Christianum,
Abusive loqueris, ladis Priscianum,
Te probo falsidicum, te probo vesanum . . .
Presbyter.—Tace, tace, logice, tace, vir fallator,
Tace dux insanie, legis vanæ lator . . .
Logicus.—Peccasti, sed gravius adiciis peccare,
Legem hanc adiciens vanum nominare;
Sanum est, disserere vel grammatizare,
Si insanum putas, velim dicas quare.
Presbyter.—Deo est odibile vestrum argumentum;
Ibi nulla veritas, totum est figmentum,
Logicus.—Audi, inter phialas quid philosopharis,
Follis non philosophus, hinc esse probaris,
Stulto sunt similia singula, quæ faris,
Epicure lubrice, dux ingluvie!
Cujus dens venter est dum sic servia ei."
(*Logik*, Zweiter Band, XIV. Abs., p. 231.)

jections can be thrown out in syllogistic form by any of those present. The very talent of the defendant arouses the envy of the rest. They do not like to be beaten. All manner of clever, subtle difficulties are proposed, discussed, defended, sifted. The minor is divided sharp as with a knife by the ever-prompt *distinguo*. The school's interest deepens. All watch with breathless eagerness to witness which of the two will eventually throw the other. In proportion as the audience is worked upon, the combatants grow warm and argue with rapidity. Fierce gesticulations, staring eyes, shrill and noisy accents, meet each other.* From time to time the excited youths—as they witness the quickening passages of arms, and as one or the other makes a more brilliant assault than usual—stamp with their feet and clap with their hands, and then, shouting to the echo, burst into a volley of applause, in which the Bachelor below joins heartily, and in which the Master can ill conceal his interest.† At length, one of the combatants slips in his heat, or does not cut the knot clean with his “distinction.” He has severed truth from error—admitted the one and rejected the other—but he has not done so neatly; some small thread of error, it need be but the most attenuated thread, has, in the cutting, been left hanging as it were to the truth which he adopts and professes to maintain. His adversary perceives his advantage with the keenness of instinct. He seizes upon it instantly. A rapid series of distinctions passes and repasses between the two, till finally the defendant of the thesis—seeing the game is up, that the fallacy must be exposed—having lost his argument, now begins to lose his temper. High words ensue, and with burning faces and swelling bosoms, and hearts blistering with rage, the two young dialecticians subside, ruffled and panting, into the motley crowd.‡—No species of excitement, except, perhaps, gambling for high stakes, could be imagined more trying to the nervous system than such displays as these.§

* What little sympathy these performers had with the monks comes out in these lines:—

“Quidquid tantæ curiæ sanctione datur,
Non cedat in irritum, ratum habeatur;
Cucullatus igitur grex vilipendatur
Et a philosophicis æcolis expellatur. Amen.”
(*Metamorph. Goliæ*; see Prantl, *Logik*, *Loco Citato*.)

† Lest I may be thought to exaggerate, see Peter the Cantor's *Verbum Abbreviatum*—for instance, *Cap. V.*, p. 34, sqq.

‡ “Non era la verità che l'innamorava, ma la vittoria dell'opinione. Avevano maestri di armi, dico della Dialettica, che è l'arma della disputa. Ove questa ferveva, i Filosofi di quel secolo combattevano; ove taceva, si ponevano alla pacifica sposizione del pensiero, ed anche combattevano, preponendo il dubbio, per entrare arbitri nella definizione de' contrari.” (Tosti, *Storia di Abelardo*, *Prologo*, p. 13.) Again:—“La moltitudine delle scuole e de' maestri, la libertà dell' insegnamento produsse la varietà delle opinioni, il desiderio, di farle prevalere, il bisogno della disputa.” (*Loco Citato*, p. 12.)

§ “La grande ville,” says De La Marche, “retentissait du bruit des vaines disputes et des querelles scholastiques.” (*La Chaire Française*, *Troisième Partie*, p. 417; see also *Vol. I. of this work*, *Chap. XIII.*, p. 353, note.)

At times, the Doctor or Bachelor presiding would descend into the arena with a student, either to set him right, or to show him and the rest how to exercise the art in its perfection. Occasionally, some quick-witted youth, full of mischief, or fired with ambition, would enter the schools, ready primed, with the set purpose of tripping up the reigning Doctor, and creating confusion amongst his disciples. He would have nothing to lose, and might always have something to gain. There was plenty of arrogance, in young and old, in the thirteenth century. Not authority—but reason, talent, logical dexterity, ruled in the noisy world.* Not reverence—but audacity, combativeness, and recklessness in dispute was the order of that day. Sharp wits seemed for the time to carry more weight than long heads. What happened between scholar and scholar also took place between school and school; and each being eagerly supported by the Masters, great was the turmoil and disorder which ensued. From arguments, recourse was soon had to knocks and blows.

And it need not be imagined that passionate displays were strictly confined to students. The Professors themselves, the Doctor, the Licentiate, and the Bachelor, were very often hot-headed and violent men. Indeed, to check wrath and fierce emotion seems to have been a duty unheard of—certainly little thought of—amongst these disputants. Professors had little respect for pupils, and pupils little for their masters. De Vitry says that many who set themselves up as teachers had hardly any education and few principles to guide them, though they had well-sharpened wits; and—as if in compensation for their slender acquirements—they were bloated with vain-glory, and sensitive as girls, through highly wrought self-consciousness and self-conceit.† No self-sufficient or vain-glorious man, it is clear to any one who thinks, can possibly keep his temper whilst he is playing a losing game. If victorious, with overbearing arrogance he can bully a helpless student, wrangle with a hardy Martinet, or take up the cudgels with a supercilious Cornifician; but if vanquished, his only resource is to storm against his victor, and

* "Voyons donc comment on étudioit la philosophie et commençons par la logique. Ce n'étoit plus, comme elle étoit dans son institution, l'art de raisonner juste et de chercher la vérité par les voies les plus sûres: c'étoit un exercice de disputer et de subtiliser à l'infini. Le but de ceux qui l'enseignoient, étoit moins d'instruire leurs disciples, que de se faire admirer d'eux, et d'embarrasser leurs adversaires par des questions captieuses à peu près comme ces anciens sophistes dont Platon se joue si agréablement." (Fleury, *Disc. sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, Cinquième Disc., § VII., p. 204—205.)

† So ignorant were some of the professors, that the students were warned against them by serious men:—"Le Cardinal de Vitry, les engageant à se délier des *néophytes*, c'est-à-dire des jeunes docteurs qui attirent la foule par l'attrait de la curiosité, et qui puisent tout leur enseignement, non dans leur mémoire ni dans l'expérience, mais dans les cahiers et les armoires (*in archis et quaternis*); car certains élèves sont entraînés par eux à force de prières, de caresses, d'argent même (*pretio conducti*), et gaspillent ainsi dans des futilités leur temps le plus précieux. Des disciples payés par le maître, n'est-ce pas là un joli trait de l'esprit d'intrigue et de jalousie qui agitate l'école? Et ce renversement des usages établis ne trouverait-il pas son pendant de nos jours?" (De La Marche, *La Chaire Française, Au Moyen Âge, Troisième Partie*, p. 418.)

beat his ignominious retreat, throbbing with disappointment and covered by the dust which he has raised around him. Judging from such men as John of Salisbury, Comestor, De Vitry, John de Hauteville,* and others who have touched upon the condition of the University, and the character of its Professors up to the time of the Angelical—students and their masters, in respect of steadiness and character, seem to have been about upon a par. A great reform was necessary. Men may have learnt to argue, and to become sophists, but with all the trickery connected with dispute, they were in considerable danger of growing into intellectual charlatans; if they had any character to start with, they stood a great chance of parting with it. They wanted self-control; they wanted self-repression; they wanted love of truth, and desire after wisdom: and the Professors wanted seriousness; and all wanted calmness, gentleness, tenderness, and courtesy towards each other. The school of noisy vulgar disputants required transforming into a society of men, full of Divine fire it may be, yet also of holy self-control—seeking truth, not victory; God's glory, not man's renown; and using the instruments of discussion, not as a means for carrying out some private end, or for ministering to some creature vanity or craving, but as tools, placed in man's hand by Providence, for working out the Truth and pushing forward the cause of God.†

The unspeakable damage done to mind, heart, and character, by such influences as have been described, need not be dwelt upon—it is patent on the face of it. And when it is recalled to mind that such was the training given to the vast majority of ecclesiastics, upon whom the grave responsibility of teaching and directing others would eventually fall, the case becomes a far more serious one.‡

What power was there which could leaven that mass of thoughtless, vain, contentious humanity? Whence was the "salt" to come to purify that earth? What instrument or organism, what method or influence, could bring in God, and truth, and reverence,

* De Hauteville, who, by the way, was a monk of our St. Alban's, expresses his opinion both on scholars and professors in no very measured terms, in a poem entitled *Architremus*. *Architremus*, the hero of it, is thoroughly disgusted with the Paris schools. The students are unfairly used and ill-treated, and the scholastics and doctors are full of vanity and conceit, and possessed of very little learning. On the whole, De Hauteville seems to have been utterly sickened by his experiences of the University. The mere fact of a law being passed that nobody should profess theology until he was twenty-five years of age, speaks for itself.

† The legend related of Erigena's tragical death shows anyhow the opinion held of students, even as early as the ninth century, by certain writers. The fact of his being a little man of vivacious and witty disposition—as is evident from his repartees with Charles the Bald—makes the story all the more telling. The legend is, that his scholars at Malmesbury set upon him, and pierced him to death with their writing instruments. (883.)

‡ There is no doubt also that the contests of the schools, as they were carried on at one time, helped to foster not only conceit, and to create restless spirits, but also were the parents of much crass ignorance. John of Salisbury, after revisiting St. Geneviève's, from which he had been many years absent, says of the men who had been his fellow-students there:—"I found them the same men, in the same place; nor had they advanced a single step towards resolving our ancient questions, nor added a single proposition, however small, to their stock of knowledge." The way they mixed up the teachings of Plato and Aristotle is known to all.

and self-distrust, and gentle noble courtesy of mind and manner amongst that boisterous throng? Who could sober the half-intoxicated mind, relax the tension of high-strung nerves, calm the senses, soothe the heart, reduce the fever of the brain, and bring the whole being into healthy equipoise?

Who of us could have devised a method? That some great change was brought about we know. How was it done? Who did it? It was the great Angelical.

He was a vast system in himself, and appears to have been specially created for achieving such an end. He was one single, simple man—doubtless. But he was a “system,” or the representation of a system—the highest type of what heroism can do in human heart and mind. Christ, in choosing him, had chosen the most majestic of human creations—converting it into a powerful exponent of the light, peace, and splendour which strike out from the Cross.* He, if any man, had rested on the bosom of his Lord. He, the great Angelical, with the golden sun flashing from his breast, and the fire of heaven scintillating round his massive brow—he, if any man, had broken the bread of the strong, and had refreshed his lips with the blood of the grape, and had been transfigured by the draught. There is a largeness about him, which, whilst it expands the heart seems almost to take away the breath.† We look up at him and say: “How great art thou! how gently courteous, and how tenderly true! Sweet was the power of God, and the grace of Christ, which made thee all thou art. O, gentle mighty sun, shine on in thy sweet radiance, spread thy pure invigorating rays amidst the deep sad shadows of the earth!”

If, after so many hundred years, the power of the Angelical is so great over those who know him simply through dry biographies and imperfect sketches, what must not have been his power—his wide encompassing influence—over those who came under his eye, and could look upon him in return, and were then subdued by so great a mastership? Simply on comparing his life, as Tocco gives it, with the lives of other men, it is clear, at once,

* The very conception of such a work as the *Summā*, is enough to show of what stuff the Angelical's mind was made:—“In Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*,” says Dr. Mettenleiter, “findet sich Alles vereinigt, was man von Gott, dem Menschen und ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen wissen kann. Da ist Alles hinterlegt, was die alte Philosophie geträumt und erstrebt hatte. Natur und Gesellschaft haben ihm ihre Schätze geöffnet; menschliche und göttliche Wissenschaft ist ihm hier auf gleiche Weise erschlossen; die Welt der Natur und Gnade ist seine Erbsen geworden; die Religion beleuchtet das Universum, dieses gibt der Religion Zeugnis.” (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin. Einleitung*, p. XXVI.)

† We can repeat with full heart those beautiful words, written under a painting of the Saint which was once in a church in the Piazza del Tempio del Gesù Nuovo, at Naples:—

“O sapientissima celestis optatissimum auspicium!
O integerrima vite juvenissimum exemplum!
Salve Thoma sanctissime custos,
Salve sapientissime magister,
Salve benevolentissime pater,
Macte gloria; macte laudibus; macte Virtutibus!”

(See *Vita*, p. 63.)

that he was a man of larger scale, built on a far nobler model than they.* Their range and calibre may have been considerable; one may have surpassed the other in this or that—each possessing his varied gifts; but the Angelical does not come in their category: he belongs to a higher class—a more heavenly order; he is solitary, and solitary from his very greatness—his orb, amidst the thousand stars, shines with its broad, steady, solar light.

Such was his character. And, prescinding from his natural gifts, how did he become so mighty? The cause has been touched on and partially developed already. The reader, adequately to realize it, would do well to study and master, with his heart as well as with his head, the monastic theology of S. Victor's—the Benedictine science of the saints.† Grasp the spirit of S. Anselm, S. Bernard, and the Victorines, weigh it as a whole, follow its drift, mark its salient points, learn to recognize the *aroma* of that sweet mystic life of tough yet tender service and self-forgetfulness, and you will have discovered that spring of living waters which ran into the heart and mind of the great Angelical, and lent to all his faculties—aye, and even to his very person and expression—a warmth and glow which seemed to have come direct from heaven. From the rock, which was Christ, flowed straight and swift into the Paradise of his soul four crystal waters: Love—fixing the entire being on the Sovereign Good, and doing all for Him alone; Reverence—that is, self-distrust and self-forgetfulness, produced by the vision of God's High Majesty awfully gazed on with the eye of faith; Purity—treading all created things, and self first, under the feet, and with entire freedom of spirit, basking and feeding in the unseen world; Adoration—love, reverence, and purity, combined in one act of supreme worship, as the creature, with all he has and all he is, bends prone to the earth, and with a feeling of dust and ashes whispers to his soul: "The Lord He is God, He made us and not we ourselves!"‡

* After speaking of the might of the great defensive Orders of the Church, he says, for instance:—"De predicto autem stellarum Ordine, id est Predicatorum, oportebat luminare aliquid præ cæteris, divinitus præfulgere doctus, et ideo de ipso præ aliis clarior Doctor præfuit Ecclesiæ, et qui velut stella splendida et matutina in aurora predictæ illuminationis apparuit, et quasi Hesperius serotini temporis usque in finem sæculi mundum illuminans in suis libris pro fidelium illuminatione remansit." (Tocco, *in Vita, Boll., Cap. I., n. 2, p. 651.*)

† Those who are really anxious to master fully the "spirit" of our Saint, and to understand the secret of his great success, should study with thoroughness the "Monastic Theology" of S. Victor's. Some may, at first sight, have hardly understood why the author wrote two long and elaborate chapters (See *Vol. I., p. 198—269*), with so many references, upon what might appear a matter almost beside the point. Those two chapters are the burning light meant to illuminate the moral character of the Saint. Love, purity, reverence, adoration—approaching science with cleanness of heart, with humility of spirit, with self-distrust, with an intense conviction that "*ubi caritas, ibi claritas*"—"where love is there is light," and that *self* is darkness and shadow at best—such is the spirit handed down by S. Benedict, and filling the heart of the Angelical. To fully appreciate it, it must be studied and meditated on: its power cannot be realized all at once.

‡ *Psalms, XCIX., 4.*

Was it not such high acts as these which made the Saint grow into the proportions of a sun? Was it not his having found a home so close to the Source of charity and tenderness which made him the gentle creature that he was? *

Thus his mind was essentially Platonic, synthetic, monastic. He loved peace; it was sweet to him to be alone—undisturbed by tongues, he found his true companionship with "Wisdom." He was never really solitary: his mind and imagination, his whole intellectual and moral being, was ever so absorbed by the world of realities, that he often became estranged from our shadows, and forgot men—disappointed them, ignored them, and affronted them. As a courtier in the high presence of his king seems quite unconscious of all other presences, so was it with him—rapt in the mystic vision of his God.†

But inclination is one thing, the call of God and duty is another. If the Angelical, by nature and early associations, was Platonic and monastic—by duty and by vocation he was Aristotelian and scholastic. On the broad basis of Plato super-naturalized, and of the monastic principle elevated to its highest and its best, stood, firm-set in his splendid mind—the force of genuine science, the keen Aristotelian faculty of sharp analysis, and the scholastic gifts of symmetry and order. Springing from so wide and massy a foundation—the power of dialectics, of lucid statement, of cogent proof, of vigorous attack, of victorious defence, of high intellectual strategy, was lifted to its maximum.

Yet the Angelical hated logic-chopping.‡ The slums of science might find excitement in it; it had no charm for him. When he had to witness such like displays in Albert's school, he shrank back into himself silent, and remained as one benumbed to all around. All flaunting of *self* was odious to him. The gluttony of intellectual excitement, and the pride of mental power, love

* How full of sweet fire was not the soul of Dante, when he exclaimed (in words that would fit the mouth of the great Angelical were he to tell what he experienced in his hidden life)—

"Cio ch'io vedeva, mi sembrava un riso
Dell' universo, perchè mia ebbrezza
Entrava per l'audire e per lo viso.
O gioia! O ineffabile allegrezza!
O vita intera d'amore e di pace!
O senza brama sicura ricchezza!"
(*Paradiso, Canto XXVII.*, 4—10.)

† See *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, n. 44, p. 671. "Wisdom" it was which inebriated him with love:—"Sic enim divina Sapientia, quæ melior est cunctis opibus, quam sibi a juventute sponsum acceperat, ipsum inebriaverat charitate, ut nullum mundanum ejus mentem alliceret, qui in uno bonorum omnium sufficientiam possideret. Qui cum concessa bona contempsit quæ habuit, non concupivit non habita; sed magnitudinem animi desepxit oblata, et obitus eorum quæ retro sunt, cuncta reliquit, et ad interiora se extendens, quæ obtinuit, dilexit." (*Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, n. 43, p. 671.)

‡ Love of truth, and love of intellectual excitement, create two quite distinct orders of pleasure. In modern days, running about after truth—as children chase a butterfly about a field, or as men and dogs hunt a fox or a hare—not taking hold of it, and possessing it, forms the great attraction. Men like the exercise; they love the pleasure of feeling themselves invigorated. In ancient days, amongst those who did not chop logic or did not care to do so, finding and possessing was the one desire—just as a man digs for a treasure, counting little of the spade-work, but much upon the prize. The former is the play of shallow, quick minds; the latter, the business of those that are deep and profound.

of applause, and thirst for fame, had no place in a nature such as his. Had he not by a supernatural gift been above all this, his solitary greatness and the majesty of his character would have secured him from the bitterness of jealousy and the strivings of emulation, which are the fruits of human rivalry. He himself declared that he never, in all his life, had so much as felt a temptation to indulge in one vain-glorious thought.*

It was such a giant as this that was brought into the schools. Comparing the character of the students and professors of the Paris University with that of the Angelical, no greater contrast could possibly be imagined.† Only in one thing he seemed to resemble that turbulent society—and that was in his quick logical mind, his swift intellectual vision. But even here, on their own strong vantage-ground, dialecticians were little better than untrained children in comparison with him; and they felt it—they were forced to acknowledge his superiority. He was undisputed master; he was the “Angel of the Schools.” And when once his place had been secured—and it was universally admitted that no one could approach him, in proof or defence, or in accuracy of judgment, or in store of learning, or readiness of resource, or power of logic, or breadth of vision, or in any kind of mental or moral eminence—then, his influence in the University, which naturally adored great genius and unlimited success, became supreme.

Besides men knew that he was a saint. His high perfection of soul could not have been concealed. Those four rivers which made him what he was, made the students also what they were in relation to him—something not very far short of worshippers. Tocco does not say as much—but there is a thread running through his “Life” which witnesses, even at this day, to the vast impress of the Saint’s character. When S. Antoninus writes of him, there is a fragrance about his whole tone which has to do with the *odor suavitatis* of the Blessed.

Fancy this great Angelical logician, whose one idea was to enlarge Christ’s glory, sitting in the chair of science with those hundreds of youths around him—not only youths, but bearded men, and possibly prelates and bishops, and other persons of

* See Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. V., n. 25, p. 666.

† “Ne cherchant dans les sciences que ce qui pouvoit nourrir la charité dans son cœur, ou élever son esprit à une plus haute connoissance des perfections de Dieu, il n’avoit que du mépris pour toutes ces connoissances stériles, qui servent uniquement, ou à satisfaire la curiosité des Sçavans, ou à flatter leur orgueil.”

“Il pensoit si peu à s’attirer l’estime des créatures, par les lumières, dont il vouloit se remplir, que rien ne le mortifioit plus sensiblement, que les loüanges: et nous ne devons pas craindre d’assurer, que si le premier, ou le plus ardent de ses desirs, étoit de se rendre saint et sçavant, le second fut toujours de cacher à ses propres frères, les progrès qu’il faisoit dans la science et dans la vertu. Par un genre d’humilité très-pen commun, et plus mal pratiqué dans les Ecoles; l’attention la plus ordinaire de notre Saint étoit d’écouter, de se taire, d’obscurcir ses talens, ou de faire disparaître, tout ce qui auroit pu le faire connoître tel qu’il étoit.” (Touillon, *Liv. I., Chap. XLII.*, p. 74—75.)

distinction!* Think of his familiar contact with them all—of his mighty gentle mind day by day pouring forth, from the vast chamber of his memory, “new things and old” for their instruction, and flooding them with light! He who as the merest child was ever asking: “*Quid esset Deus?*” he who as a stripling in the schools of the gay city of the South had surpassed his own professors; he who under Albert at Cologne had struck wonder into all by his profound defence of the Areopagite; he who had commented with such brilliant success upon the Lombard—now as a finished student in his early prime, leaving out all other reasons—was, as the natural consequence of his successes, King of the noisy schools!

He who has met a man of powerful intellect can make some estimate of the mysterious influence of mental power, and of the fascinating slavery of being enthralled by it. He may form a conception of how far-reaching it is. He may recollect how everything that drops from the tongue of such a man, or comes from his pen, has that indescribable sweetness and attraction about it which belongs to the temper of his mind; and how scores who have never seen his face, to whom he is an utter stranger, defend his cause with as much jealousy as they would the honour of their mother or the reputation of their dearest friend.† And if such be the effect simply of the writings of an able man, how paramount must not be his sway, when the glance of his eye, the accents of his voice, the charm of his manner, and the whole stamp of his character and genius, combine in one harmonious influence to illustrate and recommend his doctrine, and to subdue and captivate the heart! How mysteriously great is not the force of intellect over the generous, confiding, impressionable heart of youth!

Yes, see the great Angelical in the midst of the thronging schools. Brilliancy, depth, tenderness, and eloquence—all the force he had of mind and manner, was exerted by him to further the one cause he had espoused upon the earth: to advance the imperial cause of Wisdom.‡ How he must have shamed many

* If such was the case with fainter lights, a *fortiori*, without much stress of imagination we may suppose that the Angelical had not less attractive power. “On the ancient tombs of doctors in the cloisters of Pavia,” says Mr. Digby, “the master, like Nazario, is represented instructing scholars who are themselves bearded men; and at the college of the Jesuits at Rome, shortly after its foundation, Dr. Martin Gregory says that prelates and bishops, and other honourable personages, used to sit out of the press at lattice windows looking into the school, hearing and writing down the lessons in divinity.” (See *Mores Catholici*, Vol. I., Book III., Chap. VII., p. 393.) Think of S. Camillus de Lellis, and S. Ignatius.

† Here are two examples of the sort of thing I mean. Speaking of Thomas Scott of Acton Sandford, Dr. Newman says:—“I so admired and delighted in his writings, that, when I was an undergraduate, I thought of making a visit to his Parsonage, in order to see the man whom I so deeply revered. I hardly think I could have given up the idea of this expedition even after I had taken my degree, for the news of his death in 1821 came upon me as a disappointment as well as a sorrow.” (See the *Apologia*, p. 60.) Again: “I had hastened to the Tower . . . to receive the congratulations of all the fellows. I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honour done me, that I seemed desirous of quite shaking into the ground.” (p. 76.)

‡ “Or egli, che sì altamente descrisse la sapientia, più largamente ne fu di essa colmato per testimonianza del summo Pontefice Giovanni XXII. conforme ne attestò nella bolla della canon-

of those ungovernable Doctors! With what awe must not the shallow teacher have looked on him and heard him! What a lesson to the vain dialectician—the lover of intellectual display—to be constrained to beat his breast and say: “Verily, that man aims at one thing only—self-forgetting, to make Truth known and loved!” What a new sensation for the students when he serenely took his place amongst them, and held them spell-bound by his lucid, eloquent, simple exposition; by his brilliant, quick defence; by his modesty and gentle kindness! No wonder Tocco declared his influence to have surpassed that of every other Doctor; no wonder that his school was crowded as no other;* no wonder that at last all recognized the Divine Hand which was upon him, and that he was finally declared, by the Holy See itself, to be “The Angel of the Schools,”†

Several examples are given, in different lives of the Saint, of his remarkable gentleness and self-possession. On one occasion a young man was being examined before an imposing meeting of professors and a large assembly of students, for his Licentiate. During the course of the defense, he advanced a proposition which was decidedly unsound. The Angelical saw the flaw at once. He, in his own masterly way, entered into the lists with the young man. To him, of course, it was merely like the play of a child. However, the student, with that arrogance belonging to his class, thought to maintain his proposition: but the poor fellow was as a bird in the hand of the fowler. The Angelical pressed him, using as his lever a certain Council of the Church, which was wholly opposed to the proposition which the student had undertaken to defend. In vain the young man tried to extricate himself from the dilemma: his most artful efforts simply entangled him the more. The Angelical pushed him still further, till finally he was constrained by the sheer force of logic to own himself beaten: his pride was broken; he sunk to his proper place; and begged the Angelical, with a very different air and with expressions of genuine humility, to enlighten him upon the subject. “Now you are speaking properly,” said the Saint sweetly to him: and then he began to unfold the true thesis to him, with such a store of gentleness and sympathy, that all the Masters were carried away with admiration of him: “*Magistri*

izzazione addattandogli quelle parole dell' Ecclesiastico: *In medio Ecclesie aperuit os ejus, et implevit eum Dominus spiritu sapientie et intellectus*. Ammirarsi dunque in Tomaso l'altissima sua sapienza, non come sola intellettuale virtù, dal filosofo chiamata *Philosophia* prima, ma come sapienza infusa, ed un sovrano dono dello Spirito santo da lui ricevuto per una sua connaturalità ed affinità alle cose divine, da esso nutrita col pascolo dell' incessanti sue orazioni” (Frigerio, *Lib. III.*, n. 2, p. 124.)

* See Frigerio, *Lib. I.*, Cap. V., n. 2, p. 28.

† “Onde se nel Baccellariato fu stimato da tutti maraviglioso, nel magisterio poscia acceso con la maraviglia il stupore: perchè la dottrina, che da lui ascoltavano i scolari, non pareva humana, ma più tosto Angelica.” (*Vita*, p. 17.)

omnes," says Tocco, "*admirati sunt de tranquillitate mentis ejus et verbi*"—showing, by the very fact of their being so much surprised, that he was introducing a new element amongst them.*

Another time he had occasion to engage in a formal defence with the Minorite friar John of Pisa, who eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury. Great was the concourse to witness this passage of arms. It was what Frigerio calls a *solenne congresso*, and no doubt there were many eager Franciscans with their picturesque rough habits, and many Black Friars, as well as Augustinians and Trinitarians, seated in the great hall of discussion, waiting to see the issue between S. Francis and S. Dominic. To hear Dr. Thomas of Aquin defend a public thesis, even in great intellectual Paris, was a treat which no man who had a taste for exquisite dialectic art, or for displays of crushing power, would be willing to throw away.† Even to look on that man, with his meek princely bearing, and his finely developed brow and serene countenance, would have been enough delight. Well, the assembly met and the contest began. We are not told the subject of dispute, but—which is more interesting—we know what was its issue. John of Pisa, though a keen and learned man, had no chance with the Angelical. It would have been folly for any one, however skilled—yes, for Bonaventure, or Rochelle, or even Albert the Great himself—to attempt to cross rapiers with Br. Thomas. He was to the manner born. Br. John did all that was in him—used his utmost skill—but it was useless: the Angelical simply upset him time after time. The Minorite grew warm; the Angelical, bent simply on the truth, went on completing, with unmoved serenity, the full discomfiture of the poor Franciscan. John of Pisa at length could stand it no longer. In his heat he forgot his middle term and forgot himself, and turned upon the Saint with sarcasm and invective.‡ The Angelical, in his own gentle, overpowering way, giving not the slightest heed

* Tocco relates this case in full, beginning thus:—"Alind humilitatis exemplum ad predicti Doctoris perfectionis indicium fuit ab his, qui fuerunt cum ipso Parisiis, juridica assertionis reatum. Qui cum quidam Religiosus Parisiis deberet per Cancellarium examinari ad magistrum, in vespere, sicut est moris, licentia datus de objectis questionibus opinione contrariam tenuit veritati, quam in suis scholis prius Doctor determinaverat. Cui cum vir ille patientissimus non reputans: sibi prejudicium, in quo ei fuerat a magistro adhuc novitia contradicendum, quasi vero humilis, qui sui contemptum magnanimis contemnebat, quieta mente et verbo tranquillum, cum Fratribus sociis rediit ad conventum. Studentes vero, et predictus socius ejus, non ferentes talem injuriam dixerunt: magister, nos graviter in vestra persona sumus offensi." (*Boll., Cap. V., n. 27, p. 666.*) This suffices to show how he was numbered amongst the best and the highest masters of self-control.

† See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XVII., p. —, note.*

‡ "Ma non meno argomentar si può questa virtù nel santo Dottore da un suo solenne congresso, che ebbe in Parigi con Giovanni di Pizzano dell'Ordine de' frati Minori, che fu poi assunto all'Arcivescovado di Conturbia, che benché nel fervore della disputa maltrattasse il Santo con parole ampollose e pungenti, ei nondimeno con altrettanta mansuetudine gli corrispose: dimostrando in quella improvvisa occasione, quanto altamente indicata fosse nel suo cuore la massima cristiana, che lascio scritta: *Sicut honor est separare se a contentionibus, sic ignominia est in contentione os suum convicio maculare.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 5, p. 109—110.*)

It may be well to remark, that Frigerio takes for granted what some doubt—that the "*De Eruditione Principum*" was written by the Saint. (See Fengeray, *Essai sur les Doctrines Politiques de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. I., p. 25—26. Paris, 1857.*)

to these impertinences, went on replying to him with inimitable tenderness and patience; and whilst teaching a lesson which, after so many hundred years, men still can learn, drew on himself, unconsciously, the surprise and admiration of that vast assembly.*

Such was the way in which the Angelical brought the influence of Benedictine *quies* and *benignitas* into the boisterous litigations of the Paris schools. †

And what is more, Frigerio tells us that the Saint taught the great lesson of self-control, not only by the undeviating practice of his life, but also by his writings; that he looked upon it as an "ignominy" (*ignominia*) to soil the mouth with angry words; ‡ and contended that "quarrels, immoderate contentions, vain ostentation of knowledge, and the trick of puzzling an adversary with sophistical arguments—such as is often the practice of dialecticians—should be banished from the schools." § Still he did not at all object to argumentation when carried on pacifically: "*Utilis est autem humilis collatio, et pacifica disputatio.*" ||

It may be imagined by some that the singular grace of the Angelical proceeded simply from a happy gift of natural character. To take that view would be to misunderstand his life altogether. A man may naturally be of a graceful and amiable disposition—doubtless: and such was the Angelical; but to bear affronts meekly, to be patient under bitter injury always, under all circumstances to be the same—cannot be nature, such stability as this can only come from grace—can only proceed from having conquered nature, by practising it in virtue and treading it under foot. Had the Angelical not been a mortified man, he certainly never would have been a meek one. ¶

* It was notorious in the schools that the Angelical never, under any provocation, lost his sweetness and his tenderness. (See *Boll.*, *Cap. IX.*, n. 77, p. 710.)

† "E con tale religiosa modestia ugualmente e con la penna ammaestrò altrui, dover essere sbandite dalle Accademie le risse, l'immoderate contese, e le vane ostentazioni di sapere confonder l'emulo co'sostituti argomenti. Il che sovente costume è (egli dicea) de' dialettici; commendava però le discrete conferenze e le quiete disputazioni, dicendo, *Utilis est autem humilis collatio, et pacifica disputatio.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. II.*, *Cap. VIII.*, n. 5, p. 109—110.)

‡ As far as "reverence" for dogma is concerned, the change was very remarkable as compared with the days of Amaury and David of Dinanto:—"Il n'y a pas un philosophe du treizième siècle," says Hauréau, "qui ne commence par établir, en paraissant en chaire, qu'il laissera les mystères en dehors de sa controverse, et qu'il traitera seulement les questions dont l'autorité n'interdit pas l'examen." (*De La Philosophie Scholastique*, *Tom. I.*, *Chap.*, 1. p. 5.)

§ What wisdom is there not in the following:—"Duo sunt maxime contraria consilio: scilicet festinantia, et ira. . . . Zelus iustitie, qui est quasi ignis, ardere debet in oleo misericordie. Ignis absque oleo lampadem destruit; sic zelus iustitie, si deest oleum misericordie, nocet homini. Salvator destructionem Jerusalem, quam ex iustitia facturum erat, prius flevit. Super illud Matth. 5: '*Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam*,' sic habetur: '*Iustitia lumen est misericordia; iustitia sine misericordia caecum furor est.*' Princeps qui locum Dei tenet, Deum iudicando imitari debet." (See *De Eruditione Principum*, *Opus. XXXVII.*, *Cap. V.*, *Vol. XVI.*, p. 473.) The whole of the chapter is well worth meditating on.

|| He could not have selected more apt or concise words for expressing the intellectual follies of the schools.

¶ I have greatly insisted on the tenderness and gentleness of the Angelical. His very greatness throws these into bold relief, and they belong to his monastic training. Speaking in reference to Abbot Easterwine, Dr. Newman says:—"His gentleness and tenderness of heart seems to have been as characteristic of the monks as their simplicity. . . . Bede goes out of his way to observe of Ethelbert, on St. Austin's converting him, that 'he had learned from the teachers and authors of his salvation that men were to be drawn heavenward,

Those who have not been behind the scenes, but simply gaze on the results of heavenly labour—on the issue of heroic suffering and heroic love as it manifests itself abroad in the world, will most assuredly wonder at it, but they cannot possibly comprehend it. An outside carnal man looks on a saint as a some strange foreigner, whose ways perplex him, and whose character he cannot understand. He looks on him as a species of moral enigma, of which he has no attraction to discover the solution.

But let him, after looking on the sweet Angelical fascinating the crowded schools, take the trouble to follow him, as silently, after the day's work, he retires to his cell, seemingly to rest; let him watch him bent in prayer; see him take from its hiding-place, when all have gone to sleep, that hard iron chain; see him—as he looks up to heaven and humbles himself to earth—without mercy to his flesh, scourge himself with it, striking blow upon blow, lacerating his body through the greater portion of the sleepless night: let the carnal man look upon this touching sight; let him shrink back in horror if he will—still let him look on it, and he will learn how the saints laboured to secure a chaste and spotless life, and how a man can so far annihilate self-seeking as to be gentle with all the world, severe with himself alone. If in human life there is anything mysteriously adorable, it is a man of heroic mould and surpassing gifts showing himself great enough to smite his own body, and to humble his entire being in presence of his Judge.*

And whilst S. Thomas punished the flesh, our Lord, who desired him to advance from glory to glory towards his reward, allowed him continually to be molested in the spirit by the enemy of man. †

It seems that most of the mighty men of God—those men of awful soul, those abysses of passion, and those flames of fire—like Hilarion and the giant Fathers of the Desert—had it as their lot to wrestle with the frightful powers of hell, to see the fiend, to strike at him, to strive with him, to be worried, and

and not forced.' . . . Wolstan, when the civil power failed in its attempts to stop the slave trade of the Bristol people, succeeded by his persevering preaching. In the confessional he was so gentle that penitents came to him from all parts of England. This has been the spirit of the monks from the first." (*Atlantis*, Vol. I., Art. I., *The Mission of the Benedictine Order*, p. 30.)

* Possibly some amiable persons, when they read of the Angelical scourging himself, will feel horrified at the idea, or imagine, in their fond minds, that all the "suffering" for their sins has already been borne by Christ, and that they now may take their pleasure. S. Paul, as well as our Lord Himself, speaks too clearly on this point for delusions. It is pleasant, doubtless, to make out that we have no need of penance. But it is not wise. The flesh must be curbed, trained, broken in, and mortified. If we do not hurt it, it will hurt us. We feel no horror at cutting and sawing off a limb to save our body; why then be horrified at an earnest man striking his body in order to help in the saving of his soul?

† "Ma perche il sostenere, come pur hora dicemmo, è della fortezza l'atto più pregiato, saranno per conseguente più illustri dell' heroica sua pazienza gli esempi, che appresso recheremo. In questa virtù ei medesimo si tenne sempre esercitato con le continue addizioni che procurava al corpo suo; poiche leggevano in una Vita antica manoscritta di lui, che flagellandosi con una catena di ferro, era solito di convertire gran parte del notturno riposo in terribissimo suo tormento." (*Frigerio*, Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 5, p. 104.)

even smote by him. Our Lord Himself, in His gracious mercy, allowed His sacred Person to come in contact with, nay, to be pressed in the foul arms of the arch-fiend, and to be borne through the air by him.* The greater the stake, the more terrific the battle. To destroy a rational creature, which is a whole *cosmos* of love and heroism, to drag it down and plunge it into the burning lake as a damned soul for evermore, is the highest ambition of Satanic enterprise. No trouble is too great; all arts must be practised to secure that end; no years are too long for perseverance in the struggle.—Did the Angelical escape this trial of lofty souls?

Satan had made, as has been seen, one great assault upon him when a boy-prisoner at San Giovanni,† and he had been victoriously repulsed; nor was he again permitted to try to enter by that door. One of his three great weapons was thus struck from him. What of the Concupiscence of the Eyes?—Here Satan was powerless again. The Angelical had grown up from youth to manhood with so keen a vision into the Unseen, that deception was impossible. His heart and intellect had no part with what is made of clay, or falls to dust and quickly perishes. Pride?—The monastic principles on which his life was fixed, out of which grew his moral man, were so firmly set in him that the suggestions of pride simply created a jar in his intellect, which shook and resounded in his heart. The ring of light around a life of purity and love kept the polluted fiend at bay. However, if Satan could not touch the Saint, he had the power to annoy him; and his spiteful and venomous hatred at being foiled and rendered helpless, expressed itself in all manner of frightful apparitions. “Satan,” says Frigerio, “often appeared to him in horrible shapes in order to terrify him.” But the Angelical feared him not: directly the Saint cried out to him and made the sign of the Cross, he instantly disappeared.‡

* Mr. Lecky, with his usual acuracy for dates, says:—“Thomas Aquinas was probably the ablest writer of the fourteenth [1] century, and he assures us that diseases and tempests are the direct work of the Devil; that the Devil can transport men at his pleasure through the air; and that he can transform them into any shape.” (*Rationalism in Europe, Vol. I., p. 72.*) Now, considering S. Thomas, who wrote so ably in the fourteenth century, not only died before the end of the thirteenth, but also wrote rather voluminously, it is a pity we should be kept quite in the dark as to where he made those statements.

† As men get misty in their notions of the God-man, they become vague regarding their belief in him whose power that God came to crush. Some wholly disbelieve in a Spirit-temper. Let such meditate on the words of a great man, Bossuet:—“Qu’il y ait dans le monde un certain genre d’Esprits malfaisants, que nous appellons démons, outre le témoignage éclatant des Ecritures divines, c’est une chose qui a été reconnue par le consentement commun de toutes les nations, et de tous les peuples. Ce qui les a portés à cette croyance, se sont ces effets extraordinaires et prodigieux qui ne pouvaient être rapportés qu’à quelque mauvais principe, et à quelque secrète vertu, dont l’opération fut maligne et pernicieuse.” (*Premier Sermon sur les Démons, Tom. VIII., p. 38—39. Paris 1845.* See the *Confessions* of P. Ventura de Raulica, *Tom. III. Paris, 1855.* Görres, *Die Christliche Mystik, B. III., IV.* See also Delrio’s celebrated work, or Schramm’s *Institutiones, Tom. I., § CXCV., § CXCV., p. 344—349.*)

‡ “Conciosiosache se presumeva d’acenderlo di libidinoso ardore, era vana l’impresa, trovandosi in lui il fomite estinto, o almeno mitigato mercè del suo angelico cingolo di castità; se di superbia li tentava, egli con la sua profundissima humiltà ne pure i stimoli in contrario sentiva; se finalmente d’avaritia, egli col cuor suo nobile disprezzando quanto il mondo brama, la ribatteva. Il nemico per tanto contra di lui di fervente ira acceso, sovente

John of Blase, a judge in the courts of Naples, and attached to Queen Mary of Sicily, gave his testimony on oath respecting a fact which came within his observation as to the terrible spiritual trials which the Angelical had to undergo. This learned judge does not appear to have been a man of imaginative mind; his evidence speaks of clear, hard common sense—and he knew the Angelical well; he seems to have been quite familiar with his habits of life; he speaks of his great piety, uprightness, and sobriety. He had attended his sermons for upwards of ten years, and had lived with him as an intimate friend for more than five. He was the same who had watched the Saint during his Lenten discourses preaching on the simple text "*Ave Maria*,"* with his eyes ever closed, and his face directed towards the heavens.

His evidence was as follows.† The Angelical was staying in the convent of his Order at Naples, and it seems to have been the habit of the judge to pay him visits in his cell. Now, not far from his cell there appears to have been an open place or verandah, such as is often seen attached to foreign convents, where the friars, after the toils of the day, could meet in the pleasant evening air, and edify each other in holy conversation. The judge declares that whilst he was engaged in the cell of the Angelical, the Saint went out, intending to go to this verandah, and that whilst on his way, Satan suddenly appeared to him in the shape of a negro, dressed in black.‡ Immediately S. Thomas saw him, he knew it to be the arch-fiend, and at once rushed upon him with his arm raised ready to strike at him with his fist, exclaiming at the same time: "Why dost thou come here to tempt me!" But as the Saint came upon the apparition, Satan vanished, and never again appeared to him there.

Being asked by the commissioners how he acquired this information, the judge answered on oath: "*Quod interfuit et vidit*"—that he was present, and witnessed the occurrence with his own eyes.

gli appariva in forme horribili sotto mentite larve per ispaventarlo. Alla cui vista il fortissimo campione di Christo armavasi del segno della Croce, e lo necessitava, o con solamente aggridarlo, o con fargli animosamente incontro, a prender impetuosa fuga: *Audite fortitudinem*, leggesi nella vita antica di lui, *omnes diaboli fraudes superavit.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VII., n. 3, p. 103—104.*)

* See *Boll., Cap. VIII., n. 70, p. 708.*

† If in any examination there is a severe sifting of evidence, and a careful analysis of facts, it is in the process which precedes the canonization of saints. Any one wishing to convince himself that the saints—to whom the Angelical is no exception—had to struggle against the worrying apparitions of Satan would do well to peruse such processes. Read for instance the Bull of the canonization of S. Catherine of Sienna, S. Philip Neri, the "process" of S. Francis Xavier, of S. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, or of S. Frances of Rome; or look at the older saints—at Job; read the life of S. Anthony by S. Athanasius, or that of S. Hilariou written by S. Jerome, and dip into the lives of the Fathers of the Desert.

‡ "Et dum esset [ipse Iudex] cum eo [S. Thoma] quodam die in cella sua ad quoddam solarium discoopertum, apparuit illi visibiliter demon in figura cuiusdam hominis nigri, et induti paucis uirgis: et dum idem Fr. Thomas adverteret, et videret illum esse demonem, cucurrit contra eum cum pugno elevato; et cum percuteret eum ipso pugno dicendo: Quare venisti nunc ad tentandum me? Et cum appropinquaret ad eum, dictus demon evanuit, nec ibi ultra apparuit. Interrogatus de causa scientiæ, dixit, quod interfuit, et vidit." (*Boll., Cap. VIII., n. 70, p. 708.*)

The biographers of the Saint declare that this was the only occasion when he was ever known to have been roused to anger. Not like the old sailing ship, which, whilst it can be steered, yet depends upon the wind, but just as one of those mighty vessels of modern construction, propelled through the dancing ocean with a strong steady course, taking its own line, and going on its own way, in spite of the heaving troughs of the sea and the treachery of the wind—so the Angelical seems to have had within him a force so mighty that it bore him through the lifting ocean of life, with its storms and currents, cutting through them all, ever bearing up swiftly and grandly in one direction, towards the lights flickering in the distance at the entrance of the port of the Spiritual City. What man in history, saint or not saint, has ever shown, in the midst of so many trials, from infancy up, so marvellous an equanimity, so unruffled a self-command?*

And, in point of fact, an event took place about this period, which perhaps gives the most telling witness to the chivalrous bearing which was so noble a trait in his many-sided character.

When the great contest which had drawn the Saint from his life of study, prayer, and preaching, to take a prominent part in defending the Religious Orders in Italy, had come to a close, he received instructions from his Superiors to return once more to France. The deputies who had been sent by King Louis, as well as the representatives of the University, who had been mixed up in the affair of William of S. Amour, appear to have started about the same time.† Whether they travelled with S. Thomas, does not appear. It is very probable that the Angelical went on foot, begging his way, as he had been accustomed to do from his early religious life, accompanied by his *socius*.

Before he set out on his journey, he was admitted to an audience with the Holy Father. With what marks of deep esteem and admiration he was received, may be left to the imagination of the reader. In the first place, Pope Alexander had ever been a friend to literature and men of letters; he himself was an author, and he freely promoted learned men. Henry, Cardinal of Ostia, who had been a renowned lawyer and a deep divine,

* Barelle expresses the principle which ruled his soul thus:—"L'inaltérable sérénité de son intelligence, le calme profond de son cœur, en avaient fait le séjour propre de cette vérité qui n'habita jamais dans l'agitation et dans le trouble. Dieu lui-même parut s'incliner vers cette grand Âme, et la favoriser dans ce travail d'un secours tout particulier; en sorte qu'on a pu dire de Thomas ce que l'évêque d'Hippone avait dit du Prophète, que le feu divin, allumé dans son intérieur par le rayon céleste, avait passé dans ses écrits. Ajoutons que ses paroles conservent encore aujourd'hui ce feu échué, que l'indifférence de nos jours peut seule laisser enseveli dans la poussière des âges." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XVII., p. 179.)

† "Les affaires ayant été terminées en Italie, de la manière qu'il a été dit, les Députés du Roi saint Louis et ceux de l'Université, partirent pour la France: notre Saint se disposa aussi à faire le même voyage, selon la volonté des Supérieurs. Honoré de la bénédiction du Pape, qui lui donna mille marques d'estime et de bonté; et non moins regretté de tous ses frères, qu'il en avait été admiré, lorsqu'il parloit pour leur défense, il monta sur un vaisseau, pour se rendre à Paris avant le commencement de l'Hyver." (*Touron, Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p. 148.*)

was placed by him in the Sacred College; whilst his royal munificence to the great Canonist, Bartholomew of Brescia—who wrote so much on the Decretals—might be remembered.* If such was the bias of the Sovereign Pontiff, what an exceptional interest must he not have felt for the great Angelical! Even quite recently he had reason to look on him with unfeigned tenderness and regard. His fame, his name, the work he had already done for the Church, his last brilliant victory—so modestly yet so crushingly achieved—all this, no doubt, filled the mind of Pope Alexander, as the Angelical knelt down at his feet, and received, with the loving reverence of a little child, the Apostolical benediction.† It is a touching picture to paint in the imagination—the great light and pillar of the Church bending down with all humility, whilst he to whom the care of all the Churches is confided, spreads his hands over him, looks up to heaven, and invokes the Spirit of God upon his head. These acts of reverence and of authority are not without their intrinsic efficacy as well as their external worth.‡

Then he had to take leave of those loving beings who had watched him with such longing when he was being commissioned by the General of the Order to defend their holy cause. They too had much—indeed, it may be said, *all*—to thank him for. He had saved them. They were still to live in honour. They were still to keep possession of their privileges. In fact, he had raised them up, and given them a position, and lent them a *prestige* which they did not possess before. See them there, all around him, with their shaven heads and circling crowns of hair, the gentle novice and the deep-eyed professor;—there they are in their neat white habits, pressing about him, as he stands, higher, greater than the rest, a larger man, one of themselves, but yet, in spite of himself, a King amongst them all. Sweet is the sorrow that they feel—for religious men know nothing of the world's bitterness in parting.§ They are persuaded, as they

* (See *Lives of the Popes*, by Baptista Platina, *Alexander IV.*, p. 272, English ed. London, 1685.) Schulte, however, denies that Alexander favoured Bartholomew, and says that it was Urban IV. who made Henry of Susa a Cardinal. (See *Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts*, B. I., Abs. IV., § 16, p. 53—§ 17, p. 16.)

† Gibell, *Cap. XIX.*, p. 74.

‡ The destruction of all forms and ceremonies is one of the miseries of the present day. In themselves, they are of little worth perhaps, but as barriers against forwardness and arrogance, and as methods of keeping order and asserting just position, and of snubbing the self-sufficiency of vulgar ambition, they are of inestimable value. When the moth has once succeeded in breaking up the *form* of social life, anarchy soon steps in and takes its place.

§ The men who have ventured all for the Unseen, to secure it without fail, have simply realized more intensely than others what Hettlinger expresses so forcibly in these words:—"Was heisst das, Mensch sein? Was ist das Eigenthümliche seiner Natur, das Auszeichnende seines Wesens? Das ist der Gedanke seines Geistes, der freie *Entschluss* seines Willens. Und was ist das Tiefste seiner Gedanken, das Mächtigste, das seine Seele bewegt? Der tiefste Gedanke seines Geistes, das Mächtigste Gefühl seines Herzens, das stets bleibende, nie übertriffene Ziel seines Strebens—das ist der Gedanke des Ewigen, des Unendlichen. Nun, nennen wir das mit einem Worte—das Ewige, das Unendliche—das ist *Gott*." (*Apologie des Christenthums*, Erster Band, Erste Abt., Achter Vortrag, p. 343—344.)

look on him with their mild, pure, loving eyes, that they will surely see him once again, whatever happens, come the worst. They know that life in reality is not life; but after death, is Life—and then comes joy and calm repose, with all pangs of parting over. Such is their gentle, firm conviction, lending a light to the darkest shadows and touching earth with a ray from heaven. And they embrace, and say: "*Addio Carissimo*," sadly, perhaps, but hardly sorrowfully. And so he parts with them, they accompany him, it may be, to the convent door, as he and his *socius*—most likely Reginald—start on their journey; and then the "Brethren," having watched him out of sight, after saying to each other all manner of loving things of him—retire, one to his study, another to his cell, all to their work, to their labour till the evening-tide.*

One of the reasons why the Angelical and his companion left Italy so soon, was in order to get settled down in Paris before the severity of the winter should set in. Besides, they had to make part of their way by sea. But their forethought did not save them from trouble here. The treachery of the ocean can be trusted in no season of the year. The Angelical embarked. There appear to have been many passengers, and a good ship's crew on board the boat, such as boats were—poor craft for sailing, in the middle ages. After a favourable run out to sea, the wind suddenly shifted, and became violent and contrary.† Black murky clouds spotted the horizon, and gradually bulging out into all manner of fantastic forms, blended, and spread themselves like a curtain over the sky, whilst a violent tempest, with shock and flash, burst across the waters, carrying the ship bodily upon a girdle of thundering breakers, which were madly bursting and seething over the half-hidden rocks which seemed to guard an island beyond. Every moment that island became more visible through the darkness as the boat was hurried along; every moment the passengers could hear more distinctly the deafening agony of the waters, as they threw their spray and spent themselves against the rocks, or rose and fell around the island; every moment the details of their awful position

* It was the very same principle which held them so serene during all the changes on the stage of this world, which wrought in the martyrs that heroism for which even their persecutors were constrained to admire them. Think of S. Justin Martyr, S. Polycarp, of holy Blandina, Epipodius, Synphorian, Appollonia, and others. Death, parting, bereavements—all these, with men who realize the "hidden things of His wisdom," mean: "I will follow, you have gone before. We are all on the journey, we shall repose, and meet again, at the end of it. Have patience, wait a little." How different from the yawning darkness into which the pagan looked!

† "Fuit virilis robore, cum se ad aliquos actus virtutis corpore exercebat: qui etiam virtute animi nihil timuit, nihil abjectum pia humilitate desepit; et propter hanc causam it consistentia divina confidit: de quo etiam dicitur, quod vadens Parisios, cum in mari, horrendum pateretur ex acre tempestatem, navis etiam mortem imminentibus, ipse superterritus in tota tempestate permansit: ut videretur Deus tam nobile corpus et organum preparasse, quod ad actus virtutum serviret obediens, quod nunquam esset rationis iudicio contradicena." (Tucco, *Boit.*, Cap. VII., n. 39, p. 670.)

revealed themselves with all their varied noisy horrors. The sailors had done their utmost—they could not stop the boat; she was borne away towards the reef in spite of sail and helm,* in spite of master and sailor, in spite of the shrieks of the women, and the prayers and the curses of the men. It is but natural, when all seems lost, when all has been done, and all has failed, that terror and despair should take the place of hope and courage. So was it here—captain, crew, and passengers, seeing that their doom was sealed, became petrified with terror. There was, however, one exception; there was one calm self-possessed being, whom no power on earth or in the waters seemed capable of ruffling, and who—when the ship was being carried away violently by the hurricane to inevitable destruction, when the ship's company as well as the passengers were altogether paralyzed with fear, when the agonies of death seemed already to be at hand—turned gently and confidently to his Lord, as he would have done in his little cell at Anagni or at Naples, and begged of Him to stay the tempest and save the foundering ship.† His prayer was heard at once, the wind changed, the boat was borne away from the breakers, the awful island diminished gradually to a speck, and at length was lost in the distance, as the craft ran quickly along before the wind, and sailed gaily and gallantly into port.‡

O how deeply set in the centre-soul of the Saint must not have been his trust in the power of the World Unseen! How great a gift, in real peril, to have Christ for one's stay, and His Cross for one's support—to be ever one, in storm or shine, like the great Angelical!§

Tocco tells us that he had his own way of meeting "the terrors

* Tournon supposes that the tempest spoken of by Tocco must have occurred at this time. He is the safest guide. He describes the event thus:—"On croit que ce fut en cette occasion qu'il essuya cette horrible tempête, dont parle Guillaume de Tocco. Après quelques jours d'une heureuse navigation, le vent changea tout à coup; il devint impétueux et contraire: Le Ciel se couvrit de nuages les plus épais, l'orage fut si violent, que tout sembloit annoncer un naufrage prochain, et une mort inévitable. Le Patron-même et les Matelots, aussi-bien que les passagers, après d'inutiles efforts contre la violence des vents et des vagues, qui poussaient continuellement le Vaisseau vers une montagne, s'abandonnoient aux cris, ou à des gémissements encore plus inutiles; et la frayeur augmentant le danger avec la confusion, ils se croyoient déjà ensevelis sous les flots." (*Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p. 148.*)

† "Parmi tous ces objets d'horreur, la présence de Dieu, et la soumission à ses ordres soutenoient le disciple de Jesus-Christ; sans rien perdre de la paix de son âme, il redoublait la ferveur de ses prières, attendant toujours avec une pleine conscience le secours et le salut de celui, à qui la mer et les vents obéissent: *Nautis etiam mortem timentibus, ipse imperterritus in tota tempestate permansit.* Ses vœux furent exaucés: le calme succéda enfin à la tempête, avant que le Vaisseau eût été porté contre les rochers; et un vent favorable s'étant levé, on fit heureusement le reste de la navigation." (*Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p. 148.*)

‡ For many curious instances of the power of saints over the elements, open the lives of B. Mary d'Agreda, S. Agnes of Bohemia, S. Dominic, S. Peter of Alcantara, S. Bernardine, Blessed Giles, and others—see Görres, *La Mistique* trad. par Charles Sainte-Foi, *Tome Deuxième, Chap. XXI., p. 273—291.*

§ The Angelical, whilst being a high contemplative, and a severe dealer with himself, whilst the tenderness of creatures—had the heart and courage of a lion. He was a thorough "man" in the highest and noblest acceptation of the term. What was mean, crawling, or cowardly, found no place and no sympathy with him. He had the courage of steel, and a nerve of iron. Religion did not stunt, but it fostered all that was true and great in him. *True religion truly practised would do the same for others.*

of the air." He doubtless remembered how narrowly he had escaped, when the fork of lightning searched out and killed his little sister sleeping by his side at home in early childhood. His sword was the sign of the Cross; and the shield which covered him, the words: "*Deus in carnem venit: Deus pro nobis mortuus est!*"—"God came in the flesh; God has died for us!"* as if he should say: "I fear you not either for life or death. He who bore our clay and died our death, He will be the shield of my help and the sword of my glory, whilst underneath are the Everlasting Arms."†

Great must have been the excitement in the University on the return of the two parties which had been sent forth to fight their respective battles. Great the sadness of the one, great the exultation of the other. Irreverence and rationalism had not for many years, perhaps never since Remigius started the Paris schools, received so severe a check. The battle had been a bold, open, uncompromising contest. Both sides did all that was in them to overset the pretensions of the other. Both were sanguine. And had not the Holy See been the arbiter, things might have gone very differently.‡ But her principles are fixed; her laws are sure, definite, and easily understood by those who care to read. The secular party had been blinded through conceit, and had lost themselves through insubordination, and therefore did not rightly interpret the signs of the times: they had played a losing game, and their champions returned to them simply to relate how Bonaventure, Albert, and Br. Thomas of Aquino, by their learning, keenness, and moral weight, had carried everything before them at the Court of Rome.

The Angelical meanwhile found his way through the narrow crowded streets of the great city—streets he had travelled along years before, when quite a stripling, with the venerable General—and no doubt was glad, after the turmoils and excitements of discussion, after the perils of the deep, and the fatigues of a long land journey, to shut himself up in his cell in S. James's, and enjoy, away from tongues, some of the sweets of holy solitude.§

* In terroribus autem aeris, tonitruum et tempestatis, quasi pro scuto opponendo se munius Crucis signo, dicebat: Deus in carnem venit, Deus pro nobis mortuus est." (*Boll., Cap. VII., n. 39, p. 670.*)

† *Deuteronomy, Chap. XXXIII., 27, 29.*

‡ What governing power on earth can be compared with that of Rome, taking its duration, the wide area over which it is exercised, the multitude and variety of the subjects with which it has to deal, and which it cannot dally with, but is obliged to settle—remembering the great diversity in times, customs, and nationalities? And then also bearing in mind that while the world may change, and fashion its creeds and morals at caprice, she must ever start from the same point, and ever return on the same principle. To a man who can grasp a broad view of a complex action, the history of the Church as a directing and controlling power, from the first to now, offers food for serious reflection. Is she not more than human?

§ His love of solitude and distaste for gossip and small-talk and the useless pouring out of insignificant trivialities, is thus touched upon by Tocco:—"Nullum vite tempus esset vacuum, quod non esset sacris actionibus occupatum. Ita quod si aliquando pro consolatione Fratrum vel aliarum venerabilium personarum coegeretur dimisso studio in locutorio condescere, a pro-

But it is hardly probable that he was allowed to have much repose. He was the hero of the triumph which had been achieved. He was looked upon, by that powerful body representing the party of discipline and order, as having, by his extraordinary gifts, saved from destruction those principles for which they would readily have sacrificed their lives. He had left Paris on his high errand, followed by the admiration and blessing of all Who loved religious life and desired order to be preserved. They knew from his antecedents that he was a great and powerful reasoner, and a pure and spotless man of God. The crowded convent itself to which he belonged, the grave Cistercian, the solemn Carthusian, the ascetic Bernardine, the active Trinitarian, the children of S. Augustine, and the meditative Benedictine, all with any interest in the maxims of perfection, must have welcomed the Angelical as citizens welcome the return of a chief from battle—from a war on which their all was staked, and in which he, through his superior generalship and presence of mind, had been victorious. And in proportion as they realized the benefit he had conferred upon religion, so much the more fully did he gain an influence over their hearts. It was no small matter, in days when Religious Orders were so powerful, to have achieved a position which secured to him their united countenance and support.*

And whilst the Regulars were congratulating one another on the favourable outcome of their common trials, the Holy See, with that sagacity which sees too far for human eyes, was preparing to follow up strenuously the action it had from the first determined on. Pope Alexander felt that there would be very little use in issuing decrees and fulminating anathemas at Anagni, very little profit in burning heretical books there, and severely punishing their composers, unless something were done to secure the realization of the Pontifical wishes in the theological capital of the intellectual world. If Paris still walked in the old courses, all the energy of the Italian Doctors would be simply thrown away. If the Dominicans and Franciscans were still to be insulted, ridiculed, lampooned, starved, cudgelled, and driven out of the seats of learning; if the ground-principles

fectu virtutis et studii, etiam illa hora modica, non vacabat. Nam expeditis his quibus oportuisset propositis respondere, aliquod historiale aut morale ad ædificationem breviter discebatur, reliquum si superfuisset tempus, priusquam ad cameram suam completa lectione redisset, surgens a loco cum quibuscumque sedisset, sicut non advertens divinis intentus, discurrens per claustrum vel hortum, consuetum tempus suis meditationibus et speculationibus expendebat." (Toeco, *Cap. VI.*, n. 30, p. 668.)

* "It is advisable to bear in mind the position acquired by the Angelical—not merely in order to form a just idea of his successes, but also that the great sway which he undoubtedly exerted later on, over the whole University, may be accounted for to the reason. He, like a sun, gradually and steadily rose in the theologic heavens, lighting up more and more of the face of the earth as he ascended, till finally, when at the zenith, he threw the flood of his intellectual light—in his splendid *Summa*—over the entire expanse of the catholic world.

of religious life were still to be scorned and scouted—things would not simply be as bad, but they would be absolutely worse, than they had been before.*

To save all possibility of cavil, therefore, the Holy See directed a Bull to the University of Paris, requesting the members of that distinguished body to carry into effect the commands which had been issued at Anagni. Any one who has a curiosity to see this instruction and a host of others, will find them drawn out in the *Bullarium* of the Dominicans.† The Holy See was excessively active. It felt the enormous power of the Paris University for greater good or evil. The only chance of putting and keeping so large a concourse of learned, acute, and turbulent men in the right way, was to persevere till all those improvements had been effected which seemed called for by the nature of the case: for the Paris Doctors still shrank from admitting the Mendicants to their chairs. It is said that, counting from the beginning to the end of these disturbances, no less than forty Briefs connected with an adjustment of the subject were issued by the Holy See.‡ Bulls were directed to the Chancellor; Briefs were written to the Bishops; Briefs were sent to the Professors and to those connected with the University; three Briefs were sent to the Ordinary of the city; King Louis himself was addressed at length on points concerning difficult questions bearing upon university discipline and education; some Bulls were issued forbidding any one to be promoted who refused obedience to the *Quasi Lignum*; others to check dangerous communications between that firebrand, William of S. Amour, and certain impressionable Doctors; others giving instructions that the pestiferous Book on the “Perils of the Last Times,” together with all other publications which had scandalized the faithful during the great dispute, should be burnt publicly in Paris. And indeed so carefully did the authorities of Rome enter into detail—so anxious were they to annihilate, once for all, the seeds of disaffection, that a special Brief was

* It is but necessary to open *Fleury* to see how much a firm and determined bearing was called for on the part of the Holy See. The pique of the Doctors and scholars against the Mendicants had not been extinguished by the successes of the friars. Like most vain learned men, they thought they could explain away the orders of the Holy See, and thus escape the humiliation which was a portion of their just punishment. It was to meet the subtleties of these men that the Pope addressed a third Bull to the Bishop of Paris, declaring that those who, within fifteen days, did not admit the friars to their rights, were struck with an excommunication reserved to the Holy See. (See *Hist. Eccles.*, Tom. XVII., Liv. LXXXIV., p. 640—641.)

† See *Constitut.* CCXXXIX., *Cancellario Parisien*, ne quis *Licentia*, p. 375; *Constitut.* CCXL., *Ne Parisienses*, p. 375; *Constitut.* CCXLI., *Nonnullorum*, p. 376; *Constitut.* CCXLIII., *Episcopus*, 376; *Constitut.* CCXLIII., *In Guillelmum*, p. 377; *Constitut.* CCXLIV., *In Furbatores*, p. 378; *Constitut.* CCXLV., *In Guillelmum*, p. 379; *Constitut.* CCXLVI., *Ne Fratres*, p. 379; *Constitut.* CCXLVII., *idem*, p. 379.)

‡ Cependant le Saint Pere, pour achever ce qui étoit déjà bien avancé, adressa une Bulle à l'Université de Paris, pour inviter tous les membres de cet illustre Corps à se conformer à ce qui avoit été réglé en Italie. Sa Sainteté donna encore plusieurs autres Brefs pendant le cours de l'année suivante, toujours sur le même sujet.” (Fourn., *Liv. II.*, Chap. XIII., p. 148—149.)

published, punishing, with exile and excommunication, Guillot, that wretched beadle of the Picards, who had so brutally interrupted, with his insulting document, the preaching of the Angelical during the previous Lent.*

Though there were many turbulent spirits in Paris, and many subtle minds which could always frame a plausible excuse for refusing to perform a patent duty, still, the energy and determination of Pope Alexander in the end prevailed. The doctors, bachelors, and scholars of the secular party found themselves firmly met at every point; they found that resistance and subterfuge simply brought Bull upon Bull and Brief upon Brief upon them from the Roman Curia; and that, in proportion to their efforts to shake themselves free, was the vigour with which the Italian authorities bound them, by excommunications and anathemas, to carry out the law.† Finding that opposition was useless, they submitted with a generosity and manliness which did great credit to their hearts and to their heads. Though turbulent and obstinate, though many of them were as conceited as well could be, and stone-blind with the crassest species of prejudice, still, they were not openly contumacious. They had studied history enough to be convinced that opposition to Peter is as truly intellectual, as it is moral suicide. They had read the fate of many men more learned than themselves, and the lesson had not been thrown away. They believed in the authority of the Holy See: they might try to evade it, but they would never question it, and when once fully confronted by the vision of just, though it may have been sometimes stern authority, they turned round, and did their best to follow its commands.‡

* "Quelques Historiens assurent que depuis le commencement de cette affaire, jusqu'à son entière consommation, il y eut quarante Bulles envoyées, on à saint Louis, on à différens Evêques, on au Chancelier, et au Corps de l'Université; tantôt pour défendre d'accorder la licence à ceux qui ne promettraient pas d'obéir à la Bulle, *quasi lignum vite*; tantôt pour faire rompre le commerce de lettres, que plusieurs Docteurs entretenoient encore avec Guillaume de Saint-Amour. . . . Le Pape porta ses attentions jusqu'à vouloir faire punir par l'excommunication, et par exil, le nommé Guillot, Bedeau des Ecoles de la Nation de Picardie, pour avoir causé du scandale, et interrompu la predication de Thomas d'Aquin, le Carême précédent." (Toumon, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p. 149.*)

† Great weights move slowly, but when they do move, they carry all before them. So it is with the practical action of the Holy See. She is never in a hurry, never impetuous or inconsiderate in her movements. Her light to see is always bright, she has never to search for or make her principles to order; her theory or system of legislation is as clear to her in all its complicated bearings as a web in the sunlight. Her prudence and tact comes in when these principles have to be applied to the ever-recurring and ever-varying conditions of men and of the social fabric; whilst they, chameleon-like, are ever casting themselves into different shapes, and throwing out divers hues—she, like Truth, is stationary; whilst with her practical wisdom she measures out from her *nova et vetera* that which will exactly fit the occasion and tend towards reducing the contradictions and errors of men into something like harmony and order.

‡ And in this is seated the great distinction between the darkness of those days and the darkness of the present. Then, men fell away in detail, they denied this or that truth, or fanatically set up as teachers of novel doctrines, or were cruel, or superstitious, or fond of dress, or of excitement, or of self-display. The East had introduced luxury and gaudy colours and choice tapestries and silks; the Crusades had put fire into the blood of many. But they held to the master-principle of order and of Salvation—they did not reject the authority of the teaching Church, or presume to call in question the directive power, and controulling office, of the Sovereign Pontiff. Some of the crystals in the great chandelier may have been damaged, but the cord which held it up on high had not been severed. Now-a-days, the cord has been rudely cut, and authority breaks upon the ground.

Very possibly the tact and piety of the king, S. Louis, who took the liveliest interest in the prosperity of the University, and who did his utmost to bring the contending parties to a peaceful understanding, helped materially to create a more charitable and generous tone of mind. Whatever the causes may have been, the authorities of the University determined to prove, by an act of largeness which was as gracious as it was noble, that all the past had been forgotten, and that they had made up their minds for the future to live with the Religious Orders in the city on the most friendly and harmonious terms. They consequently invited the two great champions who had not only fought against them, but had moreover utterly defeated them, to prepare themselves forthwith, and by a public Act, before the assembled doctors, bachelors, and scholars, to earn the highest grade which a seat of learning can bestow upon its children—that of Doctor of Divinity.* By this, not only would the Mendicants stand before the world in their due place of honour, but the very men who had been contending, and contending successfully, in defence of their privileges, would be the two first persons to enjoy them.

This well-timed and noble act on the part of the University gave an almost universal satisfaction. The king, who loved Thomas very tenderly, and who seems to have drunk at the same spiritual fountain, had long ardently desired to see him and Bonaventure in a leading position in the schools. He knew what two men of deep mind and saintly life can effect, and how such characters as theirs would act as a leaven amidst the crudities and freedoms of scholastic life. How earnestly the See of Rome longed to place S. Thomas and Bonaventure as leaders of thought, as *candelabra lucentia*, in the metropolis of theologic learning, is evident from many Bulls and Briefs;—and by degrees the public opinion of the noisy city worked in the same direction. The general feeling recognized the merit of the men, and possibly also the splendour and soundness of the principles which they represented. In proportion as light fell upon the people, they became zealous, and, at length, even clamorous, for the appearance of Thomas and Bonaventure in the *Aula*.† The Mendicants had

* "L'autorité, le zèle et le donceur du Roi saint Louis ne contribuèrent pas moins, que les lettres et les sentences du Souverain Pontife, à l'entier rétablissement d'une paix, qui édifica et consola tous les gens de bien, à proportion qu'elle avoit été long-temps désirée. L'Université, pour donner une preuve publique de sa parfaite réconciliation, fit inviter Saint Thomas et Saint Bonaventure, dont le Doctorat étoit retardé depuis deux ans, à faire lucessamment leur principe selon l'usage, et à prendre le bonnet de Docteur." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII.*, p. 149; also, Bareille, *Chap. XVIII.*, p. 197; Gibelli, *Capo XIX.*, 74; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V.*, n. 12—13 p. 33.)

† "Les Supérieurs de l'Ordre en firent un commandement exprès à notre Saint: les vœux du Public n'étoient ni douteux, ni partagés sur ce point: la Cour de Rome et celle de France désiroient avec ardeur, de voir ce grand homme dans la place d'honneur, où son mérite l'appelloit depuis long-temps: nous avons vu que le Pape s'en étoit expliqué plusieurs fois, jusqu'à mettre cet article parmi les conditions de la paix, qu'il vouloit accorder à ceux, dont la conduite lui avoit déplu." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII.*, p. 149.)

had a hard battle to fight. But they had fought and had won it. Irreverence, for the time at least, had to retire. William of S. Amour ceased to be the idol of the hour. A reaction had set in. The friars were in favour. They had succeeded, and—with the herd of men at all events, even in the thirteenth century—nothing was so successful as success.

It was said just now that the action of the University “gave an *almost* universal satisfaction.” There was, however, one notable exception. There was one man who did all that lay in him to hinder the champion of the Dominicans from being raised to the high honours of the Doctorate, and that one solitary man was the great Angelical himself.

We have seen, on more than one occasion, how his gentle sensitive mind withdrew with spontaneous horror from anything that looked like honour to himself. Not even to soothe his mother after all she had gone through, nor to please his brothers, nor his friends, nor even the Pope, could he be brought to accept the high dignity of Abbot, and to maintain the family traditions on the mountain.* When made Bachelor, it was against his will. He had to be forced into his Licentiate. How then could he, who had been shrinking back all his life from titles and positions, make up his mind to the dignity and responsibility of Master in Theology?† And here there was something besides honour from which he fled—he thought he was too ignorant; he felt he was too young. With his heart all on fire, he went to his Superiors. He explained to them his case. He spoke of his slender parts, his lack of knowledge, his inexperience, and urged how difficult he found it to bring himself to take the dreaded step. There is something almost awful in the way he was overpowered by the consciousness of his own unfitness, and in the sickness which crept over him when he thought he was going to be made something of. “Leave me,” he seems to say; “let me serve God in peace: drag me not out into the sight of men: let me have Him alone for my reward!”‡

* For the privileges of Monte Cassino, see as early as A.D. 741, the “*Constitutio*” (III.) of Pope Zachary I., n. 6—7, p. 4; again, in 1123, the “*Constitutio*” (XI.) of Pope Calixtus II., n. 3, p. 14; then, in 1208, the “*Constitutio*” (XXII.) of Innocent III., n. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., p. 28—29. (See *Bullarium Casinense, passim*. Venetis, MDCCCL.)

† Thomas étoit le seul à s'affliger d'un ordre, qui lui paroissoit moins conforme, sinon à son état, du moins à son attrait particulier. Tout occupé du désir de faire triompher la Religion du mensonge et de l'erreur, il oublioit toujours ce qui pouvoit le regarder personnellement; et il vouloit être oublié de tout le monde. Tant qu'il n'y avoit en que des mortifications et des contradictions à essuyer, dans le poste où obéissance l'avoit placé, on l'y vit tranquille: et il ne demandoit la permission de le céder à un autre, que lorsqu'il fut question de recevoir une espèce de récompense, et de recueillir le fruit des ses travaux.” (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII.*, p. 150.)

‡ “L'honneur et l'estime, que les hommes ont attaché à la qualité de Docteur, offensoient d'autant plus sa modestie, que par une humilité sans exemple, avec toutes les grandes qualités qu'on admiroit en lui, il étoit réellement persuadé qu'il n'avoit ni la capacité, ni le mérite nécessaires, pour remplir dignement tous les devoirs d'un Docteur. Voyant donc les Supérieurs, qui avoient de lui une idée différente, toujours fermes dans leur résolution, il s'adressa à Dieu, pour lui dire avec un saint Roi: *Vous sçavez, Seigneur, que je souffre violence: répondez pour moi.*” (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII.*, p. 150.)

But his Superiors, in spite of his earnest representations, went quietly on their way. They listened to all he had to say, and ended by telling him to prepare for his degree.

Here is evident the wisdom of living under the authority of religious life. Though a saint, the Angelical was no fit judge on practical matters in his own case. As the reader feels full well, he was neither too ignorant nor too young. This manifestation of his deep humility proves his worthiness all the more, and the whole of his action in this affair evinces the profound character of his mind. He did not arrive at his conclusion because he compared himself with other men. Saints are not in the habit of weighing themselves against their neighbours. But he weighed himself as he knew himself—against his duty to our Lord, and against his view of the requirements and offices of a leader of thought in the schools of Paris at that day.* And as it is the case that in proportion as a man's soul is illuminated with supernatural light, in that same proportion he sees vividly, and appreciates keenly, his own shortcomings and imperfections; and in proportion as he is gifted with a master mind, in that proportion he grasps the full weight of responsibility, and the full significance of the word *position*—so it follows that the Angelical, being exceptionally illuminated by grace, and exceptionally gifted by nature, recoiled from that which common minds are ever craving for, and craved for that which they would do anything to escape. His humility was no foolish, mawkish, sentimental effeminacy; not the result of a weak constitution or of a softening brain; no hollow pretence or unreality—but the issue of deep supernatural vision into self, and of the workings of an exalted mind upon the lofty theory of human obligations.† Men of this class, when directed by the light of supernatural obedience, are led to the highest heroism before God, and become the greatest champions of the good, the beautiful, and the true, in the sight of men.

This fear of being made something of, which was the one

* How well Frigerio speaks:—"Or per cominciare dall'humiltà, egli hebbe un perfetto conoscimento di se stesso, ch'è il fondamento necessario di tal virtù, ed è la somma filosofia da' Santi la più alta, e la più utile scientia sopra le altre stimata; essendo questa la strada più sicura per arrivare alla notizia di Dio; sicchè profondamente penetrando fino all'abisso di se medesimo, potè di se stesso dir parimente coll'Ecclesiastico: *Profundum abyssi penetraui*; giacchè l'abisso secondo la sopra allegata esplicatione di S. Girolamo viene interpretato Tomaso." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. IX., p. 113.*)

† His views on humility were thoroughly scientific, and based, not upon delusion of any kind, but upon unadulterated Truth:—"Egli parimente in questo proposito insegnò, che la virtù dell'humiltà per sua natura alla virginità s'antipone, e che l'infinita humiltà è una fina superbia, e che questa virtù tutte l'altre indirettamente stabilisce, tenendo essa lontana la superbia; e che il conoscimento della verità all'humiltà dispone, e questa alla sapientia; e che l'humiltà alle virtù teologali s'avvicina; mentrechè l'anima a titolo di riverenza a Dio si soggetta, e per rispetto di lui agli altri ancora; e che l'humile non maggiormente si maraviglia, che quando viene il proprio merito commendato, e per contrario il superbo desideroso di honori non più si contrista, che quando viene dispregiato." Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. IX., p. 117*; see also *Summa Theologica*, Vol. III., *Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. CLXI., Art. I., II., III., IV., V., VI., p. 532-543.*)

great anxiety of the Angelical through life, seems to have grown upon him as he grew in years. It was the fruit, as he teaches himself, of that "Reverence" which is one of the great pillars of the Benedictine temple of perfection.* Frigerio says that in his tender infancy at Monte Cassino, the Saint manifested this ruling sentiment. Under Albert at Cologne it was the same. He drew back quite wounded and sad; a cloud would come across his brow if it were hinted to him that he ought to be noticed or placed in some position. The Benedictine love of retirement, of being left alone, of being permitted to live to God undisturbed by the worry of men, seemed, at times, almost to have borne upon him with too powerful a sway. It is the mightiness of his modest, loving, contemplating character that makes him so deep a mystery of moral loveliness, and that ranges him so far above the category of ordinary men.†

Even the commands of his Superiors, who marvelled at his soul the more they knew of it, did not relieve him from any of the pain—did not break the cloud, or dispel the terror, with which his whole being was encompassed. The very thought of what was coming seemed utterly to prostrate him. Strong and brave as he was, chivalrous as the noblest of knights, knowing no fear, and fearing no danger, he could not find the nerve to bear up against the thought that *he* was to be dragged from his quiet resting-place, and to be thrust into a public position of grave responsibility, and to be held up before the eye of intellectual Paris, as one worthy of high dignity. As the bat, when being drawn out of its dusky hiding place into the light of day, shrinks away further into its obscurity, terrified and scared by an overpowering sensation—so did the Angelical shrink, or so would he have shrunk, as S. Anselm did before him, had he not been steadied by the express wishes of his Superiors.‡

* "In homine duo possunt considerari, scilicet id quod est Dei, et id quod est hominis. Hominis autem est quicquid pertinet ad defectum; sed Dei est quicquid pertinet ad saintum et perfectionem, secundum illud Osee, 13, 9: *Perditio tua, Israel, ex te est: ex me tantum auxilium tuum*. Humilitas autem, sicut dictum est art. 1 huj. quest., ad 5, et art. 1 ad 3, proprie respicit reverentiam, qua homo Deo subjicitur; et ideo quilibet homo secundum id quod sum est, debet se cuilibet proximo subicere quantum ad id quod est Dei in ipso; non autem hoc requirit humilitas ut aliquis id quod est Dei in seipso, subjiciat ei quod apparet esse Dei in altero." (*Tom. III., Secunda Secundæ, Quest. CLXI., Art. III., p. 540.*)

† No better explanation of the frame of mind of the Angelical could be suggested, than by studying the teachings of S. John of the Cross regarding Clarity. The soul which truly loves "looks upon itself as unprofitable in all it does, and on its whole life as worthless. Another most wonderful effect is, that it looks upon itself as being in truth the very worst of all, for two reasons—first, because its love continues to show it what God deserves at its hands; and secondly, because it acknowledges to itself that even the great things it does for God are imperfect and faulty. Hence, confusion of face and affliction, when it compares the meanness of its own conduct with the Majesty of God." (*Complete Works, Vol. I., Book II., Chap. XIX., p. 435-436.*)

‡ What an extraordinary contrast to the genuine scholastic spirit of intellectual tournament! What scholastic Doctor, or clever youth, would refuse to make himself a name by his dexterous displays of intellectual fence? Who would think of refusing the Doctor's cap, or be made ill with the idea of being the object of the admiration of learned men? S. Bernard, and S. Anselm, or Hugh, and Richard of S. Victor's, or the gentle meditative Lombard—unquestionably, but they belonged to the monastic school of quiet. What is said of S. Anselm, applies with equal force to the Angelical—that he was "disgusted when he was suddenly brought into contact with the world, and made to look it in the face." (*See Hook, Vol. II., Chap. III., p. 247.*)

What did he do? He knew whence alone he could draw comfort. He knew where alone, if he did not get comfort, he was certain, at all events, to find strength.

It had been his custom ever since he came to S. James's, when all had retired to rest, to slip out of his cell, and to steal quietly among the shadows of the empty church to pour out his spirit before our Lord. Christ was his one great Love—the seat of all his “Wisdom.” Our Lord fired and warmed him, and made his whole soul glow with a heroism which alone can spring from the Sacred Heart.* The thought of our Lord humbled him to the dust, when he turned to the Agony and the Death. It broke him utterly to think of *his* being honoured, being made the object of the admiration of hundreds, and in so emphatical a manner, when his Love was smitten with a reed, and stood crowned with thorns! He could not endure to feel that he was to be rewarded for a service which, when compared with what was really his Master's due, was, at the best, but the effort of an unprofitable servant. How could he put out his hand for recompense, how could he consent to receive the applause of men, when his whole life was but one act of selfishness, compared with the outpouring love of Christ for him? How could he be bright and gay, and highly placed, when his Master was broken and sorrowing, and reputed with the wicked?† No; he could not stand so terrible a stroke as that. His large, throbbing, sensitive heart, worked upon by his vast intelligence and glowing imagination—the one drawing out before him the mysterious scheme of Christ's self-annihilation, the other imaging the Passion with the vividness of light—seemed filled like a fountain, as he threw himself before the Crucified, and gazed fixedly upon the Cross.‡ There he looked, and knelt, and prayed; there he held himself half-stunned in the presence of his Lord, till the large tears gathered to his eyes, and flowed down copiously, as he prostrated himself at full length upon the ground, crying his heart out like a little child, before his Saviour, and begging of Him for the knowledge

* “Erat præterea predictus Doctor nocturno tempore, humane deputato quieti, post brevem somnum in sua camera vel ecclesia, ad quam sibi de nocte patebat accessus, in loco, quem sibi ad orandum elegerat, in oratione prostratus; nihil orando intereretur addiscere, quo opportunisset post orationem scribere vel dictare. Sic enim tempus vite sue, sibi concessum ad meritum, distribuit ad profectum, ut præter illud tempus modicum, quod somno vel cibi receptioni pro valetudine corporis sibi perfunctorie indulisset, reliquum orationi, lectioni, predicationi, meditationi, vel scribendis vel dictandis questionibus expendeat.” (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI.*, n. 30, p. 668.)

† *Isaias*, *LIII.*, 12.

‡ Tocco gives the account of S. Thomas's being ordered to take his degree thus:—“Post decursum studii fructuose completum, cum tempus instaret, quo Baccalarii Theologie erant Parisiensi Cancellario presentandi; non servato ordine secundum anticipationem temporis consueti, mandavit predictus Cancellarius Priori Parisiensi Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, ut ex parte sua mandaret predicto Fr. Thomæ, ut ad recipiendum Magisterium in Theologia, non observante consuetudine qua erant sibi alii preferendi, sine contradictione aliqua se pararet. Qui humiliter suscipiens onus impositum, ad locum orationis se contulit; in quo prostratus cum lacrymis oravit Deum, ut ad suscipiendum et exequendum Magisterium, scientiam et gratiam dignaretur sibi infundere, quem dignatus adhuc fuerat indignum multis gratia prævenire.” (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. III.*, n. 17, p. 563.)

and grace necessary for acquitting himself of the duties which were to be thrust upon him. Then, as if overpowered by a consciousness of the immense work which was to be done, and calling to mind the terrible condition of the schools,* and his own weaknesses, he broke out into the Psalm which begins: "Save me, O Lord, for there is now no saint; truths are decayed from among the children of men."† And so he prayed and wept for a long time, praying till he could pray no more, and weeping till he had no more tears to shed; till finally, thoroughly exhausted, he fell into a deep sleep, as he had done once before after the excitement of temptation at San Giovanni. And behold, as he lay upon the pavement before the altar, an old and venerable-looking man, dressed in the habit of S. Dominic, appeared to him in vision.‡ And the old man said to him: "Brother Thomas, why do you sob, and for what are you praying to our Lord?" And he answered: "Because they are going to make me Master in Theology, for which I am quite unfit; nor do I even know how to choose a thesis for my public act." The old man replied: "Behold, thy prayer is heard; accept the office, for God is with thee; and for thy thesis, take no other words than these: "Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy work.'"§ Upon this, the Angelical awoke from his sleep, rose up, and thanking our Lord for having heard his prayer so speedily, retired, strengthened and comforted, to his little cell.|| Such are the dealings of Wisdom with the elect soul: "She will bring upon him fear, and dread, and trial; and she will torture him with the tribulation of her discipline, till she try him by her laws, and trust his soul. Then, she she will strengthen him, and make her way straight to him, and give him joy."¶

* "Clerici nostri temporis potius sequuntur scholas Antichristi quam Christi, potius dediti glæ quam glosse, potius colligunt libras quam legunt libros, libentius intuentur Martham quam Mariam" (Alauns de Insulis, *De Arte Prædicandæ*, Cap. XXXVI. See, if you require more authority, Haupden's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. I., p. 39. Third Edition.)

† *Psalm XL.*

‡ "Et lucipiens Psalmum: Salvum me fac Deus, quoniam diminute sunt veritates a filiis hominum, diu orans cum lacrymis obdormivit: et ecce ad eum multus cælitus missus est Frater quidam ejusdem Ordinis antiquus, admodum reverendus, et dixit ei: Fr. Thomas, quid Deum oras cum lacrymis? Respondit: quia impositum est mihi onus Magisterii, ad quod scientia mea non sufficit: et quod proponam pro meo principio, non occurrit. Cui senex dixit: Ecce exauditis es, suscipe onus Magisterii, quia Deus tecum est. Pro tuo autem principio nihil aliud proponas nisi hoc: Rigatus montes de superioribus tuis: de fructu operum tuorum satiabitur terra." (*Tocco, Boll., Cap. III., v. 17, p. 662-663.*)

§ *Psalm, CIII., 13.* For a good explanation of this, see Schegg, *Die Psalmen, Zweiter Band*, p. 134-136 (*Zweite Auflage*.)

|| "Quo dicto Frater Thomas exilans, Domino gratias reddidit, qui eum velociter exaudivit. Quod verbum non solum thema fuit principii, sed totius sui sufficientiam studii indicavit: quia ex his, quæ de montibus divine speculationis accepit, totam Ecclesiam, quasi agrum divini seminis compitum sapientiæ piviis satiavit. Est enim omnibus manifestum, quod in toto mundo inter fideles Catholicos in Philosophia et Theologia in omnibus scholis nihil aliud legitur, quam quod de ejus scriptis hantritur: quamvis multi alii Magistri ejus stylium scribendi, quo potuerunt studio, imitantes, quasi ex ejus scriptis clavem habentes scientiæ, ingressi sunt divinatorum secreta cellaria: et multa volumina scripserunt, summ exercitantes studium supra positum dicti Doctoris fundamentum." (*Tocco, Boll., Cap. III., v. 17, p. 663; see Tournou, Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p. 150-151; Frigerio, Lib. I., Cap. V., v. 6, p. 31; Gibellii, Cap. XIX., p. 73-74.*)

¶ *Ecclesi., IV., 19.* See *Grammar of Assent*, Chap. IX., § 1, p. 345. Dr. Newman forcibly expresses all that the Angelical felt, when he says:—"And especially . . . shall we learn, as regards religious and ethical enquiries, how little we can effect, however much we exert our-

The Angelical that night had crept into the church with a dead weight upon his spirit, and oppressed with an indescribable anxiety; he returned a strong and valiant man, with his whole heart expanding towards his work, with his mind free with a Divine elasticity, "rejoiced as a giant to run the way."* In proportion as he distrusted self, he reposed confidence in God. When he felt that he was fighting our Lord's battle, at our Lord's desire, and enlightened and held up by His Holy Spirit, no power could stand against him—he knew not what it was to fear. Self, even his fear and horror of self, sunk away out of sight—vanished—as the splendid vision of Wisdom, beautiful and strong, seated as a queen securely amongst men, fastening herself on their hearts, and sealing herself on their intelligences, seemed to rise up before him, and occupy his mental vision. Could he but draw aside the veil, and make men, once for all, gaze upon the majesty, the constraining loveliness, the entrancing beauty of the world in which he himself habitually lived—could he but show them the Face of his Christ—then would his life not have been spent in vain; then he would, perhaps, have achieved a work not unworthy of a recompense.†

But the Saint now had little time for reveries, or for indulging in anticipations of the future. As the grey morning broke into his little cell, as he entered it on coming from the church, he felt that before that day was out his great public Act would have been made, and that he would have been invested with the *insignia* of a Master in Divinity. He had been all confusion, he could not collect his thoughts, even a subject upon which to speak would not suggest itself—so much was he upset, so crippled and bewildered were all his faculties—till our Lord lifted him up, and the old man said to him in a dream—"Take no other words than these: 'Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy work.'" Now all was changed.‡ The powers of his vast

selves, without that Blessing; for, as if on set purpose, He has made this path of thought rugged and circuitous above other investigations, that the very discipline inflicted on our minds in finding Him, may mould them into due devotion to Him when He is found . . . Certainly, we need a clue into the labyrinth which is to lead us to them; and who among us can hope to seize upon the true starting-points of thought for that enterprise, and upon all of them, to understand their right direction, to follow them out to their just limits, and duly to estimate, adjust, and combine the various reasonings in which they issue, so as safely to arrive at what it is worth any labour to secure, without a special illumination from Himself!" (*Grammar of Assent*, Chap. IX., § 1, p. 344—345.)

* *Ps.*, XVIII., 6.

† One of the great results of living to God, of abandonment of earthly ties, when He calls for such a sacrifice, is a clear vision of the relative worth of things. Men who have made the venture themselves—who have deliberately come to the conclusion that earth and shadow is worth little, compared with heaven and light—if they possess any generosity, must yearn to make others feel as they feel, and to open the eyes of the blind to see—not vapour and cloud, but the true, lasting happiness of man. How the saints longed to drag others from the pit! How they laboured to open heaven's gates, if but for a moment, that men might take one look, and never more forget! Their love of Christ manifested itself in their tenderness towards the creatures for whom Christ died.

‡ It is so contrary to the spirit of "the world" to mistrust self, and to confide in the power

intelligence were summoned by his commanding will to carry out each its allotted task, and they willingly obeyed the order. So rapid was his mind, so powerful his grasp, that in a few hours he had thoroughly prepared himself to expand, and then defend, against the keenest intellects in Paris, a subject so large that it may be said to have included the greater portion of the theological teaching of that day. Doubtless, on account of his vast memory, and his exquisite gift of order, and the far reach and piercing force of his intellectual vision, embracing the widest range, whilst fixing itself on every detail—mastering the parts together with the whole—he was enabled to study his thesis mentally, as ordinary men study a map rolled out ready-made before the eye, with every minute river and tributary, with every sea and bay, with every town, village, and hamlet, with the very nature of the soil, and character of the vegetation, fixed and marked in its proper form and colour.* He took in, and adjusted, and retained the entire plan, without effort and without confusion; and, through his accurate appreciation of the whole, and of the mutual value and relations of its component parts, he was ready to defend, with sound and incontrovertible arguments, any portion of his thesis which might be assailed by an opponent. It was the gift and genius of his mind to see no portion of philosophic or theologic truth in isolation. He saw each member in its relation to the entire organism, and he knew how to bring the power of the whole to bear on its defence. Aristotle and Albertus had but fostered in him a gift which was a splendid natural endowment, now developed in its range, and multiplied in its power—not only by constant exercise, but also through the abiding influence of grace; and sealing itself, eventually, upon the recognition of the world, for all time to come, by the glorious synthesis of the immortal "*Summa*." †

of God, that it is very possible men who do not study characters differing so much from themselves, will hardly be able to take in the temper of mind which belongs specially to the great men of God. Where they see weakness, or want of confidence—men mistrusting their own abilities, and shrinking from great undertakings, they will simply put them down as persons wanting in character or courage. But when they see that character or courage springs up in them as it were suddenly after prayer, they are taken aback, and feel a certain disgust. The run of events has not followed the ordinary worldly law, and they are affronted, and look upon the action of grace as a kind of personal insult to themselves.

* A master-mind seems to be one which can grasp the whole system, and at the same time view its parts;—which can possess truth together with its relations. He who can take the longest range, and enter into detail with the minutest accuracy, is the most powerful thinker. "All that exists, as contemplated by the human mind, forms one large system or complex fact, and this, of course, resolves itself into an indefinite number of particular facts, which, as being portions of a whole, have countless relations of every kind, one towards another. Knowledge is the apprehension of these facts, whether in themselves, or in their mutual positions or bearings. And, as all taken together form one integral object, so there are no natural or real limits between part and part; one is ever running into another; all are viewed by the mind, are combined together, and possess a correlative character one with another, from the internal mysteries of the Divine Essence, down to our own sensations and consciousness." (Newman, on *University Education*, Disc. III., p. 69—70.)

† It is doubtful as to when the Angelical formed in his mind a distinct determination to write a *Summa Theologie*; most probably from a very early date. The *Quid esset Deus* of his infancy points to the centre-point of all Divine science; then his profound study of the Scriptures, of Aristotle, and of the "Sentences," which was tantamount in those days to a

But the world as yet had only witnessed him display some small portion of his power; it had reason to remember him as a boy; it had not forgotten his brilliancy as Bachelor and Licentiate; it was now full of his masterly defence of the principles of evangelical perfection: but the sun in its meridian splendour had not yet burst through the surrounding clouds, though it was sufficiently strong to draw an immense concourse to the episcopal *Aula* where the Angelical was to make his Public Act for his degree.*

And, in point of fact, not merely the talents and reputation of the Saint, but a series of circumstances which was inseparably bound up with this defension, created an interest, and kept up an excitement, which could not have been produced by any ordinary occurrence. It was the grand act of triumph of the Regular party. It was the crowning victory of the Dominicans and Franciscans. The University had sworn to oust them from its chairs; and now that same University, in the most public and emphatic manner, was about to reinstate them therein, and to confer the highest academical honours upon those two very men whom it had been specially bent upon excluding.†

Let the reader imagine for himself the agitation which prevailed in Paris on the morning of that day. If he know anything of academical life, of doctors and professors, of students and religious, of those whose energies are devoted to literature or learning, and of the texture of their minds—he may draw for himself a picture of many a preliminary gathering in the narrow streets of the University town, as men formed in groups and knots to discuss the general question of the Regulars, or to canvass the relative merits of the two candidates for the degree. He can see the troupes of Black Friars proceeding from the Convent of S. James's, with an elastic step, and an unmistakable

study of the Fathers—for the Lombard lived upon them—could not have been a better preparation for his Encyclopedic work. Then living under the eye of Albertus Magnus, and being swayed by his genius for collecting theological materials, must have had its effect. The writings, *De Ente et Essentia*, and *De Principiis Nature*—point to a deep philosophy, whilst in his other early pieces a distinct unity can be traced. The *Commentary* on the "Sentences," the *Compendium of Theology*, are a still nearer approach—real preparations for the architectonic task which the Saint began, but was never able to accomplish.

* Remember how great his fame was, even in his early Bachelor days. Frigerio says:—"L'anno dunque 1246 giunse Tomaso in Parigi, e fu contra a sua voglia promosso al grado di Baccelliere, ivi leggendo il detto maestro delle sentenze con tal'altezza di concetti, con distinzioni non più udite, con acutezze di nuovi argomenti, facendo anche nascere altissime questioni, non meno utili, che sottili, che anzi l'autore, ch'esponeva pareva. Onde da tutte le parti d'Europa concorrevano studenti in tal numero alla sua scuola, che in vece di scolari, sembravano esser più tosto un ordinato squadrone di soldati, molti de' quali intendendolo e attendendolo quasi divino oracolo, divennero poscia grandi maestri, autenticando la sublimità del lor come precettore." (*Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 27-28.*)

† Borellie speaks thus:—"La prudence et la bonté de Louis IX. aident au rétablissement de la paix; l'université elle-même y mit le sceau, en appelant à soutenir leur thèse de docteur, Bonaventure et Thomas. Cet honneur avait été retardé de deux ans, par suite de troubles; par cette résolution, les cours se trouvèrent comme soulagés du poids d'une injustice aussi éclatante que les talents de ces deux illustres amis. Mais ce sont eux maintenant qui reculent devant un honneur si bien mérité; les éloges que notre saint avait tant de fois reçus, la gloire dont il avait été si souvent couronné, n'avaient rien fait perdre à son humilité de sa délicatesse virginale." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XVIII., p. 197.*)

expression of satisfaction, as they wind their way through students, professors, and gaping crowds, towards the Episcopal Palace, where they are off to see their brother Thomas receive his ring and cap.* The children of S. Francis, too, with their coarse brown habit and their knotted girdle—men who look as if they knew what a rough life was—move their pink sandaled feet somewhat more briskly than is usual, as they thread through a herd of staring citizens who seem bent on feeding their eyes without stint to-day, and turn out of sight amongst the streets—evidently working in the same direction. They, too, feel a special interest in this occasion. If Br. Thomas was to do honour to S. Dominic, Br. Bonaventure—of whose birth they had heard strange tales, who was ever tending the leper when he was not attending the schools, who had amongst them the reputation of a saint—was to maintain their credit as learned men, and to do honour to the seraphic S. Francis of Assisi.† And if the other Orders had not so immediate an interest in the Public Act, they all must have felt that this day was their day, inasmuch as it was to inaugurate the solemn triumph of those fundamental principles on which their religious life depended. No wonder then that the children of S. Bernard, of S. Augustine, and of S. Norbert, that the black Benedictine and the gay Trinitarian, and even, perhaps, some lonely hermit attracted from his solitude by the din of the city—no wonder that all men who had abandoned earth for heaven should be astir this day, and that hundreds should be pressing in the same direction, following S. Francis and S. Dominic into the great hall of the Bishop's Palace. S. Martin's and S. Germain's, S. Victor's and Clairvaux, have emptied themselves into the busy streets of the city, and all seem animated by one dominant idea.

Nor were the great Orders alone in their interest in the coming

* For a picturesque sketch of Paris life, see Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Tom. I., *La Grand Salle*, p. 1—30.

† "Il faudra faire un feu de joie ce soir dans le champ-Gaillard, pour avoir l'autre, avec les livres de maître Andry.

- Et les pupitres des scribes! dit son voisin,
- Et les verges des bedaux!
- Et les crachoirs des doyens!
- Et les buffets des procureurs!
- Et les huches des électeurs!
- Et les escabeaux du recteur!

A bas! reprit le petit Jehan en faux-bourdon; à bas maître Andry, les bedaux et les scribes; les théologiens, les médecins et les décrétistes; les procureurs, les électeurs et le recteur!" (*Ibidem*, p. 23.)

† The Life of S. Bonaventure has yet to be written. He had no biographer after his death. Bartholomew of Pisa, who wrote on S. Francis, hardly dedicates two pages to him; Gerson, who was so charmed with his writings, does not touch upon his life; the Abbé Berthamier brought out, in the *Bibliothèque Franciscaine*, a *Histoire de Saint Bonaventure*, in 1858; but, like many ordinary French lives of saints, it contains a store of pious platitudes, but very few facts. One interesting point he mentions respecting the Saint's constant practice of tending the lepers (see *Chap. III.*, p. 55—56): "Deux mille maisons avaient été élevées en France," says this writer, "seulement pour les lépreux, et les personnes qui aimaient à les visiter et à les servir tenaient souvent le rang le plus distingué dans la société. On compte parmi elle notre glorieux saint Louis, Henri III., roi d'Angleterre, sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie, et une foule d'autres personnages illustres." (p. 43—44.) And this fact he takes from Emile Chavín de Malena, *Histoire de S. François*; see how the Saint is treated by the Bollandists, *Vol. XXX.*, p. 776—822. *Die 14 Julii.*

pageant. Doubtless there was many a gallant knight and many a goodly citizen, many a thriving merchant and many a grasping Jew, many an honest artizan and bright minstrel and noisy *jongleur*, who would willingly throw himself into the motley stream which flowed steadily towards the Palace, feeling that his trouble would surely be well repaid before the day was done. As to the students themselves, crowds of them from the four great nations had hung charmed on the lips of Thomas of Aquino, when in times past he had poured forth his wealth of learning in the Convent of S. James's.* His novelty of proof, his calm eloquence, his divine fire, his inimitable simplicity, had filled the schools as they had never been filled before, and the students had not forgotten it:—and, now, what would not be their joy, their curiosity and unfeigned delight, knowing that they were about to witness the great master make his solemn Act—to see him perform a *tour de force* in which he would be almost obliged to display, what he ever tried so modestly to conceal, the wide circumference of his knowledge, the matchless grace of his dialectical skill, and the full swing of his gigantic intelligence!† Doubtless, on this day, Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Nicolas-du-Louvre, Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, and many other colleges besides, sent forth, each, its contingent of joyous students to take their places, if places they could contrive to find, in the large public room where the Faculties were assembling.

At length, the great hall is full. On a raised position, in sight of the whole multitude, sit in their chairs the solemn and august authorities of the University—the highest exponents of learning in the then civilized world—decked out with the various robes representative of their office, and the different *insignia* of their several degrees. Bishops and Doctors of Divinity, Jurists and Canonists, Rectors and Provosts, Bachelors and Licentiates, heads of religious houses and Generals of Religious Orders, the secular element and the regular, the hood and the gown, all are represented here. There, at a convenient distance from them, yet full in the public gaze, is the chair, that centre of attraction, in which

* See Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. I., p. 98*; Gibelli, *Vita, Cap. XIII., p. 50—51*; *Vita, p. 16*; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., n. 2, p. 27—28*. Bareille says of him when Bachelor:—"L'enceinte du collège Saint-Jacques ne put bientôt plus suffire à la multitude toujours croissante d'auditeurs qui se pressaient autour du jeune bachelier dominicain; l'infériorité de ce titre avait complètement disparu sous la supériorité de l'enseignement. Le génie a-t-il donc besoin d'un habit ou d'un nom? Qu'on lui laisse un champ libre, et soudain il exerce son ascendant et sa souveraineté!" (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XV., p. 153.*)

† Speaking of the way in which, in spite of himself, the talents of the Angelical became known, Frigerio says:—

"Per questa via cominciò ad iscoprirsi il divin lume dell' intelletto di Tomaso, per qualche tempo sotto l'ombra di silenzio e dell' umiltà eclissato: ma quanto egli era innalzato con gli encomj, più s'abbassava, gratie rendendo al suo Signore, come viva fonte d'ogni sua lode; onde in questo proposito dir soleva, che s'egli era istrumento della divina gratia, della celeste sua gloria anch'esser doveva." (*Vita di S. Tomaso, Lib. I., Cap. IV., n. 8, p. 26.*)

the Licentiate is to defend his thesis before the assembled fathers. On taking his place, he perceives that the authorities of the University are behind and partly around him, whilst below him moves a sea of eager faces and curious eyes—the bright, quick-witted audience, ever ready generously to applaud a brilliant pass, but still more ready it must be owned to catch the Licentiate tripping, and with noisy laughter and sharp and caustic words, to afford merriment to the whole company at his expense.*

To defend a wide field of theological and philosophical truth, before such an assembly, and against the longest and keenest heads, and the most skillful and practised dialecticians—against the *élite* of every faculty—required a stout heart, a clear intellect, and an imperturbable coolness and self-possession.

But the Angelical had no cause for apprehension. Whatever his own humility may have thought, there was no man in Paris, Naples, Bologna, or Cologne who could have stood against him for one moment. The mastery of his genius alone would have protected him against the efforts of the keenest of antagonists. Besides, it was not simply with the power of a gifted man, but through the inspiration of the Spirit Himself, that he was about to address the meeting.

Some authors relate that before the Seraphic Franciscan and the Angelical Dominican began their defensions, a holy rivalry of modest courtesy took place between them. Thomas could not be brought to take precedence of Bonaventure; whilst Bonaventure of the *Ordo Parvulorum*—belonging to that society which called itself “the least of all”—shrank from the thought of being foremost in accepting an honour which ought by right to be first conferred on a child of the chivalrous S. Dominic.† What they were unable to arrange between themselves, was settled for them by their friends. Since S. Bonaventure was older than the Angelical, it was determined that he should be the first to occupy the post of honour.

We can see him in imagination, as, with modest self-possession, he advances to take up his position in the chair, feeling that the attention of that great assembly is concentrated upon him.

* Dr. Hampden would probably have taken a darker view of the probable conduct of students during the excitement of a Public Act. “The same spirit of irregularity and violence,” he says, “of which Augustine complains as disgracing the schools of his day, at Carthage, Milan, and Rome, seems to have descended to those of the subsequent ages.” (*Bampton Lectures*, Lect. I., p. 39. Third Edition.)

† “Die Disputation fand am anberaumten Tage (23. Octob. 1257) in einem Saale des bischöflichen Palastes statt. Im edlen Wettstreit frommer Herzensdemuth wollte keiner der beiden Candidaten des academischen Lorbeers als der Erste zum Redekampfschritt stellen; endlich gab sich Bonaventura daren, als der Aeltere den Vorrang anzunehmen. Thomas trat auf, als sein Freund geendet hatte. Er erklärte die erhabene Stelle des Psalmes, indem er sie auf die göttliche Heilsökonomie anwendete, und sprach von der Erluchtung der menschlichen Herzen durch die himmlische Gnade und Wahrheit. Nachdem er geendet, wurde er feierlich als Doctor der Universität proclamirt, und mit Insigulen dieses Ranges angethan.” (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Vol. I., Cap. III., p. 212–213.)

He, too, has had his antecedents. Favourite child of the great Alexander of Hales and of Rochelle, he must already have earned a reputation for fiery eloquence, for scholastic lore, and for Platonic elevation of intelligence. Representing the sweet, soaring, passionate mysticism of the seraphic S. Francis, he knew how to control love's darting flames, and to bring theologic science to bear upon the highest aspirations of the heart.* His intensely affectionate nature, his warm Italian fantasy, and his yearning love of the wounds of the Crucified; his tenderness and compassion to the suffering and the poor, and the poetical bent of his mystic mind, which made him love and defend Plato as a father, all this there is little doubt, had, before this day, stamped his true image on the plastic and appreciative mind of the Paris University.

Look at him as he sits there in the sight of all. If it resembled the picture drawn of him by Galesinius, the very appearance of that man—the dear familiar friend of the Angelical†—must have caused for the moment a quickened beating in the hearts of those who beheld him for the first time. He is above the middle height, and of noble personal bearing; and, unlike most men of ascetic habits, his frame gives indications of strong health and a robust constitution. His garb is the brown picturesque costume of S. Francis, the tunic of coarse serge, the sharp-pointed hood, the white twisted cord, the wooden sandals. He is shaven, save a circle of hair over the ears, running around the head. His face is grave, yet so tender an expression beams forth from it, that men when they once come under its influence are seized with a feeling of indescribable sympathy. There is one special mark upon him which seals a supernatural impress on the whole character of the man—his cheeks are furrowed with the courses made by frequent tears, springing from his burning love of the wounds of his Saviour. To live in those wounds, to make them his one meditation, was the joy of his life; and the flames of a burning compassion, and the fires of a consuming charity, raging within his soul, caused those waters to well up from his heart which

* "Il y avait une singulière affinité entre le séraphique franciscain et le chef de l'Académie. Parmi tous les philosophes de l'antiquité, il n'en citait aucun avec plus de prédilection. Il le défendait avec une sorte de pitié filiale contre ses adversaires. (S. Bonav. in *Magist. Sentent.*, Lib. II., Dist. I., P. 1, Art. I., Quest. 1.; *Serm.*, I., VII., in *Hexæmer.*—'Aristoteles incidit in multos errores . . . exsecratus est ideas Platonis et perperam.') Mais, surtout, le mysticisme par des liens nombreux se rattachait à l'idéalisme . . ." In Bonaventura, "une grande puissance était donnée au cœur sur l'esprit, et l'imagination avait les clefs du cœur; de là un besoin réel, une habitude constante des expressions allégoriques et des allusions légendaires" (Ozanam, *Œuvres Complètes*, Tom. Sixième, Partie III., Chap. III., p. 289—290, Ed. 2.) See the sort of titles he gave to his writings:—*Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum*—*Formula Aurea de Gradibus Virtutum*—*De Septem Itineribus Eternitatis*.

† Galesinius compares their friendship to that of S. Gregory and S. Basil when at Athens:—"Illiambo Parisiis caritatis vinculo, vite moribus, doctrine pietatisque studiis itidem conjunctissimi, ut Athenis olim fuerint illi duo, Basilii et Nazianzenis, quorum aliquam, si cuncta recte perpenduntur, imaginem tunc referre videbantur. . . . Tertio post anno, quam Parisius venit, idoneus ac dignus Bonaventura habitus est, qui Theologie illic interpretande munus publicum suscipere ac sustineret." (*Bols.*, Vol. XXX., in *Vita, Auct.*, *Petro Galesinio*, Cap. III., n. 41, p. 809.)

were constantly gushing to his eyes and flowing in streams down his corrugated cheeks. Men did not see the furnace that was kindled within him, they only saw what others had perceived, in the days of Abelard, on the face of Bernard—signs of compassion and the marks of tears.*

It was men of high character like him—men of large, loving, tender hearts; men of mighty, soaring aspirations, who knew no selfishness, no littleness; men lifted above the world—who were made to raise up earth and make it pure. Though perhaps the students in that hall—the Englishman and the Frenchman, the German, the Norman and the Picard, the Burgundian and the Lombard, the Roman and the Sicilian, the Brabantine and the Fleming—did not realize that they were looking on a saint, still, there is little doubt that there was neither boy nor man there present who was not impressed by Bonaventure, whose heart did not respond to his countenance or eye, and whose nerves were not touched by the accents of his voice. It is but the natural effects of love, and sacrifice, and high humility, to win and captivate the open heart of man.

What subject the Saint selected as his thesis, history does not tell us; how he acquitted himself, biographers do not relate. But it may be safely said that his lofty mind—which loved to soar with Anselm, and with Bernard, and with Denis—defended, with true Platonic subtlety and elevation, the thesis he advanced. There is little doubt that, when the occasion offered, he held his audience riveted by what Trithemius designates as his "*flam-mantia verba*"†—his "flaming words"—whilst he was borne along in the lucid course of his high argument.

After this beautiful mediæval figure, this seraphic friar, who eventually became a Prince, and then a Doctor of the Church, had been clothed with the *insignia* of his new degree, he was at once conducted to his place amongst the Masters of Divinity, thence to watch, with loving admiration, his dear familiar friend go through a trial similar to his own.

* "Fuit igitur Bonaventura corporis habitu procero, beneque constituto, usque adeo ut nunquam, aut certe raro ex adversa infirmitate valetudine laboraverit . . . Vultu autem gravi, et aspectu angelico, ut homines raperet in admirationem sui; facie lacrymis aliquando irrigua, cum soleret (quemadmodum de se ipse testatur) divini amoris ardore flagrans, inmunditatis discedere perfusus, in Christi vulneribus fixus meditatione inhaerere; ea denique corporis forma, vel potius dignitate, eaque animi iudole auctoritas, ut nemo illum non reveretur, nemo item, qui se ab eo numerum non pateretur, vel libentissime. . . . Hæc vero libuit univ-erse præfari; ut altitum tandem illi faciam ad eorum præstantissimarum rerum narrationem, in quibus, cum pietatis religionis, sanctitatis, sapientie, eruditioris, doctrinæ, ac virtutis præcellentis splendor eluceat maximus, etc." (Boll., Vol. XXX., in Vita, Auctore Petro Galesinio Protanotario Apostolico, ad Sextum V. Pontificem Maximum, ex editione Henrici Sedulii, Cap. I., n. 23, p. 805.)

† "Tertiam conditionem præcipuam doctori Ecclesie idem [Bonifacius Octavus] ascribit, ut facundus sit. Certe quidem eloquentia laudem sancto Bonaventuræ tribuit Trithemius præclaris his vocibus: 'Fuit enim is clarus, eloquio, subtilis, disertus, flammantia verba proferens.' . . . Is certe totam pene auctoritatem Scripturam ac Theologiam dilucide explicando docuit, docendo quadam spiritali suavitæte delectat; et quod perfecti oratoris est, delectando movet atque accendit; ut satis dictum est." (Boll., Tom. XXX., in Vita, Auct., Petro Galesinio, Cap. VI., n. 73—74, p. 816.)

See him then, our great Angelical, as with calm and princely bearing he advances—a mighty-looking man, built on a larger scale than those who stand around him—and takes the seat just vacated by Bonaventure. His portrait as a boy has been sketched already.* Now, he has grown into the maturity of a man, and his grand *physique* has expanded into its perfect symmetry and manly strength, manifesting, even in his frame, as Tocco says, that exquisite combination of force with true proportion, which gave so majestic a balance to his mind.† His countenance is pale with suffering,‡ and his head is bald from intense and sustained mental application. Still, the placid serenity of his broad lofty brow,§ the deep gray light in his meditative eyes, his firm well-chiselled lips, and fully defined jaw, the whole *pose* of that large splendid head—combining the manliness of the Roman with the refinement and delicacy of the Greek—impress the imagination with an indescribable sense of giant energy of intellect, of royal gentleness of heart, and untold tenacity of purpose. That sweet face reflects so exquisite a purity, that noble bust is cast in so imperial a mould, that the sculptor or the painter would be struck and arrested by it in a moment;—the one would yearn to throw so classical a type into imperishable marble, and the other to transfer so much grandeur of *contour*, and such delicacy of expression, so harmonious a fusion of spotlessness with majesty, of southern loveliness with intellectual strength, to the enduring canvass.||

Perhaps, too, the simple Dominican habit adds a charm to the grandeur of the picture. It seems, when worn by saints, to blot out all idea of mere sensual admiration; it carries the mind into a higher range of thought, and into a more elevated sphere, in which a beauty of a nobler sort finds its natural habitation—a

* Vol. I., Chap. II., p.

† "De naturalium etiam dicti Doctoris dispositione corporis, sicut et mentis, dicitur, quod fuit magnus in corpore et recte statura, quae rectitudini animi respondet: coloris triticeus, ad temperate ejus complexionis indicium: magnum habens caput, sicut virtutum animalium perfectiones, quae rationi deserviunt, organa perfecta requirunt: aliquantulum calvus. Fuit tenerissime complexionis in carne, sicut aptitudo ejus intelligentiae indicabit in mente. Fuit viriliter robore, cum se ad aliquos actus virtutis corpore exercebat: qui etiam virtute animi nihil timuit, nihil obiectum pia humilitate desepit." (Tocco, *Bolk in Vita, Cap. VII.*, n. 39, p. 670.) Fr. Nicolaus de Piperno testified on oath thus:—"Interrogatus cujus statura esset dictus Fr. Thomas, dixit, quod fuit magnae staturae, et calvus, et quod fuit etiam grossus et brunus. Interrogatus cujus aetatis erat, dixit, quod secundum suam existimationem, videbatur sibi, quod fuerit quinquagenarius vel sexagenarius." (See *Bolk, Processus Inquisitionis, Cap. III.*, n. 19, p. 690; see also *Cap. V.*, n. 42, p. 697.)

‡ He used to suffer acutely from indigestion, brought on by fasting and study—like S. Gregory the Great—but, unlike S. Gregory, he never swooned away for want of food.

§ He might have been called "Plato," which means the "Broad-browed,"—but, unlike Plato, the Angelical was neither intensely melancholy nor wrinkled. "As sad as Plato" was a proverb or a phrase among comedians.

|| "Questa sua cordial carità se gli leggeva nella fronte sempre lieta e serena, e singolarmente da chi seco conversava; mentrechè questi in solamente rimandarli confessava sentirsi sgombrar subito dal cuore ogni tristezza e di gaudio spirituale riempirsi. Come fra gli altri Eufraone della Porta di Salerno, dell' Ordine de' Predicatori, huomo per dottrina e pietà illustre attestò di non haver mai parlato con Tomaso, che non sentisse nell'anima una singolarissima consolazione, la quale non gli occorreva per veruna altra cosa del mondo. E ciò seguir non poteva senza speciale assistenza dello Spirito santo habitante nel cuore di Tomaso." (Frigerio, *Lib. II.*, *Cap. I.*, n. 14, p. 71—72.)

loveliness which excludes all touch of carnal taint, and which, chastened by a flame of hallowed fire, seems to transform the coarseness of human clay into a vision of supernatural gracefulness and of illuminated purity.*

Such, anyhow, must have been the impression produced by the "Angel of the Schools." And who at this hour would make so bold as to deny that, as he sat there in the midst, his majestic beauty fell upon the eyes and melted into the hearts of those who, Tocco says, could not look on him without loving him? Who does not perceive that all must have been drawn towards him?† Men knew enough of him to be aware that he was supernaturally helped. The history of his youth was no secret at Paris. He had been known to cure, in an instant, a woman who had but touched the hem of his garment. The students themselves, ten years ago, had decided that he was inspired by the Holy Ghost. His torrents of tears, his frequent ecstasies, which increased as he grew older, his raptures, his liftings in the air, were talked of, and awfully remembered. Thus he appeared to them, as he sat there, not so much a citizen of earth as a friend and confidant of the Everlasting King, a high interpreter betwixt earth and heaven, an angelic man who kept Divine secrets, and was assisted by that mysterious power which issues from the upper world.‡ Men were not startled in those days as they are in these, by the unusual deeds and privileges of chosen men. They took God's work for granted. They believed what they saw: they did not pry, and test, and examine, and lose their souls. They got nearer the truth than we do. Their minds were not corroded by false science. Anyhow, the natural

* "Et quia conveniens satis erat, ut qui tot beneficia a Divina largitate abundantius aliis aucepisset, se omnibus caritate diffunderet; fuit etiam predictus Doctor caritate et pietate diffusus, ut alios a se ipso praeveniret in gratiis, quibus datus erat divinitus ut splendesceret in doctrinis. Erat miro modo benignus in animo, qui totis suavis erat in verbo et liberalis in facto: ut ostenderet omnibus quia Spiritus habitaret in ejus mente, cujus tanta suavitas procedebat ex ore: ut unusquisque, qui totius conversationis ejus vidisset effigiem, mentis ejus potuisset legere sanctitatem." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. VI., n. 37, p. 663.)

† "Ex qua benignitate caritatis mirandus affectus ex solo ejus corporali aspectu videbatur oriri, ut nemo ipsam aliquandiu alloquendo et conversando potuisset aspicere, a quo non contingeret gratiam specialis consolationis haurire: unde Frater Eufraon de Salerno, in toto Ordine Fratrum Predicatorum celebris opinione et fama, consueverat pluries dicere, quod quoties predictum Doctorem cum affectu devotionis aspiceret, toties ex ejus aspectu et locutione gratiam letitiae spiritualis hauriret, quod aine Spiritus sancti praesentia esse non poterat, de quo tanta gratia procedebat." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. VI., n. 37, p. 663.) Of course, even holiness does not always manifest itself in an engaging manner. There were parties who opposed St. Martin's election to Tours, alleging, as Sulpicius tells us, "that he was a contemptible person, unworthy of the Episcopate, despicable in countenance, mean in dress, uncouth in his hair." (Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, Chap. XII., p. 328.—Fourth Edition.)

‡ Gibelli pictures him thus:—"Esso fu alto e ben composto della persona, bello di volto, ma di una bellezza che tenea del maestoso e del celeste; ebbe grande il capo, ampla la fronte, un po' entro dimanzi; il suo portamento fu grave e venerando; trasee nel pingue; alle sublimi speculazioni, agli asposi rapimenti alla vita tutta tutta spirituale la vigoria del corpo non bastò; strematosi a poco a poco delle vitali potenze toccò appena il quarantottesimo anno incedendo in dubbio il mondo se e' fosse stato il più dotto de' Santi o il più Santo de' dotti." (*Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Capo XXXII., p. 121.)

Werner speaks thus:—"Der Eindruck der äusseren Erscheinung des Verbliebenen wird von den zeitgenössischen Schriftstellern als ein sehr edler und gewinnender geschildert. Thomas war von hoher Statur, sehr wohl gebildet, sein Kopf von vollendeter Schönheit, sein Gesicht hatte süditalische Färbung (coloris triticeo), seine Züge driekten Sanftmuth und Würde aus, die erhabene Stirne war frühzeitig vom Haupthaar entblösst worden." (Werner's *Der Heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Sechstes Capitel, p. 350—351.)

thought, the spontaneous feeling, of that vast concourse, when looking on the great Angelical as he began to unfold his thesis was, that he lived more amongst the secrets of the Unseen World than in the midst of men; and that he wielded, like a giant, the strength he gained from God, for the sake of perishing humanity. Love, awe, admiration, enthusiasm—these were awakened in the breasts of those in that assembly who had hearts to feel, and brains to reason withal.*

And especially would it have been so on this occasion. The audience was ignorant of the supernatural instruction which the Angelical had received. Men did not know, as he sat there “with the striking elegance of ease,” that in the dark night, amidst the shadows of the church, he had wept his heart out prostrate before the altar. They were not aware of the fact, but for all that, they were impressed by its effects. The supernatural power which was in him spoke to them. And when he began and gave out his thesis, with his deep commanding voice: “Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy work,” a tremor must have passed across every heart in the great concourse, and men must have looked at each other with awe, admiration, and an unconscious feeling of surprise.

The text was worthy of so great a master of theology, and he used it to advantage. He took a broad and lofty view, befitting the greatness of the occasion, and the learning of the Doctors. His whole plan lay clear before him. His central idea was Christ as the Redeemer and the Restorer of mankind. The “eternal hills” represent the everlasting Church of God; the “upper rooms” are the mansions of the blessed—the heavenly Jerusalem; and the “waters” which are poured out from thence—the waters of the Paradise of God—are the supernatural graces and unctions which proceed from His life-giving Spirit.† And as the mists and waters which fall upon high mountains, unite, and break, and tumble through a thousand rents and fissures, working their

* Bareille thus draws his picture of the Angelical:—“Le Docteur angélique était d’une taille haute, droite et majestueuse; son corps semblait répondre à la hauteur, à la noblesse de son esprit. Il avait une tête grande et belle, admirablement disposée pour toutes les fonctions intellectuelles. Son front était chauve avant le temps, comme la plupart des fronts où le génie a passé. Thomas fut d’une organisation tendre et flexible, qui se pliait aisément au plus léger mouvement de la pensée; cette délicatesse, toutefois, n’excluait pas la force et l’énergie. Le long exercice de toutes les vertus avait communiqué aux organes mêmes un caractère de mâle fermeté, dont, à première vue, ils n’eussent point paru susceptibles. De même que cette grande âme ne reculait jamais devant un acte d’humilité, de même son corps était devenu comme impassible en présence des plus terribles épreuves.” (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d’Aquin*, Chap. XXVII., p. 372—373; see also Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d’Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. XIV., p. 258.)

† “Thomas revenu à lui-même, se trouva fort consolé: et dès le lendemain il fit son Principe, ou Acte public, dans la Salle de l’Evêché de Paris, avec l’admiration de toutes les Facultés. Il ne manqua pas de mettre à profit les paroles du Prophète, pour expliquer de quelle manière Jésus-Christ, le chef adorable des hommes et des Anges, arrose les montagnes célestes du torrent de ses grâces, et rassasie l’Eglise militante du fruit de ses travaux, par les Sacramens qu’il a établis pour nous communiquer les mérites de sa Passion.” (Touron *Liv. II.*, Chap. XIII., p. 150—151.)

way down, and forcing their way on, till they reach the spreading plain, clothing it with verdure, and fruitfulness, and colour; making it vocal with sheep and with cattle; filling it with fragrance and with flowers, with song of birds and with sunny life—so the streams of the Grace of God, descending on the Church, flow through the channels of the Seven great Sacraments of the New Dispensation, and carry into the parched clay of the souls of men elements of life and strength, of supernatural goodness and of Christian beauty, turning winter into spring-tide, and quickening that with life which before was dead.*

Such is an outline of the subject which the Angelical had to develop and defend before the assembled University. It included the entire range of theology—it treated of God, and man, and their relations. Of how he expanded it, how he spoke and looked, how he replied to the arguments adduced against him, his biographers say but little; still, enough has already been suggested to convince the reader that he was gifted with surpassing mastership, and that there was not a single man, in any one of the Faculties there assembled, who would have dared to measure his strength against him.†

When he had made an end, amidst enthusiastic applause, he was declared by acclamation worthy of the Doctorate in Theology, and was invested with the *insignia* of his office. The head of the theological faculty brings the Doctor's ring, and places it upon the finger of the Angelical, in token of his being espoused to "Wisdom" as a Bride. Next, the Saint lays his right hand on a closed Bible, as a sign that he is master of the wisdom contained in the Sacred Books. Then one of the Doctors present advances, opens the Book, and delivers it over to him, saying: "*Accipe potestatem docendi ubique terrarum*"—"Receive power to teach all nations." The Angelical now rising, the authorities lead him between them to a seat ready prepared amongst the Masters in Divinity, and place him by the side of Bonaventure, with the words: "*Sede inter Doctores*"—"Be seated amongst the Doc-

* See how the Angelical speaks of the Sacraments in relation to Christ, in his *Commentary* on the "Sentences," when he takes these words as his text:—"Misit verbum suum, et sanavit eos, et eripuit eos de interitibus eorum." (*Ps.*, *CVI.*, 20.) God "sends His Word," that is to say, the Saviour, "to heal them;" that is to say, to deliver them by His grace, conveyed through the Sacraments; "and He delivered them out of their distresses;" that is, by means of the system He established. He lifted them up out of darkness and death into the light and life of His grace. This simply shows that the Angelical's mind ran in the same direction when making his public Act, as it did when commenting on the "Sentences" of the Lombard. (*Cf.* *Opp.*, S. Thomas Aquinas, *Tom. VII.*, *Part. Altera*, *Prologus* S. Thomas, p. 1.)

† Tournon says that the text of Scripture on which the Angelical based his public Act contained a prophecy regarding his own influence in the future:—"L'événement a fait connaître que ce texte de l'Écriture, qui fut inspiré à notre Salut, contenoit une espèce de Prophétie, qui sembloit le regarder lui-même, et qui devoit le faire considérer dès-lors comme une mée féconde, qui déchargeant tous les jours ses eaux, arrosait les montagnes, et commençoit à rassasier la terre; puisque ses savans ouvrages, . . . n'instruisent pas moins les plus habiles Docteurs, et les génies du premier ordre, par la grandeur des matières qu'il traite, et par la beauté des principes qu'il établit, que le peuple-même, et les plus simples d'entre les Fidèles, par la facilité de la méthode, et par la clarté admirable qu'il répand partout, sur les vérités de notre Religion." (*Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, *Lib. II.*, *Chap. XIII.*, p. 151.)

tors."* After having received the ring, he now receives the cap. It is first placed upon his head, and then immediately removed with the words: "*Te discooperio*"—"I uncover thee;" as a mark that he is not to use the power to teach in his own name, but in the name of the Catholic Church, which alone is the guardian of the truth contained in the Sacred Scriptures. He is then invested with the cap once more; and there, in the august presence of the most learned assembly in the world, the great Prince of Theologians sits by the side of the seraphic Bonaventure, with all eyes fixed upon him, the ring sparkling on his hand, and the Doctor's cap encircling his placid brow—a type of the boundless power of supernatural eminence and of intellectual sway.†

When this ceremony has ended, the meeting breaks up. The great Act has been accomplished. The hall is emptied by degrees. The streets hum again with a noisy crowd, and men retire to their ordinary occupations, their hearts soothed with tenderness and warmed with admiration, as they bear away, imprinted on their imaginations like a picture, the graceful and majestic image of the Angel of the Schools.‡

* "Er empfing den Ring zum Zeichen seiner Vermählung mit der Wissenschaft; dann berührte er mit der Rechten eine verschlossene Bibel, zum Zeichen, dass er die Wissenschaft dieses heiligen Buches besitzt. Einer der anwesenden Doctoren öffnete nun das Buch, und reichte es ihm dar mit den Worten: *Accipe potestatem docendi ubique terrarum*. Hierauf führte er ihn zu einem Sitze in Mitte der Doctoren: *Sede inter Doctores*. Endlich wurde ihm das Doctorbarret auf das Haupt gesetzt, aber wieder abgenommen: *Te discooperio*, zum Zeichen, dass er die Macht zu lehren nicht in eigenem Namen, sondern im Auftrage der Kirche übe, der alleinigen Bewahrerin der in dem heiligen Buche niedergelegten Wahrheit." (Werner, *B. I., Drittes Capitel*, p. 213.)

† I follow Allodi (*See Opp. S. Thomæ, Tom. I., Ellogium Historicum, p. XXI., Ed. Parmæ.*) though well aware that some doubt is cast on the assertion of several biographers of S. Thomas, that S. Bonaventure took the cap at the same time as our Saint. Werner states that he did (*B. I., Drittes Capitel*), so does Butler (*Lives, July 14th*), so does Ozanam (*Œuvres Complètes, Tom. VI., Chap. II., p. 83, Ed. 2*), so also does Frigerio (*Lib. I., Cap. V., n. 12, p. 33*). On the other hand, neither Tonrou, nor Gibelli, nor Bareille make any mention of the fact, whilst the Bollandists argue against it (*Acta SS. Die Decima Quarta Julii, § III., nn. 28, 29, 30, p. 781—782*). Yet Berthamier, with their arguments before him, prefers to take the opposite view in company with "plusieurs historiens;" and finishes with a blow at modern chronologists:—"Tout ce qui tient à cette époque de l'histoire de Saint Bonaventure," he says, "est fort embrouillé, quant à la chronologie; et les auteurs accoutumés à reprocher au moyen âge ses ténèbres, n'ont guère fait preuve de grandes lumières." (*Histoire de Saint Bonaventure. Chap. VI., p. 130—131.*)

‡ It may be felt that the picture drawn is rather a fancy portrait than a sketch from reality. But cannot a writer be allowed to do what is permitted to scientific men, who from one bone or fossil build up a whole organism? Is not the principle of *ex pede* admissible in biography? Indeed we have far more than a fossil or a foot of the Angelical. Tocco, Malvenda, and S. Antoninus, give quite sufficient material out of which he who feels inclined to study, and to compare part with part, may form a fairly just picture of the Saint. It is a great help and pleasure to form a picture of some kind; if that attempted by the author is in any way distasteful, the reader will find material in the notes out of which he may conceive one for himself.

CHAPTER II.

THE POPES ON S. THOMAS.

It may easily be imagined by those who admit S. Thomas of Aquin to have been a blessed Saint, and a great Doctor of the Church, that it is quite possible for a fervent admirer of his—one who has for any length of time lived upon his life—to grow gradually into an enthusiast, and to draw a picture of him which is to some extent coloured by warmth of imagination, and represents, at least in part, a perfection and a beauty which an unbiassed judge would not be able to detect in the original.

There is no question at all that such a danger exists in writing the biography of any heroic man. The spirit is drawn to him, and feels lifted and invigorated by him; his presence seems to cheer the heart, and to expand the higher powers of the soul; a familiarity and sweet friendship seems to have been commenced; and just as a true friend fights the battles of his friend, whilst each screens the other's faults, so the writer of a "Life" may naturally be tempted to indulge the weakness of a similar generosity towards one who can say no word in his own defence, and whose fame and honour are treasures confided to his keeping.*

Yet at the same time he will bear in mind that violent action is followed by violent reaction; and that it is one of the undeviating tendencies of man's nature to resent all hollowness or unreality, in whatever shape it may be presented, and to drag the scale down on one side with the same force with which it has been unduly elevated on the other. Good intentions, simplicity of purpose, an indiscreet zeal on the part of a writer who has

* This seems to be one of the great advantages in reading the lives of the saints in preference to other books, viz., that a personal affection springs up in the heart for the saint whose life is under consideration. His human history has always much in it touching upon our own; he has his sorrows, pains and joys, his temptations and darkenesses—and he may have had falls. Then his purity and confidence, his love of his kind—so generous and unselfish, are all sweet to think upon; whilst his image becomes even more bright and distinct within the mind. He becomes a dear and trusted friend: he can cheer our sorrow, and point the way lovingly to the Cross. How many saints have not been made by thinking on the saints!

unwittingly cajoled mankind, may perhaps save him from severity of treatment; but it will not prevent that result being practically brought about with regard to his labours, which was the one thing above all others those labours were directed to avoid.* He will feel, after all is said and done, that true friendship and wise service consists in endeavouring to discover the truth; and having found it, to put it without shrinking, clearly and uncompromisingly before the world. He will be convinced that there is no abiding loveliness without veracity; and that real goodness, like genuine coin, must exhibit the royal figure of Truth stamped on the one side, and the graceful form of Beauty on the other.†

And if there has ever been a man, the just description of whose life and labours has, at first sight, the appearance of exaggeration, that man is emphatically the "Angel of the Schools." His greatness does not, like that of renowned ecclesiastical rulers, impress itself upon the world in legislative deeds. He has been looked upon generally from a distance. The details of his career have often been drawn out in an uninviting form. He is admitted to have been a good man, and an eminent theologian—and there men leave him. As to his system, it is dismissed as a method hampered by an ignorance which was unavoidable, and suffering from the inevitable lameness of a one-sided analysis.‡

But no intellect, however gifted, can, all at once, adequately realize any grand idea or great creation. Who, without considerable mental effort, can comprehend the beauty of a simple blade of grass, or the variegated loveliness of a wild forget-me-not? Or take a mountain range; does not its majesty proverbially grow upon the mind—just as the starry night, or the first sight of the boundless sea? Or go to Rome—enter S. Peter's; it seems

* Still, it is true that there is a difference between writing the life of a sinner—however gifted he may be, however great a hero he may have shown himself—and writing the life of a saint. The very fact of a human being having been canonized by authority, gives him a title to a veneration which the world's heroes cannot claim. And this is at once reasonable and intelligible. For what mere human ingenuity or sagacity can compare with the instinct of the Church which, after sifting with the most searching scrutiny the lives of holy men, declares whether or not they are to be held in veneration, to be looked upon as models, and to be invoked by Christian people? That solemn voice of authority is as a sure guide not only to the external actions, but also to the hearts of men. When she speaks within her province, rash is he who would neglect her voice!

† And such would not be the case were there not a deep metaphysical truth implied in what has been said:—"La bontà poi è il perfetto accordo dell'attività volitiva coll'esigenza dell'essere; la volontà che aderisce all'essere come in sé buono e se ne compiace, si dice bona. Ciò posto, il vero e il bene esprimono la relazione dell'ente con un'intelligenza e con una volontà. Ma poiché l'intelligente e il volente è anch'esso un ente; perciò il vero e il bene, o la verità e la bontà sono relazioni intrinseche e necessarie che l'ente ha seco stesso. Queste relazioni si riducono alle forme stesse dell'essere considerate nel loro rapporto. La forma reale in relazione logica coll'ideale è verità, la forma reale in relazione attiva coll'ideale o col reale conosciuto è bontà." (See Pestalozza, *Elementi di Filosofia*, Vol. III., *Ontologia*, Cap. VI., p. 251.)

‡ Of course, the only quality in the Angelical which could bring him before the English world, would be his philosophical or theological gifts. How far he is appreciated as a philosopher is evident from Mr. Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, which has already reached a third edition. Though it is a fact known to all who have made a study of mediæval philosophy that the Angelical held, in his own age at all events, the first place—were it only for what he did for Aristotle's text—still, Mr. Lewes, whilst he devotes ten pages to Roger Bacon, "cannot pause to sketch the portrait of the Angelic Doctor." He devotes just six lines and a half—with a short note—to the most philosophic mind of the thirteenth century. (See Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. II., Chap. III., p. 75.)

a massive pile with its towering pilasters ; and the eye travels far before it reaches the Confessional over which expands the dome ; and again it is carried beyond to the distant window with the historic chair below. It is, indeed, an enormous Basilica, yet an impression hangs about the mind that accounts have been exaggerated. Byron was drawing on his imagination ; even the guide-books, which have little poetic elasticity, are calculated to lead astray and disappoint ;—so it seems during the first few days.* But give the mind time to enlarge, and gradually man's contracted eye will open to the genius of the place, and will, by degrees, become sensible to its vastness, and realize its marvellous proportions ; the stranger will begin to find something colossal even in those four mosaics in the dome, and in those golden letters running round it. He will be amazed to find that those white marble angels which hold the enormous holy-water shells are, in point of fact, not cherubs of the size of infants, but infants of the size of stalwart men. He will now appreciate the poet's imagery, and hold that no description of that vast House of God can adequately express, not so much its beauty, as its overpowering immensity.†

And if such be the case with a material building planned by man's intelligence and placed in its order and symmetry by his genius, how much more vast and unapproachable must not be the mind of him who has the power first to conceive it and then to draw it out ! If the one cannot be realized all at once, neither can the other ; if the creature of the brain requires study, thought, time, to be adequately seized, how much more the creative mind itself!‡

* Byron puts it in this way:—

“Enter: its grandeur overwhelms thee not,
And why? it has not lessen'd; but thy mind,
Expanded by the genius of the spot,
Has grown colossal, and can only find
A fit abode wherein appear enshrined
Thy hopes of immortality; and thou
Shalt one day, if found worthy, so defined,
See thy God face to face, as thou dost now
His Holy of Holies, nor be blasted by His brow.”

(*Childe Harold, Canto IV., Stanza CLV.*)

† It is not too much to say that the same impression is produced upon the mind when, through study, it comes into contact with such a saint as S. Thomas, as is produced by what Dr. Newman calls “an enlightenment or enlargement of the mind.” For instance, let a person whose experience has hitherto been confined to the calm and unpretending scenery of these islands, whether here or in England, go for the first time into parts where physical nature puts on her wilder and more awful forms, whether at home or abroad, as into mountainous districts; or let one, who has ever lived in a quiet village, go for the first time to a great metropolis—then I suppose he will have a sensation which perhaps he never had before. He has a feeling not in addition or increase of former feelings, but of something different in kind.

He has made a certain progress . . . he does not stand where he did; he has a new centre, and a range of thoughts to which he was before a stranger.” (Newman's *Discourses on University Education* [delivered in Dublin], *Lect. VII.*, p. 209.)

‡ The view given by Dr. Newman, of “a truly great intellect” in the following words, is sufficient to enforce the truth just stated:—“A truly great intellect,” he says, “and recognized to be such by the common opinion of mankind, such as the intellect of Aristotle, or of S. Thomas, or of Newton, or of Goethe . . . is one which takes a connected view of old and new, past and present, far and near, and which has an insight into the influence of all these one on another; without which there is no whole, and no centre. It possesses the knowledge, not only of things, but also of their mutual and true relations; knowledge, not merely considered as acquirement, but as philosophy.” (*On University Education, Disc. VII.*, p. 214.)

And if this be true of an intellect skilled in designing architectural forms, with how much more force may it not be said of a still higher order of intelligence! Take Isaias and Jeremias amongst the prophets; Plato and Aristotle amongst the philosophers; Homer, Dante, Goethe, and Shakespeare amongst the poets; Kepler and Newton amongst mathematicians; or even such different men as Pythagoras, or Thales, or Socrates, or Bacon, or Porson, or Elmsley:—who could do these justice without a store of mental labour? Or take names more closely connected with our subject. Who, however quick, can, impromptu, realize the whole force, the richness and the fire, of S. Chrysostom, or the sweet lovingness of a S. Gregory *Theologus*, or the hard vigour of a S. Basil, or the indomitable and almost rude determination of a S. Cyril? Can the character of the rugged S. Jerome, in his cave at Bethlehem, be comprehended at a glance?—Or consider the great Church rulers, men who in their day swayed the stormy world of ecclesiastical politics, and have left their mark within the Ark as a memorial for all time—the courageous S. Athanasius, the majestic S. Ambrose, the imperial Hildebrand or Boniface, the heroic S. Leo, that tender large and placid light S. Gregory the Great: or to come to our own day; take that venerable man, so mighty in faith, Pope Pius IX.;—who could, without long study, draw into the mind, and paint on the imagination, and then intellectually possess, the noble images these represent?

Or even select one brilliant out of the setting of each life—the stern S. Chrysostom expiring in the hands of his persecutors, or S. Gregory preaching upon S. Basil's death, or S. Basil answering Modestus, or S. Cyril at Ephesus, or S. Jerome tempted in the fierce wilderness of Chalcis, or S. Augustine struggling with grace,† or S. Paul embracing S. Anthony in the desert, or S. Athanasius‡ triumphantly entering Alexandria, or S. Ambrose

* It is proverbial that those who know least, and are most crude intellectually, dogmatize most, and have far less reverence than men who possess a wider knowledge and have been matured by experience and age. The young and inexperienced have no standard by which to measure. They unconsciously judge all to be more or less like themselves, and hence, do not know how to give others credit for qualities of which they are ignorant, and perhaps an accurate notion of which could not be conveyed to them. The really learned and enlightened will take long to judge, and still longer to condemn; and do not think they can wholly grasp, without care and thought, what would be seized, tried, and condemned by others without remorse.

† What event in the history of man contains more food for deep thought than the Eighth Book of S. Augustine's *Confessions*? Here comes out in giant proportions the wild passion of human nature, and the subduing influence of grace:—"I threw myself down under a fig-tree," says S. Augustine, "I know not how, and allowing my tears full vent, offered up to Thee the acceptable sacrifice of my streaming eyes. And I cried out to this effect—'And thou, O Lord, how long, how long, Lord, wilt Thou be angry! For ever! Remember not our old sins!' for I felt that they were my tyrants. I cried out, piteously: 'How long! how long! to-morrow, and to-morrow! why not now! why not in this very hour put an end to this my violence!' While I thus spoke, with tears, in the bitter contrition of my heart, suddenly I heard a voice, as if from a house near me, of a boy or girl chanting forth again and again, 'Take up and read, take up and read!'" (See Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, Chap. X., p. 275.) Who could all at once, without long meditation, grasp the full idea of S. Augustine's position!

See his *Life of S. Anthony*, S. Athan. *Opp.*, Vol. II., p. 835—975. *Patrol. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI,

defending the Church against Justina, or Hildebrand and Boniface resisting the arrogance of princes, or S. Leo with a glance subduing Attila, or S. Gregory the Great waiting on the poor, or Gregory XVI. rebuking the proud Emperor of the Russias*—any one of these events belongs to so high a moral order, and grows out of such deep and simple principles, bearing with it so much sweetness, strength, and light, that it is only by patience that the mind is able to appreciate its full significance, and to detect that delicate moral aroma which always clings to noble deeds.

If, then, so much is required for fully comprehending an isolated act of heroism; if nature, art, and man, cannot be adequately realized except by dint of patient thought—how much labour should not be expended on the life of a Saint like the Angelical, who through natural endowment was a man of gigantic mind, and under the influence of grace possessed far higher gifts than can possibly be discovered in the noblest creation of the natural order?†

It is of marked importance, before advancing any further in this Life, that we should locate our Saint in that position amongst the religious benefactors of mankind to which, in justice, he is entitled. When his place has been determined, then, both his personal history and his public teaching will command an attention and create an interest which possibly they may not have possessed before; whilst that vagueness will be avoided which invariably accompanies a notion of the great and the sublime before it has, by means of judgments and comparisons, been crystallized into shape and thrown into distinct position.

For this end a few preliminary remarks will be in keeping, after which the opinions of eminent and authoritative judges shall be given, and comparisons shall be instituted which will issue, it may be hoped, in conveying a clear idea of the *status* which the Angel of the Schools appears to occupy in the temple of Catholic fame.

* "He [Nicholas] had entered with his usual firm step and royal aspect, grand as it was from statue-like features, stately frame, and martial bearing. . . . 'with plumes unruffled, and with eye unquenched.' . . . He came forth again, with head uncovered, and hair, if it can be said of man, dishevelled; haggard and pale . . . It was the eagle dragged from his eyrie among the clefts of the rocks. . . . from his nest among the stars, his feathers crumbled, and his eye quelled, by a power till then despised." (Wiseman's *Last Four Popes—Gregory XVI.*, Chap. VI., p. 513—514.)

† Dr. Mettenleiter gives a very pleasing hymn at the commencement of his *Geschichte des heiligen Thomas von Aquin*, which brings out the greatness of the Saint with much felicity. Here is a specimen:—

"Dem Lichte gleich am Himmelsbogen.
Bricht siegreich er der Wolken Macht,
Die durch der Wahrheit Bahn gezogen:
Er spricht: und gleich die Sonne lacht!

Er tauchet in des Meeres Tiefen
Und steigt in des Abgrunds Schoos,
Für ihn die Himmel 'Weisheit' tiefen,
Sein Geist reißt alle Bande los."

(*Hymnus auf den heiligen Thomas, p. III.*)

The soul of a man is simple, yet it can be considered to have two sides—the intellect, and the will. All intellectual and moral greatness proceeds from one or other of these faculties, modified by the heart, and influenced by grace.* The great champions of the Church have exhibited themselves, either as predominantly mighty in intellect, or singularly masterful in will, or as unusually great in the combination of the two:† Christ, in His Transfiguration, was attended by Elias and Moses. If the intelligence predominate, we have the great thinkers, the prime-movers of religious thought; if the will be paramount, then we see the man of legislative and practical ability—one who, with instinctive readiness, knows how to seize upon the principles thrown into shape by others, and to turn them sharply to account. Thus two distinct classes of agents are perceptible in the course of ecclesiastical history, sometimes seeming to mingle into one, sometimes standing apart and displaying their distinctive characteristics, but always guiding, with a strong hand, the world in which their lot is cast.‡

Thus, on the one hand, we have an Elias, an Origen, a Gregory, a Jerome, a Damascene, a Peter Lombard, a Richard of S. Victor's, a Bonaventure, a Thomas of Aquino—men working out great problems, and creating the thoughts of future generations; on the other, there is a Moses, an Ambrose, a Leo, a Gregory the Great, a Hildebrand, a Boniface—applying those problems and thoughts to the practical realities of active life, and using the principles thrown into shape by the contemplative for advancing, amidst the turmoils of society, the highest interests of the Church. Or if these gifts be combined in unusual proportions, we have, amongst the pagans we may perhaps say, a Thales, an Anaximander, and a Socrates; amongst Christians, a S. Athana-

* "The instruments raised up by Almighty God for the accomplishment of His purposes are of two kinds, equally gifted with faith and piety, but from natural temper and talent, education, or other circumstances, differing in the means by which they promote their sacred cause. The first of these are men of acute and ready mind, with accurate knowledge of human nature, and large plans, and persuasive and attractive bearing, genial, sociable, and popular, endued with prudence, patience, instinctive tact, and decision in conducting matters, as well as boldness and zeal." (See Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, Chap. III., p. 49, Fourth Edition.)

† Which is very exceptional:—

No: all Heaven's gifts may not be thine at once.
Jove gives to one man skill in feats of war;
One in the dance, one with the lyre excels,
While upon others the far-seeing god
Bestows a prudent mind, whereof the gain
Is reaped by many; and oft it saveth cities;
Yet chiefest gain is his who owns that one
Inestimable gift."

(See Wright's *Iliad*, Vol. II., Book XIII., l. 820—828, p. 40.)

‡ The second kind of instrument is described thus:—"Again, there is an instrument in the hands of Providence, of less elaborate and splendid workmanship, less rich in its political endowments, so to call them, yet not less beautiful in its texture, nor less precious in its material. Such is the retired and thoughtful student, who remains years and years in the solitude of a college or a monastery, chastening his soul in secret, raising it to high thought and single-minded purpose; and when at length called into active life, conducting himself with firmness, guilelessness, zeal like a flaming fire, and all the sweetness of pureness and integrity," (Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, Chap. III., p. 50.)

sins, a S. Ephrem, a S. Anselm, a S. Chrysostom, and an Albertus Magnus.*

He whose intellect is supreme would seem to belong to the higher order of human greatness; he in whom the will is paramount comes in the rank below. For surely he who fashions the thunderbolt is on a sublimer eminence than he who hurls it: Solon is greater than Croesus, Pindar is greater than Hieron, Plato is greater than Dionysius, Aristotle is greater than Alexander.

It was not amidst the noise and whirl of secular politics that the great illuminations of the natural order have been given to the world. Look at those centres of philosophic thought which have revolutionized systems as well as states. They were mostly the creation of men who shrunk away from the din of life. The Pythagoreans dwelt in lonely and deserted places; Epicurus taught not in the town, but in his famous garden; the Cynics in the Cynosarges; whilst the Stoics frequented solitary groves and silent porticos. If you would hear Aristotle, you will find him walking amidst the gardens, shrubberies, and avenues of the Lyceum.† There you will come upon him, surrounded by the elegant and polished youth of Athens, pouring out amongst them, under the pleasant shade of overhanging boughs, a portion of that lofty wisdom which has since become the common heritage of the civilized world. Or would you listen to the "old man made eloquent," to the austere and melancholy master of the Stagyrity? You must leave the brilliant and shallow sophists in the city, and betake yourself to

"The olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Thrills her thick-warbled notes the summer long."‡

* Thales, at all events, seems to have manifested these two qualities to so great an extent, that some writers deny he was so active, on account of his having been said to have spent his life in solitude, and *vice versa*. "His immense activity in politics," says Lewes, "has been denied by later writers, as inconsistent with the tradition, countenanced by Plato, of his having spent a life of solitude and meditation; while on the other hand his affection for solitude has been questioned on the ground of his political activity. Yet the two things are perfectly compatible. Meditation does not necessarily unfit a man for action; nor does an active life absorb all his time, leaving him none for meditation. The wise man will strengthen himself by meditation before he acts; and he will act, to test the truth of his meditations." (*History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Chap. I., § 1, p. 4—5. *Third Edition*.)

† How love of solitude and nature showed itself in those who devoted themselves to God, in the Church under monastic rule, need not be dwelt upon. S. Basil, S. Benedict, S. Jerome, might be mentioned. Even S. John Chrysostom, who mixed so with men, calls the mountains and woods "the tabernacles of the saints." Hugh of S. Victor's lays down the divine rule thus: "Scrutemur Scripturas, et inveniemus vix unquam Deum in multitudine locutionis, sed quotiescunque hominibus innotescere voluit non gentibus et populis, sed vel singulis, vel admodum paucis, et a communi frequentia hominum segregatis, vel per nocturna silentia, vel in campis, vel in solitudinibus et montibus se manifestavit." (*Patrologie*, Tom. CLXXVI., Hugo de S. Victore, Vol. II., Pars. II., De Arca Morali, Lib. IV., Cap. IV., p. 668. *Migne*.)

‡ Cicero thought the groves of the Academy the best place in which to discourse with his friends upon philosophy. The monastic principle points in the same direction:—

Semper enim vales, silvestribus undique cinctas
Arboribus, divus Bernardus, amicumque prata
Et fluvios: juga sed Benedictus amabat, et arces
Caelo surgentes à quarum vertice lato
Prospectus petitur, recessum plebis uterque;
Sacrarum scripturarum studiosus uterque
Mensarum et Phœbi: non quem colit ethnica turba,
Sed quem Christicola natum de virgine credunt."

And such, as a rule, has been also the case with the great scientific minds of the Catholic Church. They have worked out their destiny in solitude. Leaving out of the question natural aptitude—in all large undertakings, if they are to succeed, there must be a division of labour; and even then, after a man has slaved all his life long, he has often to leave his work incomplete, to be finished, like the great cathedrals of the middle ages, by other hands, and by men with other tastes and views. Besides, no great achievement is possible without going through an apprenticeship. Genius does much; but genius without time, opportunity, and unwearying industry, can do little lasting good. Many men who have possessed high qualities for speculation have had few opportunities of displaying them. Many—who would have left to posterity volumes of untold value, full of trains of thought conceived with exact precision and worked out with scientific accuracy—because they have been detained in active occupations, have done little else than record, to the regret of those who came after them, just sufficient evidence of their transcendent talent to make it clear, that had they only had the chance, they would have proved themselves mighty benefactors to the human race.*

He then would be fairly considered the king of men who, inheriting high intellectual power combined with indomitable will, should be so fortunate as to find both time and opportunity for bringing to perfection, in the first place, his own intellectual and moral gifts; and, then, that scheme, or work, which he proposes to himself as the one labour of his life.

It is obviously quite possible that a man might possess both time and ability, and yet lack the courage, generosity, or self-sacrifice requisite—first, for initiating some great achievement, and then for carrying it into effect. Many men who had been destined to do some master-work have failed in its accomplishment through sloth, cowardice, or want of perseverance, or from some other moral imbecility.† But with such as these we are

* What might not Minutius Felix have done had he been thoroughly trained! yet it must be true that men are placed by Providence in their own special work. Each has his day, and his work to do in it. S. Athanasius, had he had more leisure to write, would not have given to the world so splendid an example of patience and unwearyed fortitude; S. John Chrysostom, had he dedicated himself to the severer and more scientific methods of teaching, might have lost the beautiful personality of his sermons, his rhetorical and glowing style, which gave him so powerful a sway over Christian minds; S. Jerome, had he not wandered here and there as he did; and S. Ambrose, had he not had to rule in a turbulent time—both these great Fathers, had they been differently placed from what they were, would, in all human probability, have lost rather than have gained.

† In order to do great deeds, men require great gifts. Doubtless nothing is certain on this side the grave, but when men seem to perceive great promise, when the trees of the spring-time are laden with beautiful blossom, they look to a golden harvest. And if blight or frost comes, and eats or shrivels up the fragrant earnest of future gifts, a beautiful design seems to be wantonly destroyed. So with some classes of men—they begin full of lofty aspirations, and often with mighty gifts, but the blight of pride and of the passions brings upon them a premature decay; or they become pinched by the sharp frost of a freezing world, and all their rich covering falls prone to the earth. They have not strength of constitution to bear up against the atmosphere in which they live, or they abuse the measure of grace dealt out to them by the hand of heaven.

not concerned at the present moment. They are only brought forward to be dismissed. We have nothing to do with clever cowards, or with the torpidity of intellectual men. We are dealing here exclusively with grand master-minds who take a wide survey over the world's history, who love humanity through their love of God, and who have generously determined to spend, and to be spent, in one life's-work, namely: in lifting up man out of darkness and bearing him nearer to the Light.*

And thus we seem to possess a measure by which to gauge the height, depth, and breadth of human excellence; a sort of moral and rational machine, by means of which we may discover, not only the absolute weight of one individual, but also the relationships in which many individuals stand towards each other; and, consequently, the different degrees of ethical and intellectual precedence to which each individual is entitled.

But before comparing the great Angelical with "men of renown," it would be well to bring forward the opinions of persons of the highest authority in the Church with regard to his position.† He who confidently and thankfully follows the verdict of the most illuminated and most august of the Church's servants, indeed, of the Church herself, and simply desires to throw that verdict into clear expression, and to adduce reason for its justice and its truth, will stand little chance of being ensnared into subjective views, or of being carried away by mere emotion.

When a Sovereign Pontiff bears public testimony to the greatness of any man, that testimony carries with it an especial weight. And when his utterance has to do with an eminent teacher; when he who is the shepherd of the flock points out the field, and declares it wholesome food and excellent, then his words, uttered within the limits of his own special illumination, carry with them a conclusiveness beyond those of all other men.

Bacon says that "the mind is not like a plane mirror, which

* What would have become of S. Anselm, had he not possessed a divine courage and stability? or of Boniface VIII. in the days of his trial? or of Gregory VII.† or of S. Thomas of Canterbury, when he had to resist a king? Who does not see a patience fitting to the dark hour in a Paschal, a Gelasius, an Innocent III., and an Innocent IV., in Benedict XII., and Clement VI.? Such are the men who were equal either to encountering or to bearing with their evil day. Or think of Sir Thomas More before Henry VIII., or of S. Athanasius before Julian, S. Ambrose before Theodosius, of S. John Chrysostom before Arcadius! These are the sort of men who do their great work in their day, and by one noble example fix themselves upon the minds of future generations as patterns of heroism and of heavenly nobility and patience.

† It has been the practice of biographers of the Angelical—of Tournon, Borelle, Werner, and others, to place the portrait of the Angelical in the latter chapters of their *Lives*; and also to treat of the position of the Saint in the order of teachers—inasmuch as they do touch upon such a point at all—at the conclusion of their works. It seems to the present writer far more pleasant to conceive a picture of the Saint *early* in the *Life*, and also to acquire some knowledge of his "position," before coming close to the end, or quite to the end of the Biography; and for this reason: because thus the reader, having as it were seen the man, and knowing who he is, will feel greater interest in him, and will entertain that respect for him which he deserves: as in reading the life of a well-known friend, his image is sweet to the mind, his fame is rich in the heart—not simply at the *end*, but from the *beginning* to the *end* of the volume.

reflects the images of things exactly as they are; it is like a mirror of an uneven surface, which combines its own figure with the figures of the objects it represents."* And the remark is worthy of the sagacity of such a philosopher. Men are ever mixing their own subjective moods with the objective reality which they contemplate, and a partial distortion is the inevitable result. But if there are any classes of men who reflect the simple truth, and not themselves, those men are emphatically the Roman Pontiffs. Like great polished mirrors, they can be followed by the mind's eye, from Pius up to Peter, through the darkest portions of human history—receiving from above, and ever reflecting upon the world below, a four-fold ray: not that of the Tribe, or the Den, or the Forum, or the Theatre; but of the Good, the Beautiful, the True, and the Just.† And perhaps their reflection has never been thrown upon the world with greater force than when the thick darkness which encompassed them seemed to lend, by its intensity, an additional lustre to their solitary shining. What then do the Popes, against whom in doctrine there is no appeal, say of the Angelical?

Pope Clement XII., in a Bull beginning with the words "By the Word of God," makes mention of fourteen Sovereign Pontiffs who, in solemn decrees, have passed magnificent eulogiums on the Angel of the Schools.‡ It may be remembered in what terms Alexander IV. spoke of him to the Chancellor of the Paris University, when declaring him possessed, through the grace of God, of a treasure of heavenly wisdom. Urban IV. (1261)§ and Clement IV. (1267) made use of him as their greatest champion of truth. Gregory X. (1274), in calling him to assist, by his

* Bacon's "distinguishing characteristic is a large opulence of mind, at once massive and florid, wide sweeping and subtle; and the main source of his influence has been the dignity with which he invested the objective mode of looking at things, a mode liable to degenerate into a creeping prosaism and trivial love of detail, a mode also wanting in the attractions of a facile, though illusory, subjective tendency, but the only mode of reaching truth, and consequently, of securing the solid grandeur of permanent results. . . . The splendour of his style gave irresistible power to his ideas. 'Il se saisit tellement de l'imagination,' says M. Rémusat, 'qu'il force la raison à s'incliner, et il éblouit autant qu'il éclaire.'" (Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. II., First Epoch, Chap. II., p. 121, p. 136. Third Edition.)

† Bacon's four "Idols" signified the four sources of human error:—The *Idola Tribus*—Idols of the Tribe, those errors which proceed from a subjective craving after system; *Idola Specus*—Idols of the Den, those errors which spring from individual character; *Idola Fori*—Idols of the Forum, errors which spring from words, and social intercourse; and *Idola Theatri*—Idols of the Theatre, the errors which arise from the contradictory dogmas of different schools. Of these errors most men are more or less guilty, except those whose lofty position secures to them from heaven a corresponding grace and assistance. How little the Pontiffs of Rome have been affected by them, in promoting or eulogizing their subjects, history clearly tells. (For a lucid account of Bacon's theory of errors, see Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, p. 126.)

‡ "Un des plus saints, et des plus savans Papes qui ayent conduit l'Eglise dans ces derniers siècles, assure que la doctrine de saint Thomas est devenue recommandable à toutes les nations Catholiques, par le témoignage constant, que les souverains Pontifes n'ont cessé de lui rendre: *Constanti summorum Pontificum testimonio orthodoxis commendatum Populi*. Pour se convaincre de la vérité du fait, il suffiroit de jeter les yeux sur la Bulle du Pape Clément XII., qui commence par ces mots, *Verbo Dei*. On y lit d'abord les noms de quatorze Papes, dont les Décrets Apostoliques, et les magnifiques Eloges dont ils sont remplis, doivent être considérés comme autant de monumens, ou de preuves d'une tradition suivie, et toujours invariable, en faveur de la doctrine de S. Thomas." (Tonron, *Liv. V., Chap. II.*, p. 513.)

§ See the First Volume of this Work, Chap. XXI., S. Thomas made Licentiate, p. . . note; also *Bullarium*, FF. Ord. Prædicat., tom. I., p. 298.

mature experience and theological ability, at the Council of Lyons, declared that the glory of his holiness and wisdom had already spread itself abroad widely in the Church of God.* So far for those Sovereign Pontiffs who were contemporaries of the Saint, and who, through their own practical experience, had learned how mighty a power was invested in him.†

But there are other mirrors which reflect with still greater brilliancy the form of truth. Take, for example, some of those Pontiffs who occupied the chair of Peter from the death of S. Thomas to his canonization, that is to say, during a space of nine and forty years.

Innocent V. (1276), a man of high education and a Dominican, who had, as Professor at S. James's, lived in intimate familiarity with the Angelical, and who successively became Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and, finally, successor to Gregory X., revered him as the profoundest master of human thought. The works of S. Thomas were always in his hands. They were his one delight. He made an abridgment of them with his own pen. He defended them with vigour and warmth; cast his thoughts into the same mould, and studied to acquire their method and their style.‡ Blessed Benedict XI. (1304), who was also a Dominican, a man in character similar in many ways to our Angelical—gentle, courteous, and refined, and who was beatified by his namesake Benedict XIV.—was in the habit of calling S. Thomas “My Master,” and “My Doctor.” Pope John XXII. (1323), when some persons, referring to the canonization of the Saint, ventured to suggest that his life had not been illustrated by numerous miracles, exclaimed: “*Tot fecit miracula, quot scripsit articulos*”—that he had worked as many miracles as he had written Articles! and though this expression may be looked on as rhetorical, still it emphatically testifies to the high opinion which he entertained of the Angelical.§ His Holiness solemnly

* “Le Pape Alexandre conçut dès-lors une telle idée du mérite, de la capacité, et de la doctrine de ce grand homme, qu’il aimoit à en donner des preuves publiques dans tout les rencontres. . . . Historiens ont remarqué que dans l’espace de peu d’années, ce Pape fit expédier en faveur des Réguliers plus de quarante Bulles, ou Brefs; et nous pouvons ajouter qu’il n’en est presque aucun où il ne relève par des louanges particulières la science de Thomas d’Aquin, et la pureté de ses sentimens. . . . Urbain IV. et Clément IV. étoient persuadés que l’intérêt de la Religion, et le bien public qu’ils avoient en vue, les obligeoient de placer cette grande lumière sur le chandelier.” (Toumon, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p. 519—520.*)

† “Sanctus vero Thomas, quem Pontifex ad concilium acceperat, dum Lugdunum proficiscitur, ultimo correptus morbo in monasterio Fossæ Novæ Ordinis Cisterciensis decumbere coactus est, ibique fato concessit, vitamque mortalem æterna commutavit.” (Cabassutii, *Notitia Ecclesiastica sæculi XIII., an. 1274, p. 516. Colonia: MDCCXXV.*)

‡ “Devenu [Innocent V.] ensuite Archevêque de Lyon, bien-tôt après Cardinal-Evêque d’Ostie, et enfin successeur immédiat de Grégoire X., sous le nom d’Innocent V., il avoit toujours les ouvrages de notre Saint entre les mains. Sixte de Sienne dit qu’il en fit un abrégé. Léandre Albert ajoute qu’il faisoit ses délices de la doctrine de cet Ange de l’Ecole, dont il fut un zélé défenseur, et un Disciple fidèle. *Strictim Thomæ Aquinatis doctrinam complexus est; mirum enim fuerat propagator et affectator ipsius doctrine, quæ apprime delectabatur.*” (Toumon, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p. 521.*)

§ See *Summa Theologica* (Edit., Rom., MDCLXXXIII.), De Attitudine Doctrinæ Thomisticæ, p. XIII. Frigerio puts it thus:—“In prima ei s’offerisce l’encanto singolarissimo, che Giovanni papa XXII. le diede nella detta Bolla della Canonizatione, quivi asserendo: *Non absque speciali*

declared to Tocco himself (and we have Tocco's own testimony to the fact) that the knowledge of S. Thomas must have been miraculously acquired. "He, alone, said the Holy Father, has cast greater light within the Church than all other Doctors taken together." And again: "a man would make greater progress in science were he to apply himself to the writings of S. Thomas for a single year, than he would were he to study the teachings of other Doctors during the whole course of his mortal life."

These were not words uttered in private, or in the heat of generous enthusiasm; but gravely, and with caution. They were solemnly pronounced by the supreme judge of doctrine in full consistory; they were applauded by all the Cardinals; and they have since been confirmed by the express testimony of many Popes. And what the Holy Father had said in presence of the Sacred College, he afterwards, in a still more formal manner, promulgated to the Universal Church. In the Bull of canonization, he declares that the Angelical could not have written what he did write without having received a special assistance from on high.*

Clement VI. (1344), who is said to have been a man of profound learning, and (like S. Thomas) never to have forgotten anything he once had read, and to have had a singularly tender conscience, compares the teaching of the Angelical to the rays of the sun which light up the whole earth; or to a mighty spiritual sword, with which men of powerful arm can slash to pieces the vices and errors of the world. He declared that the works of the Angelical never ceased to bring forth, to the Universal Church, all manner of useful fruits.†

Innocent VI. (1360) is said to have declared that, with the exception of the Sacred Scriptures, the teachings of S. Thomas surpass all others in choice of language, in method of expression,

Dei infusione perfecti: come nella medesima Bolla si legge. E lo stesso così ispirato da Dio rafferma in pleno Concistorio de' Cardinali per testimonianza del celebre Dottore e Cancelliere di Parigi, che quando Tomaso non avesse operato altro miracolo, per riporlo nel catalogo de' Santi, ciascuna quistione di quante egli nell'opere sue n'aveva scritte e determinate, che al numero di più migliaia si contavano, era per se stessa un grande e segnalato miracolo dicendo: *Tot miracula fecit, quot quæstiones determinavit.* (Lib. I., Cap. VII., n. II., p. 44.)

* See how Frigerio gives the encomiums of different Pontiffs:—"Poscia più altri Pontefici con lor solenni, e bollute lettere, e'l santo Dottore, e la sua dottrina non meno celebrarono; conciosia cosa che Clemente Papa VI. chiamolla eccellente e singolare, Urbano V. benedetta, cattolica da seguirsi e dilatarsi, Pio V. certissima regola della Christiana dottrina, ed approvata dalla Chiesa, come la più sicura, Clemente VIII. celeste, e scritta senza veruno errore, Paolo V. sendo inespugnabile della Chiesa contra degli heretici; ed Alessandro VII. in un suo Breve indirizzato all'Università e teologi di Lovagno, confortagli a seguirli gli stabili e sicuriissimi dogmi, e come parla la Bolla *inconcussa tutissimaque dogmata*, degli Illustrissimi Dottori Agostino e Tomaso." (Frigerio, Lib. I., Cap. VII., n. 12, p. 44—45.)

† "Clement VI. ne pensoit pas autrement, lorsque dans sa Bulle de 1344, après avoir comparé la doctrine du Docteur Angélique, au rayon du Soleil qui éclaire le monde, et à un glaive spirituel, dont des hommes puissans en œuvres et en paroles, se servent toujours avantageusement pour détruire les vices et les erreurs; il ajoutoit que les Ecrits de S. Thomas, remplis de sagesse et de science, ne cessent point de procurer à l'Eglise Universelle, cette abondance de toutes sortes de fruits, dont la bonne odeur console et réjoit toujours la sainte Epouse de Jesus-Christ: *Ex cuius sapientie et doctrine scriptis Universalis Ecclesia multiplicem spiritualia ubertatis fructum recolligens, ipsius fructus odore reficitur incessanter.*" (Toussou, *Liv. V., Chap. II.*, p. 524.)

and in accuracy of doctrine ; so that he who makes them his own is never found slipping, whilst he who calls them in question, *ipso facto*, lays himself open to suspicion always.* Urban V. (1368), who was a man of princely mind, declared that S. Thomas had illuminated the whole Church by his works, which were filled with light and with truth. He addressed a Bull to the Archbishop, the University, and the faithful of Toulouse, and especially to the Professors, exhorting them to imitate the virtues of the Saint, and to replenish themselves with his loving spirit. "Calling to mind," says the Pontiff, "that he who has been endowed with such profound knowledge by God, has enlightened the Order of Friars Preachers, and the Universal Church ; and that, following in the footsteps of S. Augustine, he has enriched the same Church with a store of erudition ; we wish and enjoin you, according to the spirit of these presents, to follow the teaching of the said Br. Thomas, as being true and Catholic, and to use all your endeavours to make it more and more widely known."†

So far for the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth, Nicholas V. (1451), who lived in the days of the great restoration of learning, and who was one of the most active founders of the Vatican Library, declared, in a Brief, to the Dominicans of Toulouse, that the whole Universal Church was illuminated by the teaching of S. Thomas. Pope Pius IV. (1564), speaking to the University of Salamauca, which held the Angelical in highest estimation, refers to the precious fruit which the Church of God has derived, and every day still continues to derive, from "the heavenly doctrine of so great a Doctor."‡

So far for the general terms of highest commendation made use of by Sovereign Pontiffs, those Supreme Judges of the Faith, regarding the great Angelical.

* See Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VII., n. 13, p. 45.* Tournou puts it thus:—"Les paroles, qu'on attribue communément au Successeur de Clement VI. ne sont ni moins énergiques, ni moins glorieuses à notre Saint Docteur, "dont la doctrine plus que toute autre (la canonique seule exceptée) a toute la propriété de l'expression, l'ordre et l'arrangement des matières, et la vérité des principes; en sorte que celui qui s'y attache fidèlement ne s'écarte jamais du sentier de la vérité, tandis que celui qui ose la combattre, doit toujours craindre de tomber dans l'erreur: *Hujus Doctoris sapientia præ ceteris (exceptâ Canonica) habet proprietatem verborum, modum dicendorum, veritatem sententiarum, ita ut nunquam qui eam tenuit, inveniatur à veritatis tramite deviasse, et qui eam impugnaverit, semper fuerit de veritate suspectus.*" (Tournou, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p. 524*; see also the Roman Edition of the *Summa* (MDCLXXIII.), which however attributes this saying to Pope Innocent V. (1276); see *Tom. I., De Attitudine Doctrinæ Thomisticæ Prologium omni veritate subnixum, p. 13.*)

† See *Summa Theolog. (Ed. Rom., MDCLXXIII.), De Attitud. Doct. Thomist., Probatio III., p. 13-14.*

‡ "Sous le Pontificat de Pie IV. l'Université de Salamanque, qui célèbre tous les ans avec beaucoup de pompe la Fête du Docteur Angélique, dans l'Eglise de S. Etienne, demanda au Saint Siège de nouvelles grâces pour rendre toujours plus auguste cette solennité. Le Pape peu content d'accorder tout ce qu'on demandoit, prit de-là occasion de manifester ses propres sentimens en faveur de la doctrine de saint Thomas, et voulut joindre son suffrage à celui de ses Prédécesseurs, qui l'avoient relevée par le plus hantes louanges: . . . *Ut ad tanti Doctoris, ex cuius sacra doctrina quanti fructus Ecclesie Dei pervenerint, et quotidie perveniunt, nullus est ferè qui nesciat, sanctissimos mores imitandos, assequendam doctrinam, et festum majori, cum devotione celebrandum, quod ad Dei gloriam, et Ecclesie Catholicæ bonum cedere dubium non est, avidius accendantur, etc.*" (Tournou, *Liv. V., Chap. III., p. 526.*)

Now we come to a most important witness. Pius V. was not only a Sovereign Pontiff, but he is also a canonized saint. Besides his high natural character, the unusual breadth of his exalted mind is a sufficient guarantee that he would never have spoken highly of one who had not justly gained his admiration.* His career, in some respects, bears a likeness to that of the Angelical: he was virtuous from his infancy; at fifteen, he took the habit of S. Dominic; in 1528, he was ordained priest; and for sixteen years, he taught with great *éclat* in the schools; like the Angelical, he loved prayer, solitude, and to be unknown; like the Angelical, his tears used to flow during the Holy Sacrifice; like the Angelical, it was only with tears, and under a species of compulsion, that he could be brought to take office in the Order—but, unlike S. Thomas, his tears were not attended to. He was consecrated Bishop in 1556; made Cardinal in 1557; and Pope, finally, in 1566. He was a firm, tender, loving man. He could resist the highest and the mightiest when the voice of duty urged. He could gracefully stoop to the lowest acts of humiliation. A burly Englishman was converted at once on seeing that loving Saint bending graciously over the outcast, and kissing his burning, ulcered feet with loving transport.† During his time, Baius was condemned, and the battle of Lepanto won. Clement X. (1672) beatified him, Clement XI. (1712) canonized him. One can see him now in imagination, with his sweet ascetic face and Greek profile, with his blue eyes and their tender depths full of the love of God and of good-will to men. His head is bald; he has a flowing beard; he seems to stand before the mind's eye a calm and heavenly picture. See him declaring to the world that heresy must be crushed, and that truth must be maintained! With his foot on the dark teachings of Baius, and with his finger pointing to the open *Summa*, he seems to say: "Here is the conquering power, and the light of heavenly truth."‡

Nor is this all imaginary. He had not taught in the schools

* He was a man of great ability:—"Sa mémoire était si prodigieuse, que, même après un grand nombre d'années, il reconnaissait une personne à qui il n'avait parlé qu'une seule fois. Cette mémoire se trouvait encore être un don pour les affaires. Aussitôt qu'on lui avait expliqué une vue, un projet, un but d'association, un secret d'accroissement, il entendait à demitot ce qu'on lui disait plus tard sur une des ces affaires; et souvent il redressa ses ministres, qui n'avaient pas un souvenir des choses aussi fidèle." (*Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, par Artaud de Montor, Tom. III., L'an 1572, p. 282. Paris, 1831.)

† As an example of his forgiving and large nature—a certain Spaniard wrote and circulated a bitter slander against the Pope, turning him into ridicule and advancing many indecent accusations. He was condemned to death by the magistrates, and his estates were ordered to be confiscated. The sainted Pope heard of this. He at once granted his libeller a free pardon, and begged of him in future if he found him falling into any fault to make him acquainted with it. This is how large men heap coals of fire on the heads of the narrow and selfish egotism, or on the spiteful unforgiveness, of men made of a coarser and more vulgar clay than themselves.

‡ His energy in reforming abuses, and his firmness with Queen Elizabeth, show of what metal he was made. Then the troubles given by the Calvinists, and by the Socinians, as well as by Baius, point to the stormy theological condition of Europe—all calling for some orthodox manifestation on the other side. These were the days of Mary Queen of Scots, S. John of the Cross, and S. Theresa, S. Philip Neri, S. Camillus of Lellis, S. Pascal Baylon, S. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, S. Stanislaus Kostka, S. Louis of Gonzaga, and many more.

for sixteen years without learning how great a power in the world had been, and still was, and still should be, the great Angelical. He had witnessed how the force of principle contained in the teaching of S. Thomas had been directed against error, and had ground it into powder. He had watched error after error, one heresy and then another, advance boldly against the truth; and one by one he had seen them all either slain outright, or creeping away, maimed and wounded, with a broken life—struck by the sharp weapons drawn out of the vast armoury of the Angel of the Schools.* How could he best encourage the champions of the Church to use those weapons? By holding up to their admiration, and placing on the pinnacle of fame, him who forged them, and knew in his day how best they could be wielded.

For this end, S. Pius V. solemnly decreed, in an instrument signed by six-and-thirty Members of the Sacred College, that henceforth the Angel of the Schools should rank as a Doctor of the Universal Church. To the four great Latin pillars of the mighty House of God he had the privilege of adding a fifth pillar.† O of what splendid workmanship are they! how massive their construction! how towering their height! how grandly they seem to support the vast fabric, the spreading dome of the Holy Ark—the house not built with hands, rooted deep down in the everlasting hills! Taking them in their order: in the midst there stands the sublime Pontiff S. Gregory the Great—a Benedictine Pope, if ever there was one—with his frank, venerable, patriarchal face, representing the supreme governing power of the Church; on the right hand is the stern S. Jerome, ascetical, deep in thought, meditating on the Sacred Word; on the left, the majestic S. Ambrose, pattern of bishops—of bishops who have to live in stormy days, and to control them; next to him comes the royal Bishop of Hippo, S. Augustine, with the sympathy of a S. Paul, with the love of a S. John, and with the fire of a Boanerges.‡ How mighty is he! He seems to guard them

* How well Tournon speaks:—“Comme cette doctrine, si souvent louée par ceux que Jésus-Christ a établis les premiers Juges de la Foi, répandoit tous les jours de nouvelles lumières, et procuroit à l'Eglise de nouveaux triomphes sur ses ennemis, elle recevoit aussi tous les jours des témoignages plus éclatans et de nouveaux titres d'honneur. Dieu toujours admirable dans ses Saints, après s'être servi de ceux qu'il a voulu choisir, pour faire connoître les vérités de la Religion, et pour expliquer aux Fidèles les préceptes de sa loi pour la gloire et la consolation de l'Eglise, fait ensuite servir le témoignage de cette même Eglise, pour faire respecter la sainteté et la doctrine de ceux qu'il lui a donnés pour Pères et pour Docteurs.” (*Liv. I., Chap. III., p. 526–527.*)

† De Falloux points out well the state of society which called for a manifestation such as this:—“Le seizième siècle,” he says, “fut traversé tout entier par trois politiques bien distinctes: la politique protestante qui s'agitait convulsivement dans le désordre intellectuel et social; le raisonnement d'Etat des souverains, qui argumente, combat ou plie, selon les chances accidentelles du moment: la résistance de l'Eglise, qui invoque des principes éternels et divins.” (*Histoire de Saint Pie V., Tom. II., p. 248. Angers, 1844.*)

‡ “Dans ce même Decret, que nous trouvons signé par trente cinq Cardinaux, le B. Pontife, soit pour exciter de plus en plus le zèle et la piété des Fidèles, soit pour autoriser davantage un fait des plus glorieux à notre Saint, accorde plusieurs Indulgences à toutes les personnes

all. But see that princely form approaching. He is being conducted by one wearing the triple crown, a man looking like a priest-king, with his blue loving eyes and flowing beard. The aureola floats around the head of either—it is S. Pius V. placing the great Angelical amongst the Latin Doctors of the Church. S. Augustine and S. Ambrose, S. Jerome and S. Thomas, stand round S. Gregory and guard the See of Peter, and defend, with the "Shield of Faith" and the "Breastplate of Justice," the Ark of the Lord, whilst they attack and put to flight the hosts of the enemy with the swift "Sword of the Spirit."*

Thus it is evident that S. Pius V. fixes the Angelical in a distinct position amongst the Latin Doctors of the Church. S. Francis, in the person of that liberal and magnificent Pope, Sixtus V. (1588), who was versed not only in the poets, but also in theological and philosophical discipline, confirmed the action of his predecessor regarding the Angelical, and declared him to be "the glory of his Order and the ornament of the Church."

Clement VIII. (1603) issued three Briefs in honour of S. Thomas. He says that he speaks not only in his own name, but in the name of the Universal Church, when he makes known to the Christian world what great results have accrued to true religion from the doctrine of the Saint.† Paul V. (1607) confirms all that has been done by Clement, and compares the teachings of S. Thomas to a great warrior's shield, which receives and wards off the thrusts and blows made at the Spouse of Christ by the enemies of Salvation.‡ Alexander VII. (1660) speaks in a similar sense. This Pope lived in cloudy days. The blight of heresy had cankered many promising minds. The Five famous

de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qui visiteront dévotement dans l'Eglise de Saint Dominique à Naples, l'Autel ou la Chapelle de saint Nicolas, dans laquelle, selon le témoignage de l'Histoire, la doctrine du Docteur Angélique a été miraculeusement approuvée par l'Oracle de Jesus-Christ en Croix: *In quo scriptoris Angelici doctrina Salvatoris crucifixi ore (sicut pia testatur historia) mirabiliter probata fuit.*" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. III., p. 527—528.*)

* Pope Pius, in the Bull "*Mirabilis*," gives his reasons for placing the Angelical in this high position amongst the great Latin Doctors, in these words:—"Quoniam omnipotentis Dei providentia factum est, ut Angelici Doctoris vi, et veritate doctrine, ex eo tempore, quo celestibus civilibus adscriptus fuit, multae quae deinceps exortae sunt haerese, confuse et convictae dissiparentur, quod et antea sepe, et liquidò nuper in sacris Concilii Tridentini decretis apparuit: ejusdem memoriam, cujus meritis orbis terrarum à pestiferis quotidie erroribus liberatur, majori etiam quam antea grati, et pii animi affectu colemandi statutuim . . . quemadmodum sanctorum quatuor Ecclesiae Doctorum festivitates." (Vid. *Bullarium, Ord. FF. Praedicatorum, Tom. V.*)

† After quoting many sayings of the Popes on the Angelical, the *Vita* bursts out thus:—"O gloriosissimo Dottore gloria di tutti i Dottori: O erudimento degli eruditi, e quanto ti si deve dalli Cattolici, poiche i tuoi sensi ch'alie scritture hai dato, ti sono stati dal Cielo rivelati; Qual lode posso io ritrovare, che pienamente te si convenga! Non dirò altro sol, che tu sei la luce, che per gli oscuri passi delle scritture discorrendo a guisa di Sole hai quelle illuminate. Ben dunque ti si conviene l'esterior figura, che nel petto porti dipinta del Sole: poiche tu dal divino Sole illuminato hai tutti, noi altri illustrati. Perciò io particolarmente ti prego ti degni supplicare l'altissimo Dio per me, acciò quanto in questo trattato delle virtù s'è detto, sia grato a sua divina Maestà, e che apportti utilità all'anime cristiane: e di quanto hò da ragionare della tua santissima vita, sia con ogni fedeltà detto." (See *Vita*, p. 7.)

‡ Here is a quotation from the Brief, "*Quantum Prodesse*," of Paul V. (1607):—"Splendidissimi Catholice fidei athleta Beati Thomas Aquinatis, cujus scriptorum clypeo militans Ecclesia Haereticorum telia feliciter elidit, honores et venerationem in dies magis magisque augeri, plurimum in Domino gaudemus, et iis, quae ad illius honorem devotè sancita sunt, ut firma et ilibata permaneant, libenter Apostolicæ firmitatis robur adjicimus."

Propositions of Jansenius had to be condemned. A whole school of spreading, corrupting casuistry had grown up into being. The danger had to be met; and the wisdom of him who, if for no other reason, could, on account of his position, see further and more distinctly than any other, found no better way of confronting it than by bringing forth the weapons furnished by S. Thomas.* It was the month of June. The Dominicans had assembled in Rome in General Chapter (1656). The Holy Father took advantage of the meeting. He addressed a Brief to them, and instructed them to select, at once, their most able theologians. And these he commissioned to draw out a work on Morals founded on Thomistic principles—*ex severiori et tuta Sancti Thomæ doctrina*—on the more stern and safe teaching of S. Thomas, to act as a bulwark against the rush and flow of the heaving ocean of corruption. Other Pontiffs might be mentioned, were there not a danger of wearying the reader: Innocent XII. (1694), Benedict XIII. (1724), and Clement XII. (1733), besides many others of a still more recent date.†

And perhaps the two latter should not be passed over with so brief a notice. They seem to sum up, as indeed they formally approve, the teaching of their predecessors regarding the Angelical.

Benedict XIII., that humble Theatine, ruled the Universal Church in times of great danger. The scandals created by the Jansenists were at their height, and there was every appearance of a schism which might have broken off some fair provinces from the Church. It would seem that whenever any theological calamity greater than usual threatened Christianity, the Roman Pontiffs instinctively turned to the Angel of the Schools for light. Indeed, in this instance, there was strong reason for speaking out upon the teaching of the Saint. He and S. Augustine had been first misunderstood, then misinterpreted, and finally, on the basis of such misinterpretation, recklessly condemned.‡

* In his Brief to the Doctors of Louvain, Pope Alexander speaks thus (1660):—"Non dubitamus quin præ singulari scientiæ, pietatisque studio, sanam et incorruptam, qualem tot Apostolicæ Sedis declarationes, et SS. Patrum traditiones requirunt, doctrinam semper amplexuri, et adversus orthodoxæ Religionis hostes defensuri sitis, nec non præclarissimorum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Doctorum Augustini et Thomæ Aquinatis inecensens titissimæque dogmata æquæ semper, ut asseritis, ac impense revereri velit. Quorum profectò sanctissimorum virorum penes catholicos universos fœcula, et omnem laudem supergressa nomina, novi præconii commendatione non egent."

† The following are the words made use of by Pope Innocent XII.:—"Apostolicæ vos primùm auctoritatē monemus, ut sublati contentionibus, sapientiæ, quæ deusnam atque pacificæ est, vacetis proficentes, ut asseritis, doctrinam præclarissimorum Doctorum Augustini et Thomæ: quorum ille tantæ scientiæ fuit, ut inter magistros optimos etiam a nostris prædecessoribus haberetur; et cuius doctrinam, secundum eorundem prædecessorum statuta, Romana sequitur, et servat Ecclesiæ: alter verb eundem Dei Ecclesiæ clarificat, et sancta operatione fecundat. . . . Hos dum Universitatis vestra doctrinæ diæces sancta fuerit, securè pugnabit contra hostes orthodoxæ fidei in Ecclesiæ gloriam et edificationem; exaltabitque in dies hanc Apostolicam sedem, ut cunctis ei præstet paternæ charitatis officia." (From the Brief "*Tradidit*.")

‡ It may be recalled that Popes Innocent X., Innocent XI., and Alexander VIII., often issued Apostolical letters establishing Universities or new Chairs of Theology in Europe and America, in which the doctrines of S. Thomas of Aquin were to be taught.

Pope Benedict XIII. felt that, if once the teaching of these two mighty Doctors were compromised, great spiritual confusion would ensue. He deemed it his duty to speak in their behalf with a clear and decided voice. He addressed a Decree to the whole Order of Friars Preachers, opposing the calumnies which had been directed against the theology of S. Augustine and S. Thomas. He tells them that they have no occasion to be astonished if the Thomistic doctrine is assailed, seeing that the Sacred Oracles themselves, and the Apostolical decisions, are called in question every day. He thinks that condition of mind must be a strange one which can accuse the Dominicans of holding errors which the Angelical himself, with clear principle and convincing proof, had refuted long before.* "For by a singular grace of the Providence of the Almighty," says the Pontiff, "the solidity and truth of the teachings of the Angelical Doctor have upset, not only those numberless heresies which were rife before his birth, but also those which rose up after his death."

After encouraging the Dominican Fathers to persevere in their ancient doctrine regarding grace and predestination, the Pope says: "Study, without ceasing, the works of your Holy Doctor. Exempt from every sort of error, and more brilliant than the sun, they spread abroad, in the Church of Jesus Christ, the living illuminations of an admirable erudition. Ever faithfully attached to writings which are a secure protection against defection from the Christian faith, continue to defend the holy verities of religion, and the purity of sound morality."† The Holy Father once more compares the teaching of the Angelical to the sun illuminating the whole earth; and refers to the marvellous manner in which his principles are capable of confronting the newest errors of the day.‡ He continues: "We confirm, by our Apostolical authority, and after mature deliberation, all the constitutions, letters, or briefs which our predecessors have issued on the same subject; and we renew them, in as far as is necessary, by the Brief which has just been published."§

* "Il est bien plus surprenant, que par un bizarre travers d'esprit, ou ait voulu calomnier votre doctrine, à l'occasion des erreurs que S. Thomas avoit déjà réfutées par des principes très-clairs, et par des preuves les plus convaincantes: car par un singulier effet de la providence du Toutpuissant, la solidité et la vérité de la doctrine du Docteur Angelique ont confondu, non seulement les hérésies sans nombre, qui avoient paru avant sa naissance, mais encore celles qui se sont élevées après sa mort." (Touron. *Liv. V., Chap. IV., p. 532.*)

† Touron gives the words thus:—"Ne cessez jamais de vous appliquer à l'étude des Ouvrages de votre S. Docteur; exempts de toute sorte d'erreur, et plus brillans que le Soleil, ils répandent dans l'Eglise de Jesus-Christ les vives lumières d'une érudition admirable. Toujours fidèlement attachés à des Ecrits, qui sont une règle très-sûre pour ne se jamais écarter de la doctrine chrétienne, continuez à défendre les vérités saintes de la Religion, et la pureté de la saine morale." (*Liv. V., Chap. IV., p. 533.*)

‡ "Æquum vero erat, ut Angelica doctrina tanti Doctoris non vulgaribus efferreretur encomiis, quæ solis instar mundum universum illustrans uberrima christianæ Ecclesiæ bona peperit, paritque in dies singulos multiplici fructu, supremo Apostolicæ sedis magisterio adversus quoscunque veteres ac recentes errores, quos revincit fidissimè famulans." (From the Bull "*Pretiosa.*")

§ "Luculentius verò estimationis argumentum in ipsam S. Thomæ doctrinam nunc edituri, quo magis magisque Predicatorum Ordo, cæterique orthodoxi, ac veri ipsius sectatores ad

If Pope Benedict had to withstand schism and the Jansenists, his successor, Clement XII. (1730—1740), had to deal with the Freemasons and Voltaire. A severe, just, and liberal man, a lover of the poor and of Christian art, he did not forget the highest interests of religion; and seemed to feel, like so many of his eminent predecessors, that to increase the honour of the Angelical would be to strengthen the principles of truth, and to confirm the teachers of the Church in solid and splendid learning.

Indeed, the Pontiff clearly states as much in his celebrated Bull beginning "*Verbo Dei.*" He says that, when the corruption of false dogma spreads abroad in every direction, and imperils Catholic Faith and the morality of Christians whom the Lord has confided to his care, then, it becomes specially his duty to hold up to admiration those Doctors who have been eminent for knowledge and piety, and to popularize that teaching which, being wholly founded on Scripture and tradition, treats of faith and morals in a solid fashion, equally adapted to form worthy ministers of the Church, and to secure the salvation of souls.* "It is on this account, that the Sovereign Pontiffs, our predecessors," he continues, "have always singled out B. Thomas of Aquino, known by the glorious title of the 'Angelical Doctor.' The just praise which they have often bestowed upon him in their decrees, proves clearly enough what their feelings were. In the very lifetime of S. Thomas, Pope Alexander IV. admired the treasure of science with which Heaven had enriched him.† His successors thought and spoke in a similar strain: John XXII., Clement VI., Urban V., Nicholas V., Pius IV., Blessed Pius V., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Paul V., Alexander VII., Innocent XII., and Benedict XIII., all have approved S. Thomas in the same way. They loved to put him in the sacred *fasti* of the Church, and to rank him amongst such great Doctors as S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome."‡ Then, expressing

illis sinceram et tutam professionem inflammentur, prædictas omnes et singulas decessorum nostrorum constitutiones, litteras, seu ut vocant Brevia, nec non omnia et singula in eis contenta, supremâ quâ fungimur auctoritate, motu, scientiâ et deliberatione prænissis comprobamus, et rursus, quatenus opus fuerit, cum ipsismet editis nuper a nobis litteris innovamus." (*Ibidem.*)

* Touron remarks thus:—"Clement XII. à joindre son suffrage à celui de ses Prédécesseurs, et à rendre un nouveau témoignage de la tradition du Saint Siège, &c. La Bulle que Sa Sainteté donna le vingt-huitième d'Août mil sept cents trente trois, est encore entre les mains de tout les Fidèles: il suffit de la lire pour se convaincre par ses propres yeux, que le souverain Pontife ne pouvoit parler d'une manière plus décisive, pour donner à la doctrine de notre Saint toute l'autorité qu'elle mérite; on pour mettre hors de doute celle dont la possession lui étoit déjà assurée depuis plusieurs siècles. Voici les paroles du S. Père; elles n'ont point besoin de commentaire." (*Liv. V., Chap. IV., p. 535.*)

† Vid. *Bullarium, Ord. FF. Prædicat., Tom. I., p. 298*; also, *Vol. I., Chap. XXI., p. 50*; of this work. See, for general information on this head, Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VII., p. 39—50*; also, Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel*, p. 871—875; *La Somme Théologique de Saint Thomas*, par M. l'Abbé Brionx, *Tom. I., Introduction, § II., p. 16—25*; also Hieronymus Vicius, *De D. Thomæ Aquinat. Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p. 123—128. Brizze, MDCCXLVIII.*

‡ Frigerio gives the authority of Diego Morales to the following effect:—"Fecero mentione fin da passati secoli del detto sermone alcuni non meno autorevoli, che antichi teologi, oltre più altri recati da Diego Morales nel libro intitolato: *Laus Divi Thomæ*. Fu per tanto dal mede-

his ardent desire to be counted amongst the number of those who had done so much for the Angelical, the Pope declares that all those privileges which properly belonged to the universities and houses of general study should, through the plentitude of his Apostolic power, be extended for the future to all schools and colleges of the Dominicans not situate in an University town. One simple condition was exacted: that the students should study theology for three years, and follow the course prescribed by the General of the Friars Preachers. After they had proved their efficiency by an examination, the Doctor's Cap, or the Licentiate, or the Bachelorship, or any other degree, could be freely and lawfully conferred upon them. "We wish moreover," adds the Sovereign Pontiff, "that these degrees should rank with those which are solemnly granted to the students of our principal college and academy of the Roman 'Sapienza.'" The Bull, after according further privileges, ends by declaring that nothing can invalidate or annul the action taken by the Holy See. This Instrument was followed by a Brief, stating that the Pontiff confirmed and approved anew, all the eulogiums and approbations which he and his predecessors had passed upon the doctrine of S. Thomas and the Thomistic school.*

At the risk of wearing out the reader, I have brought forward these clear testimonies of the supreme authority in the Church, respecting the position and merits of S. Thomas of Aquino. The Sovereign Pontiffs are placed too high, and sweep with too wide a range the plane of theological teaching, to be seduced by party bias, or by mere subjective feeling. Their voice is unmistakable. From the time when the Angelical, as a boy, stood, with his mother and his two rough soldier-brothers, before the Holy Father and his assembled court, and begged to be permitted to follow Christ in poverty, and to live unknown†—from Innocent IV. to Benedict XIII., we find one Sovereign Pontiff echoing the voice of the other, the voice becoming clearer and the echo more articulate as it approaches the present day. The gentle boy, so

sino Pontefice alla sapientia di Salomone la dottrina di S. Tomaso antiposta, come quella, che ristruise in maraviglioso modo il pretioso e'l vago de' quattro sommi Dottori, la moralità di S. Gregorio, la copiosa facundia di S. Ambrogio, la sottigliezza di San'Agostino, l'eruditione di S. Girolamo, la teologia del Nazianzeno, la filosofia d'Aristotele, la politica di Platone, &c." (*Lib. I., Cap. VII., n. 14, p. 45—46.*)

* The Church herself speaks thus of the Angelical's teaching:—"La santa Chiesa Catholica Romana, la quale non ha mai errato nè può errare per essere dallo Spirito Santo guidata, e governata, ha sempre approvato la dottrina di S. Tomaso in tutti i consigli, cioè nel consiglio fatto a Vienna, in Firenze, nel Consiglio Laterano, e Tridentino, ne i quali Consigli si sempre seguitata la dottrina di san Tomaso; nè cosa veruna fu determinata, che non fosse a quella conforme: e perciò la santa Chiesa canta, e dice:—Alma mater Ecclesia Christi fundata sanguine sceptris consecrata grandia novi Doctoris lumine. Stilis brevis, grata facundia, celsa firma sententia, &c." (*Vita, p. 5.*)

† See Vol. I., Chap. VI., p. 113—114. This seems to have been a crisis in the career of the Angelical. Had he given way under the pressure, his whole life would have been cast into another channel. But his firmness, whilst it saved him, drew upon him the attention of the Pontiff and his Court; and from that day forth, "Rome" never seems to have lost sight of the strong, meek, and profound young Thomas of Aquino.

serenely explaining the high heroism of his heart, becomes "the Prince of Theologians," the "Angel of the Schools," "another Solomon," "the glory of his Order and the ornament of the Church," "a Sun illuminating the universal Church," "a mighty Sword dividing heresies," "a master and guide in Christian doctrine," "exempt from all errors," "more brilliant than the Sun,"* "ranking with S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome;" "who himself alone has cast a greater illumination on the Church than all other Doctors taken together," and "from whose teaching greater advantage may be gained in one year, than would be derived from the writings of any other teachers were they to be studied during an entire life-time."

The force of this testimony is cumulative. The Bull of canonization of any saint speaks with generous terms of his sanctity and works. But here we have a cloud of witnesses, bright-shining with the glow of the Sun of Truth and Justice on them, witnesses of the highest order, and speaking with the gravest responsibility, and trumpeting forth their verdict, like the Angels of God, to the four quarters of the earth.

How could the opinion formed by the Supreme Pontiffs concerning the Angelical, and then stamped by them on the intellect of the Church, be better thrown into expression than by declaring him to be the Centre of the scholastic system, a Prince amongst theologians, and the Angel of the Schools?†

What the Popes have taught, councils have confirmed. Bishops, theologians, universities, and schools would naturally be guided by the voice of supreme authority in the momentous matter of theologic truth. The mind of the Angelical would gradually seal itself on the most powerful intelligences in the Church. Men would feel that he had been gifted with a singular power of grasping the spirit of the Church, and with an unrivalled skill in displaying it in a scientific form. His very genius would tell upon the mind of many ages, and educate the theological temper of many schools.‡ Just as the "blind man who lived in steep

* Here are some of the terms used by different writers regarding the greatness of the Angelical:—"Scholasticorum Vexillarius," "Nostra Theologie Flos,"—"Quidam, in eo nihil esse infirmum aserit, nihil mediocre; sed totum summum, et totum perfectissimum. Alius longo eum divinitatis haustu competentem dicit. Plerique omnes, Angelicum. Alii lugentissimum, eruditissimum, et cui in palæstra, et exercitatione Scholastica nemo proximus sit; ejusque copiosissimum, solidam, et incredibilem doctrinam semper se predicasse, et landasse sponte sua fatentur. Quemadmodum et nonnulli, qui ætatem illam nihil eo doctius tulisse nihilque religiosius vidisse scribunt." (Hieronymi Vilelmii, de D. Thomæ Aquinat. Doct. et Scriptis, Lib. II., p. 127.)

† It may possibly be objected that, after all, the words of the Roman Pontiffs regarding the Angelical are rhetorical, and therefore should not be taken in a strict and literal sense. To this the answer seems to be simple, viz.: that whether rhetorical or not, the Popes were speaking in the style of the Holy See, and had the intention of conveying some meaning. Comparing one piece of rhetoric with another, taking the words at their lowest, the language made use of regarding the Angelical points steadily in one direction, and issues in one end, viz., that he was held by a series of able Pontiffs to be the "Prince of Theologians." If such strong language, uttered by so many Popes, can be shown to have been used of any other, then, the state of the present case would change. But can it be shown? It would seem not.

‡ See, for example, how wonderfully the genius of Plato coloured the speculations of the Fathers of the Church. Study the broad splendid mind of S. Augustine. Plato's elevation,

Chios," by his high poetic genius, and the music of his verse, at length, after he had been taken away, came to live in the heart and imagination of the Grecian people, moulding their minds to noble deeds, and fashioning their hearts to martial enterprises; or as Shakespeare, and Dryden, and Scott, and Gibbon, and Pope, and Johnson, as each of these in his measure has lent his colour to, and impressed his tone on, the English literature of the present day, steeping it in a dye which adds to its richness, or lending it a flexibility and suppleness which it seemed to want before;—just as in literature, so is it in theology:* the master-mind asserts itself in every generation, and its influence, like some delicate aroma, diffuses itself gradually abroad, and lends a special character and fragrance to wide and divers fields of thought, spreading like the odour of the jessamine about a field of flowers. Whatever is mighty or lovely in nature, art, or man, will, in spite of all its enemies, like the law of gravitation, finally assert itself, and force men to acknowledge its importance. Whatever good there is in this world, though it may have to bide its time, will, in the long run, go for what it is intrinsically worth.†

So with the great Angelical. The Roman Pontiffs simply did for him what would have been done for Homer, or Shakespeare, or Dante, or Goethe, had there been in the republic of letters an unerring judge of merit in high poetic art. But since no such potentate exists, these great masters have had to ebb and flow, to rise and fall, to be driven hither and thither with the popular wave; till, finally, they have found their proper place, and are now fixed, rock-like, in the hearts and intellects of nations, as the great masters of all that is sweetest in song, and majestic and beautiful in verse.‡ The divine prudence of the Church does

logic, and poetry (though Plato spoke against the art) seem to live in the intellect and fancy of the great Bishop of Hippo, elevated, and purified, and rectified by Christianity. Then see S. Augustine himself. What Sir W. Hamilton said of Aristotle can truly, in a modified sense, be said of him:—"His seal is upon all the sciences, and his speculations have immediately or immediately determined those of all subsequent thinkers." Plato and Aristotle, in the Pagan world, and S. Augustine and S. Thomas, in the Christian, seem to have had no rivals in their mastery over mind.

* Men cannot escape the power that is upon them. They must breathe the atmosphere created before they were born. They must acknowledge and bend to that which is greater than themselves, and which finds them out and takes possession of them, whether they will or no. "Whether we will or no, the phraseology and diction of Shakespeare, of the Protestant formularies, of Milton, of Pope, of Johnson's Tabletalk, and of Walter Scott, have become a portion of the vernacular tongue, the household words of which perhaps we little guess the origin, and the very idioms of our familiar conversation." (Newman's *Lectures on University Subjects*, § III., p. 91—92.) If so it is with literature, so, also, in a parallel way is it in the schools. What Pope has been to poetry, that S. Thomas has been, and much more, to theological speculation.

† This is a great principle, a sort of law of natural justice—each thing finds its own level. Men, in this respect, are like water. What is hollow may for a time ascend, indeed, go up all the faster from being hollow, but it will not remain on high for any length of time. Its time comes, and it collapses and falls to the earth, into which it perishes. The Angelical knew his place, and took it; when a man has found his place, and has strength of mind and grace to bide in it, then he is in his vocation, and is a man of power. He stands on *terra firma*, and knows to what he has to trust. Vanity and ambition bear men away from port into the open perils of the sea. How many have foundered with all sail set!

‡ Think of the influence exerted by Hesiod, and by Euripides, whose verses were, even during the lifetime of their author, the delight of the Athenians. Will Horace and Virgil ever

not leave man to himself in matters of momentous spiritual interest. Religion and faith may not be trifled with. A supernatural instinct is required here. It is the high office of the Church to point out the teachers, and to settle the classics of theology. She is the strong mother of men, and knows her own with a mother's instinct. She is never at a loss. Refined by a supernatural culture; elevated in taste and in temper by continual contact with all that is pure and true; certain of her position; luminously conscious of her own supernatural policy;* reaching from end to end sweetly yet mightily; and in her majestic bearing and her imperial advance, as she passes on from age to age, she recognizes her true champions, and through the different eras of her history singles them out amongst all her children, and with an expression of graceful triumph crowns them with glory as the pillars of her throne. Ignatius and Clement, Justin and Irenæus, Gregory and Cyprian, Basil and Augustine, Epiphanius and Cassian, Climacus and Boethius, Sophronius and Ildephonsus, Damascene and Bede, Nicephorus and Alcuin, follow one another, until we come upon such great mediæval luminaries as Anselm, Bernard, Thomas, and Bonaventure.† There they stand out in the East and in the West, as far as the eye can see, those mighty men, like flaming lights burning one beyond the other in the distance, till at last they seem lost to sight amidst the glories of the Resurrection—of Christ rising from the tomb. With her Popes ruling and guiding her, with her Doctors explaining and supporting her, with her hosts of brave men joyfully shedding their blood in defence of her, or showing forth her loveliness in the practice of their lives, with such majesty in her movements, with such nobility in her mien, and with so much beauty sweeping her train, the radiant Spouse of our gracious Saviour, the sweet Mother of men, like the day-spring takes possession of the earth, and pours out upon every creature a portion of her benediction. Her advance is secure

be displaced? Who will ever take Shakespeare's place, or supplant Milton, or blot out the genius of Pope—whatever we may think of his personal character? Is not the fame of these embedded in the hearts of cultured men, so that it can never be expunged?

* If even man, with all his darkness and passion, has his light, how much more then must not man's Guide possess an illumination?—Dans une lumière supérieure nous voyons les règles invariables de nos mœurs, et nous voyons qu'il y a des choses d'un devoir indispensable. . . . Ainsi un homme de bien laisse régler l'ordre des successions et de la police aux lois civiles; mais il écoute en lui-même une loi inviolable, qui lui dit qu'il ne faut faire tort à personne. L'homme, qui voit ces vérités, par ces vérités se juge lui-même, et se condamne, quand il s'en écarte. On plutôt, ce sont ces vérités qui le jugent, puisque ce n'est pas elles qui s'accoutument aux jugemens humains, mais les jugemens humains qui s'accoutument à elles." (Vid. Bossuet's, *Traité de la Connaissance de Dieu*, Chap. IV.)

† S. Ignatius, *M. Ep. Ant.*, A.D. 107; S. Clement, *Rom. Papa Epistolæ suas græcè scripsit*, ob. A.D. 101; S. Justinus, *M. ob. c. a.* 168; S. Irenæus, *Ep. Lugdun. opera sua græcè scripsit*, ob. a. 202; S. Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *c. a.* 265; S. Cyprianus, *Ep. et M. a.* 261; S. Basilus, *M. Ep. Cæsar. Copad. a.* 379; S. Augustinus, *Ep. Hippo.*, a. 431; S. Epiphanius, a. 403; Cassianus, *Monach. c. a.* 434; Jo. Climacus, *Abbas, c. a.* 550; Boethius, *Philos.*, a. 524; S. Sophronius, *Ep. Hieros.*, c. a. 650; S. Ildephonsus, *Ep. Tolet.*, a. 669; S. Jo. Damascenus, *Mon.*, a. 754; Bede Venerabilis, a. 735; S. Nicephorus, *Ep. Cyprius*, a. 828; Alcuinus, *Diac.*, a. 804; S. Anselmus, *Ep. Cantuar.*, a. 1109; S. Bernardus, *Ab. Claræval.*, a. 1153; S. Thomas Aquinas, *Ord. Præd.*, a. 1274; S. Bonaventura, *Ord. Minor.*, a. 1274.

with a Divine security. She is taught of heaven in whom she may confide. She knows how large, how pure, his heart must be who is to defend her truth, to expand her teaching, and to promote her glory. Never once has she slipped, never once has she ignored or passed by an instrument fitted to her purpose. Origen was a mighty master of human thought; Tertullian was a strong athlete, full of the fierce fire of an eloquent spirit; Lactantius, Eusebius, and Theodoret were able men; but she did not choose any of these, though she still made use of them:—she surrounded herself with S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, and S. Chrysostom; with S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great: with S. Bernard, S. Bonaventure, and S. Thomas of Aquino.*

When she points out the Angelical as the prince of scientific theologians, and entrusts to his keeping the deep mysteries of her life; when she confidently hands over to his training the children of her womb, those who have been bought with the life-blood of the Bridegroom, and redeemed by the humiliations of the Cross; when she confides to his skill the issue of her high cause against the powers of earth and the legions of hell—then, surely, there is no extravagance in looking upon him as one of the most able exponents of her mind, and as one of the most successful champions who have taken up arms in her defence.†

It is but natural, then, since the Angelical has been so highly placed by the Sovereign Pontiffs, and has been so trusted by the Church, that his influence should continually make itself evident in matters of theology, especially when objections have to be met, truths expanded, and enemies reconciled. Pope Clement XII. tells us how his teachings have been held in reverence by Œcumenical Councils. Pope Gregory X. looked upon the Saint as the great Latin champion against the Greeks.‡ The power of

* The four great Doctors of the Latin Church were elevated to their high position by Pope Boniface VIII., in 1298: S. Ambrosius, *Ep. Mediolan.* (397); S. Hieronymus, *Presb.* (420); S. Augustinus, *Ep. Hippo.* (431); S. Gregorius, *M. Papa* (604). Then there are the Greek Doctors:—S. Athanasius, *Fatr. Alex. (obit, 373)*; S. Basilus, *M. Ep. Cæsar. Capad.* (379); S. Gregorius Nazianz. (389); S. Jo. Chrysostomus (407). More recently the following have been made Doctors:—S. Hilarius, *Ep. Pictav.* (368), *ex Decreto Pii IX., Mart. 29, 1851*; S. Petrus Chrysologus, *Ep. Raven.* (450); S. Leo, *M. Papa* (440), *ex Bulla Benedicti XIV., 1754*; S. Isidorus, *Ep. Hispal.* (636); S. Petrus Damianus, *Card.* (1072), *ex Decreto Leonis XII., 1828*; S. Anselmus, *Ep. Cantuar.* (1109); S. Bernardus, *Ab. Claraval.* (1153), *ex Dec. Pii VIII., 1830*; S. Thomas Aquinas, *Ord. Pred.* (1274), *ex Const. Pii V. an., 1567*; S. Bonaventura, *Ord. Minor.* (1274), *ex Const. Sixti V., an. 1588*; S. Alphonsus Liguori (1787), *Ep. S. Agath.*, *ex Decreto Pii IX., Mart. 23, 1871*.

† How jealous the Great Mother is of her children, how she scrutinizes and sifts their motives and their actions before she places them close to her side, is clear from her constant practice in elevating them to the honours of the Doctorate of the Universal Church:—"L'Eglise se montrant très-difficile dans la collation de ce titre d'honneur; elle l'a refusé à plusieurs écrivains célèbres qui avaient rendu à l'Eglise de signalés services, tel que Tertullian, Origène, Lactance, Basile, évêque de Césarée, Théodoret, évêque de Cyr, &c., uniquement parce que, malgré leur valeur littéraire et leur piété, ces auteurs, n'ont pas constamment et partout expliqué et défendu la doctrine chrétienne selon l'esprit de l'Eglise. On ne leur a donné que le titre d'auteurs ecclésiastiques, *scriptores ecclesiastici*, et on ne les a traités que comme de savants témoins." (*Manuel de Patrologie*, par Alzog, trad. par Bédet, § 2, p. 3.)

‡ "Quand il s'agit de convoquer le second concile de Lyon, le pape Grégoire X. adressa un bref particulier à saint Thomas d'Aquin, qu'il regardait avec raison comme le premier docteur

his logic, through its precision and its force, was as greatly prized by the orthodox as it was dreaded by the heretic. His spirit survived in his children; and it seemed to come forth and manifest itself with remarkable distinctness in the person of John of Montenegro, Provincial of the Dominicans in Lombardy, during the Council of Florence in the Pontificate of Pope Eugenius IV.

John of Montenegro had been selected out of the whole army of Catholic theologians and Doctors to accomplish a most difficult task. He was considered the most able controversialist of that day. The subtlety and learning, the passions and the prejudices of the Greeks had to be confronted. Truth had to be advanced, error combated successfully, minds conciliated. The intricate and difficult question of the Procession from the Father and Son, with the whole array of reasons and authorities on both sides, had to be sifted, adjusted, and explained.* To write a treatise, or to publish a book, is comparatively an easy task. Here, mind had to meet mind, sword cross sword; a duel had to be fought on a question of cardinal importance, in presence of the most august assembly in the world. John of Montenegro would want all the caution, readiness, and wide reading of a S. Thomas, all his dialectical skill, for achieving any substantial advantage. Whatever was the breadth of his acquirements, he came off with complete success. He followed the advice so often given by the Roman Pontiffs, and had thoroughly mastered the mind of one great man—and that one man was the Angel of the Schools. He drew his weapons from the *Opuscula* and the *Summa*, and as if filled with the spirit of his master, he entered the arena with the Greeks. In vain that shrewd, able, and headstrong Mark of Ephesus exerted all his power and exhausted all his skill.† The luminous words of Scripture, the steady voice of tradition, the force of theological reason, and the emphatic words of S. Basil

de son siècle. On espérait beaucoup de ses lumières pour convaincre les Grecs de schisme et d'hérésie, et les ramener à l'unité. Mais ce grand homme mourut sur ses entrefaites." (Brixion *La Somme Théologique, Introd.*, p. XVII.; see also Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Sechster Band, *Achtunddreissigstes Buch*, § 676, p. 115.)

* Tournon speaks of the Provincial thus:—"On y verra que Jean de Mont-Noir, Provincial des Dominicains de Lombardie, qui eut l'honneur de parler dans plusieurs Sessions pour expliquer la doctrine catholique, prouva si clairement par l'Ecriture et la Tradition, par le texte même des Pères Grecs, aussi-bien que par d'excellentes raisons Théologiques, que le Saint-Esprit procédoit du Père et du Fils; qu'il recevoit l'Esprit de l'un et de l'autre, comme d'un seul principe, et par une même opération, qu'il mit les Schismatiques hors d'état de répliquer. Tout ce que Marc d'Ephèse avoit objecté contre cet article de notre Foi, ce savant Théologien le réfuta avec tant de force et de solidité, qu'il réduisit plusieurs fois au silence ce Frelat le plus ardent, et le plus opiniâtre des Grecs." (*Approbat. de la Doct. De S. Thomas, Liv. V., Chap. VI.*, p. 543.)

† "Le disciple de Saint Thomas répondit parfaitement aux vœux du Pape, et à l'attente de tout le Conclle. Il établit de nouveau le dogme catholique sur plusieurs textes de l'Evangile, selon qu'ils avoient été entendus par les anciens Pères, qui avoient précédé le schisme de Photius, et dont la doctrine avoit été dès-lors reçue comme orthodoxe par toutes les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident. Reprenant ensuite tout ce que Marc d'Ephèse, et les autres Grecs avoient jusqu'alors proposé contre cette vérité; ce savant Théologien fit remarquer après saint Thomas, que parmi les Pères Grecs, qui ont parlé de la procession du Saint-Esprit, il y en a plusieurs qui ont dit expressément, qu'il procédoit du Père et du Fils; d'autres, qu'il procédoit du Père par le Fils; quelques-uns, qu'il procédoit du Fils, et par le Fils: ce qui fut le même sens toujours catholique." (*Loco Citato.*)

and of many other Fathers of the Grecian Church, all thrown into the form of Thomistic defence, were too powerful to be resisted even by the combined sagacity and energy of the other side. The keen and obstinate Mark of Ephesus himself was more than once silenced by the overpowering logic of the Dominican.*

John of Montenegro committed his argument to writing, and placed a copy of it in the hands of the western and eastern bishops, and of their respective theologians. Thus they had an opportunity of weighing and studying it at their leisure. They discovered in it simply an expansion of the teaching of the Angelical. And so great an influence did it eventually exert upon the assembled Fathers, that many of the Greeks, who ardently desired the pacification of the Church, renounced their error, and heartily embraced the Latin doctrine. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, and George Scholarius, afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople, wished for an amicable understanding. Mark of Ephesus alone stood out. And finally the celebrated Profession of Faith was signed by the assembled Fathers. They gave each other the kiss of peace, and solemnly returned thanks to the Almighty for having carried them so far toward a reconciliation.

The influence of the Angelical was not lost upon the Greeks. They received an impulse to make themselves masters of his works. They were already acquainted with the *Summa*, in the form of a translation by Demetrius Cydonius, or, as some affirm, by Maximus Planudes.† They also possessed copies of the "*Contra Gentiles*," and of the Tractate against their own theology. Gennadius, in the midst of all the anxieties of his Patriarchate, and during the tumultuous time of war, found leisure for translating many of the works of the Angelical for the benefit of Eastern theologians. Cardinal Bessarion—who preferred the tranquillity of a foreign land to the contentions and uncertain atmosphere of his native home—like many of his

* In Harduin, John is introduced thus:—"Itaque feria secunda, mensis Martii die secunda, conventum iterum sessio œcumenica Florentie. Cumque præcedisset Papa, absentibus ob valetudinem Imperatore nostro, et patriarcha: (exceptis cum illis omnes convenimus:) et ceteri ordine conuenerunt, aggressus est disputationem hieromonachus quidam nomine Joannes, philosophus Latinorum, et dialectica peritissimus. Hic ubi surrexisset, et sese venerationis causa inclinasset, interrogavit Græcos disputatione concisa, qua ratione calumniantur Spiritus Sancti processionem ex Filio. Instituit vero sermonem summi in hunc modum." (See Harduin, Tom. IX., *Concil. Florent., Sessio XVII., C.*, p. 190.) Then follows an account of the controversy, well worth reading on account of the great skill manifested by John of Montenegro. (p. 190—310.)

† During the lifetime of the Angelical, his work, *Contra Gentes*, was translated both into Hebrew and into Greek; and most probably his tract, *Contra Errores Græcorum* also. William Bernardi of Gaillac, who died in 1298, soon after the Saint's death, translated several of his works into Greek; but which they were is doubtful. Werner says:—"Von Demetrius Cydonius, einem zur Lyoner Union sich bekennenden Griechen (um 1357) existirt eine Uebersetzung der *Summa contra Gentes*, so wie der Opusc. III. und LXIV. [Roman Edition]; eben so eine Vertheidigung des Opusc. I. (Contr. Err. Græc.) gegen die Angriffe des Cabasilas. Vor ihm übersetzte der schismatischgesinnte Planudes (um 1327 blühend) die *Summa Theologica*. Von Georgius Scholarius . . . hat man gleichfalls mehrere Uebersetzungen aufgefunden." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Siebentes Capitel*, p. 882—883.)

fellow-countrymen, enriched his library with the writings of the Angel of the Schools. Tournon speaks of a large quantity of MSS. belonging to the library of the Cardinal, all of them being translations of "S. Thomas," which were extant at his day at Venice in the library of S. Mark's.*

Other services rendered by the writings of the Saint, did space permit, might be spoken of at length. For instance, at the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Bâle, the Angelical was represented by the learned Doctors of his Order. Eight Dominican theologians, headed by their General, and penetrated with the spirit of the *Summa*, illuminated the Council of Pisa by their wisdom. Louis of Valladolid, and John of Podomitis, impressed the Fathers of Constance with the depth of their theologic lore; whilst John of Ragusa, Nicholas Jacquier, and Henry Kalteisen, in the great assembly at Bâle, above all others proved how great a light may be cast upon delicate matters of theology by those who possess a wide and scientific knowledge of the faith.†

The learned Cardinal de Cusa was no less favourable to the Saint. He was sent by Pope Nicholas V. into Germany to revive the ecclesiastical spirit of the clergy. He presided as Papal Legate at a Council held at Cologne in 1452. And his view of the best method of effecting his purpose is intimately bound up with the reputation of S. Thomas. He strongly and emphatically recommended the teachings of the Saint. "We approve and highly esteem," says the Council, filled with his spirit, "the teachings of S. Thomas on the Faith and the Sacraments; and we wish and desire them to be read in diocesan synods; and moreover we order all those having the cure of souls to keep at hand, and deeply to study, that portion of the *Summa* which treats of the Holy Sacraments."‡

Nor did lapse of time seem to diminish, it appears rather to have increased, the influence of the Angelical. The power of his mind over the Council of Trent (1545—1563) can hardly be exaggerated. And indeed that great Ecumenical Synod, if it is

* "Ceux d'entre les Grecs, qui avoient paru les plus zélés pour l'union, et qui pour cette raison aimèrent mieux s'arrêter en Italie, que de s'exposer à l'inconstance, et à la fureur des Schismatiques d'Orient, ne furent pas moins attentifs à enrichir leurs Bibliothèques, ou leurs Cabinets, de plusieurs Ouvrages du Saint Docteur, qu'ils firent traduire en Grec: on peut en juger par le grand nombre de ceux qu'on voit encore à Venise, parmi les Manuscrits du Cardinal Bessarion." (Tournon, *Approbât. de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. V., Chap. VI., p. 546.)

† After making mention of these Theologians, Brioux says:—"Le célèbre chancelier Gerson fit d'ailleurs paraître l'estime toute particulière qu'il avoit pour le saint docteur, dans un discours qu'il prononça au concile de Bâle. 'Que nos adversaires dit-il, se gardent bien de préférer leurs idées aux sentiments et à la doctrine de saint Thomas et des autres saints docteurs dont l'autorité est si respectée dans l'Eglise qu'il n'est point permis de combattre ce qu'ils enseignent d'un commun accord.'" (See *La Somme Théologique*, Tome Premier, Introd., p. XIX.)

‡ "Insuper laudamus et legi mandamus in synodis diocesanorum libellum sancti Thomæ de Aquino, de articulis fidei et sacramentis ecclesiæ; quodque præcipiatur curatis, ut primum quæ est de sacramentis, habeant et student diligenter." Harduini, *Acta Conciliorum*, Tom. IX., *Statuta in Concilio Provinciali Coloniensi*, an. 1452, p. 136.)

not fanciful to say so, seems to hold amongst the Councils a place analogous to that which the *Summa Theologica* holds in relation to the teachings which preceded it.* As the Angelical, with his singularly architectonic mind, appears in his great scientific work to sum up into one all the theology that went before him; so, in the Council of Trent we find a synthesis of all the preceding Councils; a masterly summary of all those definitions which had distinctly drawn the line where error was endeavouring to fuse itself with truth—a line which, whilst it encircled round the faith, served to point out the impertinent encroachments of mere human ingenuity. If the Council of Florence is to be considered the summary of Eastern Councils, Trent, surely, is the summary of all. Nicæa, Ephesus, and Lateran, Orange, Vienne, and Toledo, are represented here, and are confirmed. It was the beginning of a new era. The world had sunk into something resembling a spiritual lethargy. Spain and Portugal had become benumbed by material prosperity and commercial rivalries. England was in the arms of heresy and schism. Germany had sent forth its flight of spiritual locusts, which threatened to eat up the fair fields of genuine Christianity.† The human element in the Church herself required cleansing and elevating. A new enemy had to be confronted. The supreme authority itself was called into question, and was denied. And thus during eighteen long years, with many interruptions, did the Church labour at her gigantic work, collecting her powers together to meet the world, and preparing herself to issue forth refreshed on her great career of regeneration! For three hundred years the Council of Trent has given rule to the Universal Church; and the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican merely completes a work which was initiated then.‡

* Pallavicino, in his *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, gives this proposition of Soave, which says that the Scholastics "hanno fatto fondamento della dottrina Cristiana la filosofia d'Aristotele, e lasciato la Scrittura, e posto tutto in dubbio sin al metter quistione, se vi sia Dio, e disputarlo d'ambe le parti." He answers thus, speaking of the Angelical:—"Dove mai si trova, che gli Scolastici pongano per fondamento Aristotele e non la Scrittura? Non lo impugnano essi universalmente intorno all'eternità del mondo, al necessario operar di Dio, all'impossibilità della creazione, e ad altri gravissimi punti ne quali il fece abbagliare la debolezza dell'umana pupille rispetto agli abissi della luce divina? San Tommaso Principe degli Scolastici non insegna tante volte, che i fondamenti della Sacra Scienza non sono le naturali ragioni, ma le sopra-naturali rivelazioni!" (*Par. I., Libro VII., Cap. XIV., p. 653. Roma, MDCLVII.*)

† "The greatness of the work which Trent had to accomplish may be measured by the trials, interruptions, and jealousies which the powers of the world raised up around it. The very difficulties it had to meet with, were a sign of its necessity. The first session was held in the Pontificate of Paul III., in 1545. The one grand blow to the error of the day is contained in that noble declaration of authority, viz.: that to the Holy Church alone it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Sacred Books, and that the Scriptures should not be interpreted in opposition to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. The Council was closed, after many weary interruptions, in 1563, in the Pontificate of Pius IV.

‡ What an impetus was given by the Council of Trent to Ecclesiastical legislation, is evident from the many Provincial Synods which followed its close. The *S. Congregatio Cardinalium Concilii Tridentini Interpretum* speaks for itself. Then S. Charles Borromeo threw new life into the clergy. The Sovereign Pontiffs themselves were active legislators, especially Pius V. (1566—1572), Gregory XIII. (1572—1585), Sixtus V. (1585—1590), Innocent XII. (1691—1700), and, above all, that great Jurist, Benedict XIV., by his *Constitutions*, did much to further the designs of the Holy Council.

How little do clever Protestants understand the vitality of the Catholic Church! "The

And in fact the ruling minds at Trent were those which had been moulded by the great principles embedded in the *Summa*. The spirit of S. Thomas lived in its Sessions, and seems to have formulated its Decrees. There is a completeness, an unity, a scientific proportion about them, which speak emphatically of the mind of the Angelical.

And there are not wanting weighty witnesses to testify to the influence he exerted there. His Eminence, Cardinal Vincent Justiniani, who assisted at the Council, calls the Angelical "the Oracle of the Fathers." Pope Pius V., who had been obliged, from his position, to study deeply the action of the Council, affirms that its Decrees are evidences unmistakable of how the teaching of the Angelical was constructed for confronting heresies and dissipating errors.* The eloquent Bossuet declares that, on the important question of Justification, the words of the Council of Trent are in reality simply a tissue formed from the writings of the Angel of the Schools. Cardinal Baronius affirms that it would be a difficult task to throw into words the expressions of admiration which had been made use of by the Fathers of the Council when speaking of S. Thomas, or to recall all they had said with regard to the purity of his scientific teaching.

One fact vouches for itself, and speaks to the whole world. On the table of the Council were placed, conspicuously, three books: the Holy Scriptures, the Decrees of the Popes, and the *Summa Theologica* of S. Thomas.†

The honour thus accorded to the *Summa* before the world was simply an external manifestation of the feeling of the Fathers. F. Camblat says that the theologians of the Council made a point of consulting it whenever any difficulty arose. The prelates never dared to come to any decision before they had learnt the mind of the Angel of the Schools, nor would they formulate a single Decree that was in any way at variance with his teaching.

Council of Nicea," said Dean Stanley in 1862, "is the first 'General Council'—the first of those long series of eighteen synods which ended, and in all probability has ended for ever, in the Council of Trent." (See *The Eastern Church*, Lect. II., p. 66. Second Edition.)

* The Bollandists give an interesting account of this Pope's love of the Angelical:—"Et cum Pius esset S. Thomæ Aquinatis doctrinæ studiosissimus, in eumque afficeretur pietate singulari, ut ejus festus dies in Regno Neapolitano celebraretur, reliquis vero Christiani orbis in regionibus tanquam minus ex quatuor Ecclesiæ Doctoribus recoleretur, gravissimo decreto constituit; ac septenos et amplius annos indulgentiæ singulis, ejus sacellum Neapoli ad S. Dominici causâ religionis invenientibus, tribuit (quo loco videlicet ejus sancti viri doctrinæ, ac ore Christi de cruce admirabiliter eum alloquentis, divinitus comprobata fuit) aliis vero locis centenos dies tantum concessit." (Vid. Boll., Vol. XIV., Tom. I., Vita B. Pii Quinti Papæ, auct. Joann. Anton. Gabutio, Cap. VI., n. 63, p. 636.)

† "On y vit sa Somme de Théologie sur une même table, à côté de la sainte Bible, pour servir sans doute d'explication et de Commentaire du texte sacré. Il convenoit, et il étoit juste (dit un Auteur qui rapporte le fait) que les Ouvrages du Docteur Angélique fussent placés d'abord après les Livres divins: 'Fide dignissimi retulerunt in magna Aule medio, ubi erant congregati sanctæ Tridentinæ Synodi religiosissimi Presules, ac doctissimi Patres, mensam extitisse sacro Librorum pondere gravem, in qua hi sacri Codices conspicebantur, sacra Scriptura, Decreta Pontificum, et sancti Thomæ Summa. Expende quo honore habita, quæ inter Codices divinos numeratur. Par erat ut post divinos libros Angelici recenserentur.'" (Toumon, *Liv. V., Chap. VII.*, p. 547.)

A curious instance of this occurred in the twenty-first Session of the Council (July 6, 1562). At the very moment when the Decrees which had been prepared were about to be solemnly recited before the Fathers, and published in the Council, the Archbishop of Grenada suddenly stopped the whole proceeding. Some theologians wished to append to the first chapter certain views regarding Communion under both kinds, which he considered were opposed to the doctrines of S. Thomas.* This was too grave an objection to be carelessly passed by. The solemn order of the proceedings was interrupted. The *Summa* was called for. The passage referred to by the Archbishop was read out before the Fathers. The case seemed doubtful. They could not come to an agreement off-hand as to whether the Decree was in accordance with the mind of the Angelical or not. As the more prudent course, it was unanimously determined that its promulgation should be postponed to the twenty-second Session. In the meantime the difficulties were solved, and finally, two months later, the Decree was read, confirmed, and published in the precise form in which it has been committed to us.† How different a spirit is this from that which animated the father of the Reformation! In the one case, the greatest theologians pause, and bow to the teaching of a simple Doctor; in the other, an apostate friar defies the Mother which gave him spiritual birth, and raises a revolt, of which he himself did not see the final issue.‡

Perhaps one of the best ways of feeling the pulse of an assembly is to study the speeches of the orators who address it with applause. Fortunately we possess a valuable oration, pronounced in presence of the Fathers of the Council during the Pontificate of Pope Pius IV. The orator was a Spanish Doctor, theologian to Philip II. the Catholic king; his name, Master John Gallio de

* Pallavicino gives the whole question at length. As a sample:—"Intorno alla prima difficoltà fu risposto, che malagevolmente potevasi diffinire, quelle parole della cena da Cristo esser indirizzate solo agli Apostoli, ed in loro a'Sacerdoti; quando si trovavano tanti Dottori, fra quali citavasi ancor San Tommaso, che le stendevano agli altri. Onde la sposizione contraria, benché non fosse dannevole, non si doveva pertuttociò proporre sì come certa; maggiormente che San Paolo à Corintij narra questa istituzione fattasi nella cena, come comune a Sacerdoti ed a'Laici: Pertanto non poter il Concilio far meglio sopra di ciò, che, lasciando à ciascuna interpretazione il suo stato, fondar l'esclusione di quella necessità universale che gli Eretici affermavano d'amendue le specie: nell'autorità e nella consuetudine della Chiesa." (*Istoria del Concil. di Trento, Par. II., Lib. XVII., Cap. XI., n. 12, p. 412.*)

† "Auditò S. Thomæ nomine," says Natalis Alexander, "visa res est ad examen iterum revocanda. Suspensum itaque decretum est, donec discussio doctoris angelici loco, notum omnibus patribus fuit, non pugnare cum doctrina S. Thomæ; tuncque canon editus est, qui in illa sessione secunda legitur hoc tenore: *Si quis dixerit, illis verbis: hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi alitque sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum, anathema sit.*" (Natalis Alexander, *Tom. XVI., Dissert. VI., Art. XIV., p. 159.*)

‡ Drionx says of the influence of S. Thomas's teaching in the Council of Trent:—"Au concile de Trente, on rendit à Saint Thomas des honneurs jusqu'alors inouis. Au milieu de la grande salle où le concile s'assemblait on voyait sa *Somme de Théologie*, sur une même table, à côté de la Bible. Le saint docteur fut, avec saint Augustin, l'âme de cette grand assemblée. Les décrets qu'elle rendit sur la justification, sur la grâce, le libre arbitre, et sur tous les autres points de dogme et de morale, ne sont, comme dit Bossuet, qu'un tissu des paroles de l'Ange de l'école." (*La Somme Théologique, Tom. I., Introduction, p. 20.*)

Burgos ; and the subject of his sermon was S. Thomas. After speaking of the eminent virtues of the Saint, of the accuracy of his teaching, and of the value of his works, he continues somewhat to this effect :—

“S. Thomas had not the opportunity of being present at a General Council during his lifetime, but he still lives on after his death. He is present with you in the spiritual treasures of his teaching, which he has bequeathed to you as a rich inheritance. And it is in this sense that we may feel assured that no Council has ever been held in the Church, since his blessed death, at which the Doctor Saint has not been present and has not been consulted. Without speaking of other Councils, why do we not publish in his praise what we see and hear—what passes every day under our eyes in this Assembly ?* Call to mind the wise rules which you follow, and the order which is observed in your meeting. Amongst so great a number of distinguished men and learned Doctors, whose intelligence does so much honour to the Church, is there one who does not use the authority of S. Thomas as a precious stone to add lustre to his speech ? In the most secret sanctuary, where the Fathers discuss with so much precision and so much dignity the highest matters of religion, how often has not the Holy Doctor been consulted ? If any doubt arise, any difficulty, any variance in opinion, or in the manner in which truth should be interpreted, is not S. Thomas always the umpire in the dispute, and his doctrine the test for determining the difference ? Do you not make profession to abide by his opinion ?”

The orator then goes on to express his firm belief that those theologians who stand by S. Thomas need never fear that the Council will decide against them,† and he concludes by thanking the assembled Fathers for the honour they had shown to the Angelical. “The name of the Angelical Doctor,” he says, “already so renowned throughout the Christian world, will be held in still greater veneration by posterity on account of the

* This is part of Gallio's discourse :—“Nulla proinde ab ejus felici transitu concilia sine S. Doctore celebrata sunt : ut enim de cæteris sileam, quod audimus, quod videmus, quod manibus nostris contrectamus, quidni aperta voce ad ejus laudem testemur ? Vestra concilia perpendite. Ex plurimo eoque honorabili doctorum cætu, quotusquisque consilium accedit, qui divi Thomæ auctoritate veluti splendente gemma suam sententiam non exornet ? At in consilii-ssimo patrum consensu doctor hic sententiam rogatus frequentissime cœnet, ad quem ut ad Lydium lapidem, si quid ambiguitatis aut controversiæ fuerit exortum, communibus votis referendum existimetis, et qui cum sui placiti patronum obtinuerit, incertam judiciorum alcam non sit habiturus, quin secundum eum sententia fereuda sit.” (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Tom. XVI., Dissert. VI., Art. XIV., p. 159.*)

† “Enfin après avoir assuré que celui des Théologiens, qui est certain d'avoir saint Thomas pour lui, ne craint point que la décision du Concile soit jamais contraire à son avis ; l'Orateur adresse ces paroles à tous les Pères de cette auguste et sainte Assemblée : ‘Je puis donc de la part de tout mon Ordre, vous rendre de très-humbles actions de grâces, de ce que le nom du Docteur Angelique, déjà si célèbre dans tout le monde Chrétien, le sera encore plus à la postérité, par l'honneur et le culte que vous lui rendez.’ Atque adeo hujus Religiosis nomine gravissimæ vestre auctoritatis gratias agere libeat, quod Doctoris Thomæ nomen ubique celeberrimum, vestra in eum observantia celeberrimè posteritati reliqueritis.” (Tourou, *Liv. V., Chap. VII., p. 550.*)

honour and the *cultus* which you have been pleased to bestow upon him here.”

Nor is all this the florid unreality of high-flown rhetoric.* In form there may appear to be some little exaggeration, but not in substance. Many of those who attended every Session, confirm every word that fell from the eloquent lips of Gallio de Burgos. To take one witness as an example of the rest: Jerome Wielmus, a prelate who was present at each meeting, speaks of the ubiquitous influence of the Angelical over that august Synod. “Amongst the Fathers,” he says, “who are here in such great numbers at the General Council of Trent, there is not one who does not hold it a duty of religion to conform himself to the teachings of S. Thomas in questions of dogma and of faith, and to such an extent, that it can be said that this great Doctor, this Prince of all Theologians, is not less consulted by them, or less followed, than are the ancient Fathers of the Church.”†

Nor did the influence of S. Thomas stop here. Any theologian who reads the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or as it is often called, the “Roman Catechism,” will perceive at once the marks of the master-hand. It was composed to meet a daily peril. The clergy had not only to be reformed, but the faithful had to be instructed. The two great instruments created by the Council for achieving this end were—first, the frequent holding of Provincial Councils; and next, a clear, simple, and fundamental statement of Catholic truth. In the one case, the clergy would be moulded more and more upon an ecclesiastical model; and in the other, the faithful would possess a measure of faith, and a test of error: and thus the Church would be strengthened within, and would oppose a compact body of dogmatic teaching to the corroding errors which threatened her from without.‡

The task of forming a *corpus* of Catholic positive doctrine was

* And in point of fact rhetoric has its measure and its meaning, as well as everything else. If a florid style be in vogue, it must be taken as such, and be supposed to represent, in a highly colored form perhaps, a just sentiment. There can be gradations in a warm colouring as well as in a cold one. And when once the style be thoroughly understood, there is little difficulty in taking in the thoughts it is intended to convey. The imaginative Orientals understand each other with as much accuracy and as much ease as we understand each other. And so in strong expressions with regard to the Angelical, a careful analysis will quickly bring out all their worth.

† These are a few of his words:—“Certe in hac Tridentina œcumenica Synodo, quam cum hæc scribimus frequentissimum celebramus, nemo Patrum esse videtur, cui religio non sit, cum de fidei dogmatibus agitur, à Thomæ sententia vel latum unguem abscedere, aut ab illa provocare: ut et à veteribus Patribus nihil minus Aquinas habuerit: et scholastici omnes principem hunc suum receperint modis omnibus ornatissimum.” (Vid. Hieronymus Wielmus, *Episc. Æmontensis. De Scriptis S. Thomæ, Lib. I.*; also see Tournon, *Liv. V., Chap. VII.*, p. 550; also Drionx, *La Somme Théologique*, Tom. I., *Introd.*, p. 20.)

‡ Schulte points out with great force the aim of the world to drive the Church exclusively into the realm of conscience, and then to paralyze its action even there. It is one of the works of a Council to break such bonds as these:—“Eine mächtig vertretene Richtung unserer Zeit drängt darnach, die Kirche vom Staate zu lösen und als rein geistige Macht auf das Wissensgebiet zu beschränken, aber sie sieht auf diesem so kraftlos zu stehen, dass ihr nicht einmal ein indirekter Einfluss auf das Leben bleibe. Je mehr diese Richtung zum Durchbruch gelangt, desto ernster tritt an die Kirche, wenn sie aufgehört hat, eine politische Stellung und mit deren Verlust irgend weltliche Macht zu besitzen die gebieterische Forderung heran.

” (Joh. Friedrich Schulte, *Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts, Zweiter Abschnitt*, § XII., n. III., p. 30—31. Giessen, 1863.)

one of great difficulty and delicacy. It would have to stand the criticism of a rough unscrupulous world, to be accurate in statement, and simple in its form. It would have to express the whole spirit of the great Œcumenical Council of which it was the offspring. It would therefore have to be composed of Divines who most of all represented the *animus* of that great assembly. Who were the men selected for the task? The Catechism was begun by a Commission appointed by the Council. But the Council broke up before the Commission had concluded its task.* Hence Pope Pius IV. summoned to Rome three theologians who appeared to his wisdom most adequately to represent the mind of the Tridentine Fathers. They were every one of them Dominicans, and were all pregnant with the spirit of S. Thomas. Leonard Marini, Archbishop of Lanciano, a man of marked prudence and firmness, was the first; the second, Giles Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, who had been employed in correcting the Missal and the Breviary, and who had distinguished himself in many Sessions of the Council; Francis Forerio was the third, a great linguist, deeply versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, who had assisted at the Council as theologian to the King of Portugal. All three had one thing in common, a conviction that the teachings of the Angel of the Schools would make the best foundation on which to build a durable construction of positive theology. The simplicity, order, harmony, and profoundness of the beautiful and methodical digest of Catholic truth which they gave to the world, speak loud for the supremacy of the Thomistic mind.† Indeed to such a degree is the Angelical mixed up with this exponent of the spirit of the Tridentine Fathers, that some have sought to weaken its authority on the plea that it does not so much represent the common doctrine of the Church as the particular teaching of a party. However, it was solemnly approved of by the same Sovereign Pontiff who seated the Angel of the Schools amongst the great Doctors of the Church.‡

* The number present at the Council is thus given by Knoll:—"Legitime enim a summo Pontifice convocatum fuit, et debitum semper Præsidentem habuit, nimirum Legatos Rom. Pontificis tunc Romæ sedentis. Ipsi adfuerunt ex præcipuis totius orbis christiani provinciæ Patres, numero 255 quo subscripserunt, nimirum 26 Cardinales, 25 Archiepiscopi, 168 Episcopi, 36 Absentium Procuratores, 7 Abbates, 8 Generales Ordinum, et plurimi alii magni nominis Doctores et viri insignes." (Albert a Bulsano, *Institut. Theolog. Theoret.*, Vol. I., Pars Prior, Cap. III., Art. I., n. XXI. p. 91.)

† Tournou gives an example of this:—"Presque dès le commencement du Catéchisme, dans l'explication du premier article du Symbole, on voit ce beau principe, sur lequel roule presque toute la Théologie de saint Thomas, touchant la motion divine, où l'efficacité d'une grâce qui prévient nos volontés, et les applique sans jamais ôter la liberté et le mérite de nos actions. Non solum autem Deus universa quæ sunt, providentiâ suâ tueretur atque administrat; verum etiam quæ moventur et agunt aliquid, intimâ virtute ad motum, atque actionem ita impellit, ut quavis causarum secundarum efficientiam non impediat, præveniat tamen, cum ejus occultissima vis ad singula pertineat." (*Approbat. de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. V., Chap. VIII., p. 554.*)

‡ Gregory XIII. had a new edition of the Catechism brought out, and ordered it to be translated. Cardinal Borromeo, in five different Councils of Milan, instructed the clergy to keep a copy of it by them, and the parish priests to make use of it as a basis in their con-

What had been taught by the Popes, and had been sanctioned by the practice of Œcumenical Councils, was also taken up and insisted on by the great Universities.

Paris naturally takes the lead. Her Doctors, during the life of the Angelical, refer their disputes to him and gratefully abide by his decision. At his death they weep and mourn his loss, as men who had been deprived of the joy of their hearts and the light of their eyes. The day-star was quenched which had shone so placidly, and yet with such radiance, in their theological heaven. Then, when his teaching was attacked, they defended it as one would the honour of a friend. Stephen II., Bishop of Paris, instructed by Pope John XXI., had censured, in 1277, two hundred and twenty-two propositions which had been advanced, in one way or other, by the Faculty of Arts. Some malicious men raised a cry that certain philosophical tenets of the Angelical were included in the condemnation. This was too much for the loyalty of the University. Bishop Stephen III. was induced, by the importunity of the Doctors, and by his own sense of justice, to issue a decree altogether clearing the theological character of the Angelical.* Indeed, it speaks of him in the highest terms of reverence and praise. He is called "The most brilliant light of the Universal Church, the radiant gem of the clergy, the flower of Doctors, the most spotless and exalted mirror of our University of Paris: shining, with the effulgence of his life, teaching, and fame, like a resplendent morning star."† And the high reputation which he enjoyed at Paris appears to have remained undimmed during a long series of years. Cardinal du Perron, a man of high intelligence, declared in a public speech, in 1615,

ferences and in their teaching. The Provincial Councils of Beneventum, Ravenna, Genoa, Rouen, Rheims, Bordeaux, Tours, Tonlouse, Avignon, and others, spoke of it in the highest terms, and interested themselves in having translations made of it. Cardinal Valerian says of it:—"Vos qui aliquantulum ſtate proceſſiſtis, legite hunc Catechiſmum ſepties, et plus quam ſepties, mirabiles enim fructus ex eo percipietis. Vos, qui in diſciplina Eccleſiæ verſantes omnia veſtra ſtudia referre debetis ad gloriam Dei, ad ſalutem veſtram et aliorum, egregium librum dictante Spiritu Sancto, Patrum qui in Concilio Tridentino aderant, Decreto ſcriptum, et Chriſti Vicarij auctoritate editum, octies legiſſe, atque deſcripiſſe æquum eſt."

* "Wie verhält es ſich nun mit Tempier's Abſicht rückſichtlich des Verbotes, welches er anſie die a. 1277 cenſurirten 222 Theſen legte?" asks Werner. See his reply:—"Sind wirklich einige derſelben aus Thomas' Lehre entnommen? Die Gegner behaupten es und führen zum Beweiſe deſſen an, daß Thomas' Satz von der ſpeciſiſchen Differenz der einzelnen Engelweſen unter den von Tempier verbotenen Behauptungen ſtehe, mit dem ausdrücklichen Zuſatze, daß hiemit Thomas gemeint ſei. Dieſer Zuſatz iſt jedoch—wie de Rossi bemerkt—mächtig; in den Manuſcripten, welche Dupleſſis d'Argentré zu ſeiner *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus* benützte, findet er ſich nicht. Es iſt in der That auch ungläublich, daß einzig Thomas als Irrender hätte namhaft gemacht werden ſollen, während bei keiner der übrigen Theſen irgend jemand als Verfaſſer genannt iſt." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquin, Erſter Band, Sechſtes Capitel*, p. 863.)

† These are the words referred to:—"Cupientes gloriosum Deum in Sanctis suis apud Fidelium devotionem in terris gloriosius exaltari, ac sacratissimæ Matris nostræ prædilectæ desiderantes vestigia sancta pro viribus imitari, dictumque Confessorem feliciter in Cælis regnantem apud terrigenas devotius et celebrius honorari; præsertim eum fuerit et sit universalis Ecclesiæ lumen præfulgidum, gemma radians Clericorum, flos Doctorum, Universitatis nostræ Parisiensis speculum clarissimum et insigne, claritate vitæ, fidei, et doctrinæ, velut stella splendida, et matutina refulgens: Per venerabiles et dilectos Consiliarios nostros, inquisitione factâ super dictis articulis apud Doctores Theologiæ Facultatis, in eorum Congregatione generali regentium et non regentium, Secularium et Regularium ad hoc specialiter convocatâ: comperto per Dei gratiam dictum Confessorem B. Thomam nihil unquam sensisse, docuisse, seu scripsisse, quod sanæ fidei, vel bonis moribus adversetur."

that "the *Summa* of S. Thomas had always been looked upon as the oracle of theology, had always been publicly read, and (if it be permitted so to speak) had always been adored in the schools of Paris."

Turning from France to Spain we find that the Angelical was not less venerated in the Spanish Universities than he was in those of Italy and France. Indeed, it was from Paris that the Spanish theologians drew that store of erudition which gained for the great schools of Salamanca, Alcala, and Coimbra, their European reputation.* The fame of the University of Salamanca was coincident with that of the great Dominican, Francis de Vittoria, who died in 1566. It was the depth and brilliancy of his learning which raised it, in the first instance, to its proud position. He was a native of Vittoria in Cantabria. He no sooner joined the Order of S. Dominic than he was sent off to Paris, to study theology in the famous Convent of S. James's. Here he worked under the celebrated Peter Crockart, who was turned, from being a violent follower of John Major the Nomin-alist, into a vigorous champion of Thomistic lore. Possibly it was the energy and activity of such a man as this which caused the agile mind of Vittoria to expand, not merely towards the methods of the day in which he lived, but also towards prophetic visions of the future. He taught much, and wrote little. Matoranus calls him "another Socrates." Melchior Canus, the great theological reformer, confesses himself indebted to the genius of Vittoria for much of his reputation.† A whole constellation of luminous theologians rose out of his school. They in their turn formed centres of activity which produced noted theologians. Besides Canus, Vittoria could count Medina, Menchaca, Couarruvia, and Soto as his scholars. Soto became in his turn the master of Toletus of Cordova, who was a distinguished Professor at Salamanca when only twenty-three years of age. Toletus joined the Jesuits, studied "S. Thomas," at Rome, and was raised to the purple by Pope Pius V.—being the first Jesuit who was made a Prince of the Church. He was the precursor of a

* Tomson gives the terms in which the Doctors of Salamanca solemnly promised to follow the Angelical:—"Tous ceux qu'elle reçoit parmi ses Docteurs, s'y engageant par un jurement solennel conçu en ces termes: 'Je promets avec serment, que dans toutes les Leçons, que je ferai dans la présente Université, soit que je remplisse une Chaire, soit que j'enseigne comme Professeur Volontaire, je dicterai la doctrine de saint Augustin, et les conclusions de saint Thomas, lorsque je serai assuré du sentiment de ces Saints Docteurs, et lorsqu'il y aura de doute, je n'enseignerai rien qui ne paroisse contraire à leur doctrine, mais je n'en tiendrai à ce qui sera plus conforme à leurs principes, à ce qui est communément regardé comme tel par leurs disciples.'" (*Approbat. de la Doct. de S. Thomas d'Aquin. Liv. V., Chap. X., p. 566—567.*)

† "Veram, quam Parisiis dicerat docendi rationem acutissimum theologum scholasticum non jejune non inculte ut alias sed erudite et ornatè tractabat eam ex historia ecclesiastica et ex sanctorum Patrum fontibus adhibito severiori critério locupletans ac oratione puriori verbisque elegantioribus explicans, sic ut non solum omnes in admirationem caperet, sed et ad imitationem sui provocaret. Ne tunc excellentis theologi verba in ventum abirent, tum primum in ea academia et in ceteris Hispaniæ deinceps inductus est, qui in Parisiensi a reformatione Tuttavillana a. 1454 constitutus fuerat, mos lectionis professorum, quæ antea ante, jam etiam scripto excipiendi." (*Ech. et Quetif., II., p. 129.*)

brilliant company of theologians—to suggest only a few of them: Vasquez, who at the age of twenty-five professed theology and philosophy in Alcalá, and wrote a celebrated Commentary on the *Summa*; Suarez, the most philosophical of all the Jesuits, who taught at Segovia, Rome, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Coimbra.* Then there came men less known to fame perhaps, yet deep and earnest students: Vallius the Aristotelian, Rubius of Alcalá—who was the first to make the New World familiar with the teachings of the Angelical—Alphonsus de Mendoza, Gonzales, and many others, the repetition of whose names would weary the ordinary reader. And this is enough to give an idea of the expansion of the Thomistic school at the Convent of S. James's and Salamanca. The teaching of the Angelical can easily be traced from Vittoria to Soto, from Soto to Toletus, from Toletus to Vasquez, and from Vasquez to a whole army of other theologians, all proudly acknowledging their common parentage, and witnessing to the one master-mind which, whether they would or no, had left its royal signature upon them.

Besides the Jesuits and Dominicans, the Carmelites, Cistercians, Augustinians, Benedictines, Brothers of Mercy, men of various Orders and divers nations, might be mentioned as having drawn their waters from the common well; as having testified by their teachings to the extraordinary mastership of the Angel of the Schools.† Not that they always followed him in everything; yet it is but simple accuracy to affirm that he exerted an influence upon them the like of which we look for in vain over the broad range of history in connection with the teachings of any other theologian.

One fact alone is sufficient as an example:—the great University of Salamanca drew out a formal document, in which it bound its members to teach and to defend the doctrine of S. Thomas. In the *Supplica* presented to the Council of Castile, begging for a confirmation of that document, the following reasons, amongst

* Werner thus describes Toletus' career:—"In der Schule des Dominikens Soto bildete sich Franz Toletus aus Cordova; er lehrte bereits als dreizehnjähriger Jüngling die Philosophie an der Universität Salamanca, wurde nach seinem Eintritt in den eben gegründeten Jesuitenorden nach Rom geschickt, um Aristotelisch-scholastische Philosophie und später Thomistische Theologie zu lehren, worin er eben so viel Beifall errang, als bei seinem Auftreten als Kanzelredner; von Pius V. und dessen Nachfolgern hochgehalten, wurde er, der erste aus seinem Orden, mit dem Purpur geschmückt, und mehrfach auch in kirchlichen Angelegenheiten als päpstlicher Legat verwendet: 1596." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Dritter Band, Erstes Buch p. 138—139.) He wrote, amongst other voluminous works, an *Introductio in Logicam*—*Commentarius in Universam Aristoteliam Logicam*—*Libri octo de Physica Auscultatione*—*Libri duo de Generatione et Corruptione*—*Libri tres de Anima*.

† "Si notre saint Docteur est justement appelé l'Ange de l'Ecole; parce qu'il l'a éclairée par sa doctrine, et qu'il continue encore à l'instruire par ses ouvrages: on peut aussi l'appeler avec raison l'Ange du cloître, qu'il a long-temps édifié par la pratique de toutes les vertus, dont il a défendu avec zèle les intérêts, et dans lequel il a laissé un goût pour l'étude, et une louable émulation pour toutes les sciences, qui peuvent conduire à l'état Religieux. Il ne faut donc pas être surpris, que le même esprit de reconnaissance pour le Serviteur de Dieu, et le même zèle pour sa doctrine, qu'on voit plus communément dans les Ecoles Catholiques, aiment encore ceux qui ne se retirent dans de saintes retraites, que pour s'y remplir de l'esprit de sagesse et de vérité, afin de travailler plus sûrement à leur salut, et à celui de leurs frères." (Tourou, *Liv. V., Chap. IX., p. 571.*)

others, were advanced in its support.* The petitioners alleged that they were anxious to place the Professors of the University under a happy necessity of following the pure doctrine of S. Augustine and S. Thomas; because by so doing they would promote the glory of God, the good of the Church, public utility, the peace and tranquillity of the State, the better education of youth, progress in science, and, finally, the veneration and respect which is due to the Fathers of the Church, and to its most celebrated Doctors.†

The other Universities of Europe, naturally, fell under the same influences as those of Paris, Rome, and Salamanca. William Estius, the light of the University of Louvain, and Francis Silvius, the greatest theologian ever turned out by the theological faculty at Douai—did not conceal their satisfaction in informing the world that they had drawn all their knowledge from the teachings of S. Augustine and S. Thomas. Toulouse, the most renowned place of learning in France, after Paris, ever jealously maintained the doctrines of our Saint; whilst to speak at length of Bologna, Naples, Padua, and Turin, would sound very like a repetition, and would tire the reader without adding much to his stock of information.

This portion of the history of S. Thomas cannot be more aptly summed up, than by calling the Angelical, in the words of the accomplished Silvius, "*Academiæ omnium communis Magister*"—"The Common Master of all Academies."

So far for Popes, Councils, and Universities: to complete the list, we may dwell briefly on Religious Orders and learned men.

In the Constitutions of the Order of Mercy, and of the Canons Regular of S. Augustine, it was distinctly laid down that the teaching of S. Thomas should form the basis of theological instruction.‡ The Canons Regular of the Congregation of France, at a great meeting in their renowned Abbey of S. Geneviève, in 1650, issued a similar regulation.§ The Minims, in their Chapter

* The Decree referred to is dated June 9, 1627.

† See how the fame of the Angelical was carried into the New World. Drioux says:—"Et quand la foi eut pénétré dans le Nouveau-Monde, le pape Innocent XI. publia une bulle le 23 juillet 1681 pour la fondation d'une université à Quito, où il disait: Nous approuvons la fondation de quatre chaires, à condition que les professeurs qui en seront pourvus enseigneront la doctrine de saint Thomas, si conforme à la tradition des saints Pères et aux décrets de l'Eglise universelle. Le même pape donna plusieurs autres bulles pour l'établissement de différentes universités dans le Pérou et le Mexique, mais aux mêmes conditions. Innocent XII. autorisa par une bulle l'établissement d'une université dans la ville de la Havane, aux Indes occidentales, pour qu'on y enseignât la doctrine de l'Ange de l'Ecole." (See *Somme Théologique de Saint Thomas*, Tom. I., *Introd.*, p. 24.)

‡ These are the words found in the abridgment of the Constitutions of the Order of Mercy as they stood:—"Ad assequendos Religiosis gradus legi debet doctrina sancti Thomæ, prout explicatur à nostro Reverendissimo Patre Magistro Zumel. Ita precipitur in virtute obedientie, et statuitur à tribus continuis generalibus Capitulis."

§ "Les chanoines réguliers de la Congrégation de France, ayant fait un règlement pour les études dans l'assemblée générale tenue dans la célèbre abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève à Paris, en 1650, veulent que les professeurs de théologie n'expliquent que saint Thomas, qu'ils en fissent le texte et qu'ils le commentent suivant l'ordre et la méthode qu'il a suivis dans sa *Somme*." (Drioux, *La Somme Théologique*, *Introd.*, p. 24—25.)

at Barcelona, in 1661, chose S. Thomas as their Doctor, and as the Angel of their Schools; whilst the Jeromites of Spain, and the Servites of Italy, could find no better Master than him to control the method and teaching of their seminaries. According to the statutes of the Carmelites of the Province of Touraine, the Professors were instructed to read and explain the whole *Summa* during a space of three years. The Discalced Carmelites of Salamanca were no less attached to the doctrine of the Saint. The dedication of their most famous theological work to him, is ample testimony to the fact.* They say that, in offering to him the fruit of their labors and vigils, they are simply performing an act of justice; that both gratitude and equity would forbid them dedicating it to any other; "Whatever there is that is good, whatever is found to be true and solid in our works," they say, addressing the Saint, "we have taken out of your teachings. In walking in your steps, in faithfully following your principles, we have no fear of ever swerving from the truth. Your admirable works are like some vast ocean, gathering into one all the rivers of wisdom, which, flowing forth again, irrigate the intellectual world."† "Men cannot find it hard," they continue, "that, through a happy necessity, they are constrained to maintain the teaching of the Angelical. How can light be more readily found than by going to the sun? Where are pure waters to be drawn if not at the very source?"

They confess freely that they have been deeply impressed, nay, overpowered, by the glory surrounding the Saint's name, and by the splendour of his reputation. But they have not been moved by this influence solely. They have been brought to look upon him as so great a master on account of "the most solemn approbation of the Sovereign Pontiffs, the commendation of holy Councils, the praise and admiration of the Religious Orders, the esteem of learned men, the eulogy of Christian orators, and the voice of the Universities."‡

Perhaps the most important of all testimonies is that recorded in an official instruction of the great Company of Jesus—an instruction which was given, not in an era of undeveloped theo-

* "Qu'on ouvre ces grands volumes, que leurs Théologiens de Salamance ont donnés au Public, on sera bientôt convaincu, que parmi les parfaits Disciples de S. Thomas, on n'en connoit point qui aient jamais porté plus loin l'estime et la vénération pour cet Ange de l'Ecole, non plus que l'attachement et le zèle pour tout ce qu'il nous a enseigné." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. XL.*, p. 572—573.)

† "Dum tua vestigia sequimur, verioribus omnium sententiis adhæremus: in te enim velut in capessituum Oceanum cunctorum sapientiæ flumina congregantur, ut iterum fiant." (Coll. *Salmat.*, Tom. II., Ep. *Dedicat.*)

‡ "Nemo invidet, Doctor Angelice, tam arctâ nos tibi lege adstringi, tuisque vestigiis inhærere, ut vel transversum unguem prosilire nefas censetur; rapimur sane tuo nomine et numine, sed non sine ratione rapimur (ut quidam iusuisse obstrepunt) dum per tuas duclimur sententiâs, quas, ipsâ veritate splendente, tot confirmârunt Pontificum decreta; tot concilia acclamârunt, tot ordines receperunt, tot comprobârunt Doctorem testimonia, Oratorum encomia, felicesque in Theologia progressus tot Universitatum." (Coll. *Salmat.*, Tom. II., Ep. *Dedicat.*)

logical learning, but just at that period when the great revival was taking place ; and very probably it was an active element in bringing about that grand result. It was at the end of the sixteenth century (1594) that a general assembly of the Society took place. And here, after anxious and deep deliberation, it was unanimously resolved that its Professors should follow, in scholastic theology, the doctrine of S. Thomas : as being the most solid, the most safe, and the most in keeping with their Constitutions.* It is about this date in the theological history of the Society, that one meets with such men as Molina (1600), Gregory de Valencia (1603), Gabriel Vasquez (1604), Francis Suarez (1617), Ægidius Lusitanus (1608), Peter de Arrubal (1608), Benedict Pereira (1610), and a great many besides, whose names and works alone would occupy several pages, were they simply to be mentioned. The men, consequently, who would most probably have deliberated in that Assembly, would have possessed high intelligence and deep learning. Their opinions, as recorded then, would not be without their weight even at this day, when great theological names are not so easily met with as they were during the revival.†

Connected with the Assembly just mentioned was a board of learned Fathers, chosen out of different nations, and entrusted with the important duty of revising the Book of Studies. They commenced by establishing one fundamental principle, without which nothing could be satisfactorily settled. They started with the general axiom, that the teaching of the Society should be solid, safe, and uniform. With regard to uniformity, there would be comparatively small difficulty in insisting upon that. It was a more delicate task to determine which was the most solid and the safest system to adopt. After an anxious and thorough sifting of the subject, these learned men came, unanimously, to the following decision, viz. : that the Professors of the Society should look upon S. Thomas as their own Doctor, and should be obliged to follow his teaching in scholastic theology. And the reasons

* "Les Supérieurs généraux de cet illustre Corps ont souvent renouvelé et confirmé le même Ordre : dans la Congrégation ou assemblée générale de 1594 après qu'on eut examiné avec beaucoup d'application tout ce qui pouvoit regarder le règlement des études, et le choix des opinions, il fut unanimement résolu que les Professeurs qui liroient la Théologie Scholastique, suivroient celle de S. Thomas, comme la plus solide, la plus sûre, la plus approuvée et la plus conforme à leurs Statuts : Doctrinam sancti Thomæ in Theologia scholastica tanquam solidiorem, securiorem, magis approbatam, et consentaneam constitutionibus sequendam esse à Professoribus, &c." (Tournon, *Approb. de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. V., Chap. XII., p. 576.)

† Gregory de Valentia wrote *Commentarii Theologici in Summam S. Thomæ*; Gabriel Vasquez, *Comment. in Summam S. Thomæ*.—See his entire works in ten vols., folio.—Lyons, 1620. Ægidius Lusitanus, *Libri 2 Commentariorum Theologicorum in D. Thomam de Sacra Doctrina et Essentia atque Virtute Dei*; Peter de Arrubal, *Commentarii et Disputationes in Part. Prim. D. Thomæ*; Benedict Pereira, *Arcana Theologica de Deo*—*Promptuarium seu Summa Universæ Theologiæ Moralitæ*; Francis Suarez, *De Deo Effectore Creaturarum Omnium*—*De Opere Sex Dierum*—*De Anima*—*De legibus et De Legislatore*—*De Virtutibus atque Peccatis*—*De Vera Intelligentia Auxilii Efficiæ ejusque Concordiæ*—*De Triplex Virtute Theologica Spe et Charitate*—*Comm. in part. Tertiam S. Thomæ*. See also *Theologiæ R.P. Fr. Suarezii Summa seu Compendium*, a Francis. Noel, Venetiis, 1733. *Treo vols. folio.* (See Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Dritter Band, Erstes Buch, p. 147.)

which they give for coming to this conclusion are as follows:—because it was according to their constitutions; because such was the wish of the Sovereign Pontiff, Clement VIII.; because their statutes prescribed that there should be only one system of teaching in the Society; “and because,” they continued, “no more safe or more solid system could possibly be found than that of S. Thomas, whom all the world reasonably regards as ‘the Prince of Theologians.’”*

The directive letter of the General, F. Claud Aquaviva (1613), is full of prudent wisdom, touching the manner in which the doctrine of the Angelical should be maintained. No one was to presume to teach differently from him, or from those masters who were considered fair exponents of his doctrine; and the Provincials were, above all things, to select those exclusively as Professors who, embracing freely the teaching of S. Thomas, were veritable enemies to every form of novelty. The successor of Aquaviva, Mutio Vitelleschi, confirms, with energetic language, the policy of his predecessor.† He says, in his circular letter to the Fathers concerned: “Since you are well acquainted with the constitutions, decrees, and rules, which oblige us to follow S. Thomas, and to depose those from their chairs who refuse to do so, or do not appear heartily to embrace his doctrine; . . . it only remains for me to conjure you, with all the earnestness and zeal in my power, to observe carefully, as the most important thing in the world, the points which I am going to mention.”

It is needless to speak at length of the great Dominican Order. The testimony of Peter of Tarantasia, who successively became Bishop, Cardinal, and then Pope, is sufficient to show in what esteem the Angelical was held by the friars. Or to take a still more striking example: Albert the Great, who had trained the Angelical at Cologne and at Paris, eventually came to look upon him more as a master than as a quondam disciple.‡ He not only,

* “Nostris omnino sanctum Thomam ut proprium Doctorem habeant, eumque in Scholastica Theologia sequi teneantur; tum quia constitutiones eam nobis commendant, et summus Pontifex Clemens VIII. id se cupere significavit; tum quia cum unius scriptoris doctrinam in societate eligendam constitutiones moneant, nullius hoc tempore doctrina potest occurrere, quæ sit eâ solidior, aut securior, ut non immerito sanctus Thomas Theologorum Princeps ab omnibus habeatur.” (*Cf. Tournon, Liv. V., Chap. XII., p. 576.*)

† The opinions of Thomassinus and Morinus are worth recording; Brioux says:—“Nous ne parlerons ici que du P. Thomassin, qui cite souvent saint Thomas, en disant qu’il ne voit pas qu’on puisse ajouter à la force et à la lumière de sa doctrine, et du P. Morin, qui dans son traité de la Pénitence dit que de tous les théologiens qui ont traité cette matière il n’en est aucun qui ait écrit aussi excellemment que saint Thomas, qu’il a dissipé et mis en poudre les futiles raisons des anciens scholastiques et s’est attaché à la pratique des premiers et des plus beaux siècles de l’Eglise.” (*Morinus, De Penitentia, p. 774. Ed. 1694; Vid. La Somme Théologique, Tom. Premier, Introd., p. XXV.*)

‡ The celebrated Cardinal Jerome Cassanati was accustomed to say that, if all theologians were at one in teaching the principles of S. Thomas, there would be no confusion in matters of faith, no laxity in morals, and no extravagance in mystic teaching. This Cardinal it was who immortalized his name by giving his Library to the Dominicans of the Minerva at Rome. It was considered, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, one of the most valuable and one of the richest libraries in Italy. His Eminence left a certain sum for the support of the learned theo-

as will appear later on, at an advanced old age, made a tedious journey to defend the teachings of his pupil, but he also found his delight—possibly when he had become too blind and too feeble to write much himself—in listening to a brother, whilst he read to him in order, the profound compositions of his former disciple. But the Dominicans did more than simply admire the works of their great luminary. For instance, in three general Chapters—at Paris in 1286, at Bordeaux in 1287, and at Lucca in 1288—it was expressly ruled that the teaching of S. Thomas should be synonymous with the teaching of the Order, and that no friar should presume to teach anything which was contrary to his doctrine.*

The paramount influence acquired by the Thomistic system, especially amongst the Dominicans, can be imagined when it is remembered how vast a sway the Saint exerted over theologians, old as well as young, during his life-time. Those men who had partaken of his spirit in the schools of Germany, Italy, and France, went forth like the Apostles of old, full of new fire, bent upon spreading far and wide the teachings of their master. Echard assures us that those who had studied under him, in due course became professors at Oxford and Cambridge, at Bologna and at Cologne, at Naples and at Rome: and that they were in the habit of drawing all their teaching from the writings of their common master.

It would take a large book to contain the high praises which have been poured out upon the Angelical by theologians, literary men, and saints. His fame is so great, he towers so unmistakably over all others, that not envy itself, no, not even the blindness of bigotry and passion, can deny to him the first rank amongst the scientific theologians of the Church.† Simply as specimens, a few names shall be recorded, that the reader may clearly perceive how deeply the same impression was sealed upon minds

logians of the Thomist school. Two had to act as librarians, two to instruct young Roman clergy in the elements of Thomistic theology, and the remaining six were to give a liberal course of Thomistic teaching to educated persons of all countries who felt inclined to attend them. Such is the origin of the *Collegium Angelicum* in Rome, the first centre of Thomistic teaching in the world.

* "Il est vrai que peu d'années après la mort du Serviteur de Dieu, et assez long-temps avant sa canonization; c'est-à-dire, dans les Chapitres Généraux tenus à Paris en 1286, à Bordeaux en 1287, et à Lucques en 1288, il fut expressément ordonné que la doctrine de Thomas d'Aquin, seroit désormais celle dont tout l'Ordre feroit unanimement profession, sans qu'il fût permis à aucun particulier de suivre, ou d'enseigner des sentimens contraires; mais il n'est pas moins assuré que du vivant-même de notre Saint, ses frères se faisoient déjà un honneur d'être ses disciples, d'autant plus engagés à respecter sa personne, et à estimer sa doctrine, qu'ils avoient l'avantage de connoître plus parfaitement tout le mérite de l'un et de l'autre." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. XII.*, p. 579.)

† De Maistre says of the Angelical, for instance:—"Saint Thomas . . . ne pouvait s'occuper des sciences, qu'il n'existassent pas de son temps, et dont on ne s'embarassait nullement alors. Son style admirable sous le rapport de la clarté, de la précision, de la force et du luculisme, ne pouvait être cependant celui de Bembo, de Muret, ou de Maffei. Il n'en fut pas moins l'une des grandes têtes qui aient existé dans le monde. Le génie poétique même ne lui étoit pas étranger. L'Eglise en a conservé quelques étincelles qui purent exciter depuis l'admiration et l'envie de Santeuil [a celebrated Poet, Canon of St. Victor's, 1637]. Puisque saint Thomas fut surnommé l'Ange de l'école, c'est lui surtout qu'il faut citer pour absoudre l'école." (*Soirées, Deuxième Entretien.*)

of entirely dissimilar character—upon men of altogether different, indeed, of hostile habits and convictions. The shrewd and sweet S. Philip Neri used the teaching of S. Thomas as his guide, and consulted the Angelical in all his doubts. Pope S. Pius V., S. Charles Borromeo, S. Francis of Sales, S. Vincent Ferrer, S. Antoninus, and more than can be mentioned, looked upon it as an exceptional privilege to have been trained in his school. Pico of Mirandola, a prodigy of science and the most brilliant scholar of his age, read with avidity whatever was written in defence of the Angelical, and declared the study of his writings to be his one delight.* Cardinal Bessarion, a man of splendid and solid learning, is said to have declared that S. Thomas was not only the most saintly amongst the learned, but also the most learned amongst the saints. Cardinal Osius calls him the light and torch of Catholic theology; Baronius, the theologian *par excellence*, and the “Prince of Theologians;” Bellarmine says that his works are more brilliant than the sun. Cajetan and d’Aguirre speak with still higher eulogy. His own master, Albert, calls him *Flos et decus mundi*, the flower and ornament of the earth. Cardinal Toletus does not shrink from saying that he who has S. Thomas, may dispense with all other Doctors. Cardinal Pallavicino, and Gennadius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, speak of him with the profoundest reverence. F. Labbe, the Jesuit, says: “*Thomas Angelus erat, antequam esset Doctor Angelicus*”—“Thomas was an Angel before he was an Angelic Doctor;”† Suarez, that he surpasses all the scholastics in his explanation of the mysteries of faith, and that he ranks with the first Fathers of the Church.

Then, in England, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, made use of him in combating Luther; whilst Henry VIII., before he was delivered over to a reprobate sense, had undertaken to write with his own hand an apology for the Saint.

* Chateaubriand says of our Saint:—“Génie tout à fait comparable aux plus rares génies des temps anciens et modernes, qui tient de Platon et de Malebranche pour la spiritualité, d’Aristote et de Descartes pour la clarté et la logique.” Schleieringer says:—“Wie sehr ist in dieser Hinsicht [Kenntniß des Dogmas] dem Prediger zu empfehlen, seinen dogmatischen Studien die grossen Theologen der Vorzeit, besonders den hl. Thomas von Aquin, zu Grunde legen! Wenn die Universität von Paris im J. 1325 den letztern Lehrer mit den Prädicanten auszeichnete: *Universalis Ecclesie lumen præfulgidum, fons doctorum, candelabrum lusing et lucens, per quod omnes qui vias vite et scholas sanæ doctrine ingreditur, lumen vident, eius doctrina toto orbe commendabili fulget Ecclesia ut sole luna* . . . so war dies eine Bewunderung, welche dem Wesen nach die ganze katholische Welt dem englischen Lehrer zollte, und zumal die Päpste Clemens VIII., Innocenz VI., Urban V., Alexander VII., feierlich aussprachen.” (See *Kirchliche Predigtamt, Erstes Buch*, p. 89.)

† The Church herself, in the prayer on the Feast of the Saint, says:—“*Dens qui Ecclesiam Tuam beati Thomæ confessoris tui mira eruditione clarificas et sancta operatione fecundas, &c.*” Pope Alexander, writing to the University of Louvain, says:—“*D.D. Augustini et Thomæ dogmata inconcussa tutissimaque quorum sanctissimorum virorum penes catholicos universos ingentia et omnem laudem supergressa nomina novi præconii commendatione non egent.*” Goudin says that the *Summa* was laid on the table at the Council of Trent, “*tantum luculentissimum omnium Patrum epitomen et scripturæ sacre interpretem.*” Cardinal Baronius’s words are these:—“*Vix quisquam enarrare posset quantum illius illustre doctrinæ a sanctis patribus in sacro-sancto œcumenico concilio Tridentino considentibus fuerit acclamatum.*”

Erasmus, perhaps one of the most critical and fastidious scholars who ever used his great talents against the Church, declared that he was acquainted with no theologian whose diligence was so great, whose judgment was so sound, and whose doctrine was so solid as that of Thomas of Aquino.*

And, as if merely human testimony were not enough, there is the testimony of our Lord himself, who on three distinct occasions expressed His Divine approval of the teaching of the Saint, viz., at Paris, at Orvieto, and in the Chapel of S. Nicholas at Naples. And even those who refuse to believe in the miraculous, at all events will admit this much in evidence, that the Catholic world must have held the Angelical in the highest possible estimation, to have been drawn to invent or to imagine, in his honour, so solemn and unusual a confirmation.†

Thus, then, to sum up, we have a series of eminent Sovereign Pontiffs, recommending the teaching of the Saint in the highest terms; Councils echoing the words of Sovereign Pontiffs; Universities following the spirit of Councils; Religious Orders going with the rest; and a countless host of witnesses of every country, religion, and character, all declaring this one man to be unique in his own line—in a word, the Prince of Theologians and the Angel of the Schools.

And now the reader may proceed with more security in studying his life, and will feel deeper interest and reverence in looking at his works. The Saint will occupy his legitimate position in the mind. By degrees the greatness of his proportions will be realized. His *status* in the theologic world will be discovered, and the reason will finally rest satisfied that he has been fixed in his proper place. Then the eye will gaze upon his vast and gentle majesty, as, surrounded by a galaxy of martyrs, confessors, and doctors, he illuminates them all by the effulgence of that Sun which is shining on his breast.‡

* Stückel— who in writing his *History of the Philosophy of the Middle Ages*, came across many great and profound minds—speaks with highest reverence of the Angelical. Comparing the great scholastics to knights fighting for the truth, he says:—"Als den ersten und vornehmsten Coryphäen dieses geistigen Ritterthums nun müssen wir den Man nennen, dessen Name an der Spitze dieser Abhandlung steht. Es ist Thomas von Aquino. Er hat sich auf dem Felde der Wissenschaft unsterbliche Lorbeeren errungen, und sein Name ist zum glänzenden Gestirn geworden am Himmel der Kirche sowohl als auch der christlichen Wissenschaft. Was Augustinus in der patristischen Zeit und für dieselbe war, das ist Thomas in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik und für dieselbe." (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung*, § 120, p. 421—422.)

† How well Michelet speaks of the Angelical:—"Ce milieu si difficile à tenir, où l'Eglise essaya de s'établir et de s'arrêter sans glisser à droite ni à gauche, il fut tracé par saint Thomas; c'est là sa gloire immense. Venu à la fin du moyen âge, comme Aristote à la fin du monde grec, il fut l'Aristote du christianisme, en dressa la législation, essayant d'accorder la logique et la foi pour la suppression de toute hérésie. Le colossal monument qu'il a élevé, ravit le siècle en admiration. Albert le Grand déclara que saint Thomas avait fixé la règle qui dirait jusqu'à la consommation des temps. Cet homme extraordinaire fut absorbé par cette tâche terrible, rien autre ne s'est placé dans sa vie; vie tout abstraite, dans les seuls événements sont des idées." (*Histoire de France, Tom. IV., Chap. IX., p. 12—13.*)

‡ Here are some solid reasons, given by a Minor Father, why the teaching of S. Thomas should be preferred to any other:—"1.—C'est d'abord, dit ce Théologien, l'oracle exprès de Jesus-Christ, qui l'a approuvée. 2.—Le témoignage des Papes qui l'ont en quelque façon

So great and imposing a figure cannot be fully understood without considerable study; nor can its true position be arrived at save by examining it from different points of view, and by instituting between it and other kindred objects certain instructive comparisons. He who was placed amongst the Doctors by the inspired wisdom of a Pontiff and a Saint; who is associated with S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, and S. Jerome—saints who lived so many hundreds of years before—was not thus carried out of his own era, and placed amongst the Columnal Fathers, without a weighty reason. Let us study the points of contrast and of likeness between him and them, that a new illumination may be thrown on our Image of the Saint as the result.

canonisée. 3.—Le suffrage des plus célèbres Universités, et de presque toutes les Ordres Religieux, qui se sont fait un honneur de l'adopter. 4.—Les excellentes dispositions qui avoient mis le S. Docteur en état de recevoir, avec abondance, les lumières de la sagesse, par le parfait détachement de toutes les créatures, l'amour du silence et de la retraite, et par le caractère de son esprit, que nulle passion n'étoit capable d'agiter. 5.—La lecture des Pères, et de tous les anciens Auteurs de réputation, dont il avoit recueilli les sentimens les plus beaux, et les plus purs. 6.—L'ordre des matières et cette profondeur de raisonnement, qui lui est propre, pour réduire jusqu'aux premiers principes, toutes les vérités qu'il entreprend d'établir. 7.—L'aveu que le Saint a fait quelquefois, d'avoir plus appris dans l'oraison que dans les livres, ce qui doit faire regarder sa doctrine plutôt comme un présent du Ciel, que comme une simple production de l'esprit humain." (Tourou, *Liv. V., Chap. XIII., p. 585—586.*)

CHAPTER III.

S. THOMAS AND THE FATHERS.

PART I.

Now that the Angelical had been ranked amongst the Doctors of the University, he commenced to govern in the schools of S. James's as *Regens Primarius*.^{*} Here he would develop the delicate and difficult questions of theology. The Doctor having gone through an elaborate training himself, and having also had many years' practice in dialectical disputation, was ripe for descending into the depths of theological subtilty, and for bringing up and displaying before his wondering scholars the root of some far-creeping heresy, or the seeds of some obscure spiritual malady—that element in a system of religion or philosophy which stamps it with a special character, and lends to its propagation a peculiar success. Or he might take up one minute point in philosophy—as a man might select a blade of grass or the wing of a gnat—and, by means of a careful analysis, display, through the microscopic powers of a keen and logical intelligence, the whole complication of its delicate construction.† First one line of thought would be brought under observation, then another, and then a third and a fourth; next, various threads which appeared to intersect the main question,

^{*} The *Vita* puts the Doctorate much earlier than most writers. These are the words of the compiler:—"Onde se nel Baccellerato fu stimato da tutti maraviglioso, nel magisterio poscia accese con la maraviglia il stupore; perche la dottrina, che da lui ascoltavano i scolari, non pareva humana, ma più tosto Angelen. Gli fu dato questo grado di Maestro nel vigesimoquinto anno dell'età sua, et l'anno ottavo dopò di essersi fatto Religioso: et l'anno vigesimosettimo dopò il transito del Patriarca S. Domenico: et della nostra salute l'anno mille ducento, e quarantanove." (*Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino*, p. 17.)

† What has been so profoundly said of the bearing of the sciences on each other, can also be said *mutatis mutandis* of the various portions of theological truth in their mutual relations. Speaking of "Sciences," Dr. Newman says:—" . . . viewed altogether, they become the nearest approximation to a representation or subjective reflection of the objective truth, possible to the human mind, which advances towards accurate apprehension of that object, in proportion to the number of sciences it has mastered; and which, when certain sciences are wanting, in such a case has but a defective apprehension, in proportion to the value of the sciences which are thus wanting, and the importance of the field in which they are employed." (*Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education*, Disc. III, p. 72-73.) This seems to have been the view of the Doctor—to fill up the outline which had been given by the Bachelor to the student, and to point out the relation of part to part.

or to diverge from it, would be disentangled and explained ; till, finally, by the application of a process of masterly synthesis, each several line would be drawn into its position and adjusted ; so that what at first, in the eyes of a casual observer, appeared to be an insignificant and inorganic particle or atom, lies mapped out before the wondering eye, like those webs spreading in the morning grass, when the dew still lies on the ground, and the fresh beam slopes across the meadows.

Whilst the Angelical was thus diving into the ocean of thought, and bringing up and displaying the rich marvels which he found there, the Bachelor who had the privilege to teach under his direction was engaged in a duty which, indeed, required plenty of brain, though hardly so wide an experience.* He would occupy himself in giving the young men a compendious and general survey of theological teaching, showing them the lie of the land, and commenting also upon the "Sentences" of the Lombard. Thus depth, breadth, and orthodoxy, went hand in hand with accuracy and minute investigation, in the formation of the expanding mind.†

Who had the good fortune to teach as Bachelor at this period, in the School of the Angelical, unfortunately remains uncertain. Some say that it was the Saint's friend Hanibald, who wrote a Commentary on the "Sentences," who was made Master of the Sacred Palace by Pope Alexander IV. and Urban IV. ; and, being subsequently raised to the Sacred College, died six years after his elevation ; others, that it was Br. Romanus de' Ursini, the nephew of Pope Nicholas III. ; others, finally, that it was Peter of Tarantasia, who succeeded Pope Gregory X. in the Pontifical authority.‡ This much, anyhow, is certain, that these three able men went through their course at the College

* What must have been of immense advantage in the school of S. Thomas was, that he, as well as Albert, had introduced the principle that logic was not an end but a *means*. Abelard and his set had used it, and taught others to use it, simply as a display—as acrobats show off their agility on a sack in the streets:—"Il fut positivement déclaré," says Hauréan, "par Albert-le-Grand, et par saint Thomas et par tous les adhérents de l'école Thomiste, que l'exercice logique est simplement une préparation à l'étude, à la connaissance de la vérité. C'est un autre breton, Duns Scot, qui vint le premier, au treizième siècle, méconnaître ces distinctions nécessaires, et compromettre la logique en prétendant l'appeller à de plus nobles emplois." (*De La Philosophie Scholastique*, Tom. I., Chap. II., p. 33.)

† Carle, in his *Life of S. Thomas*, says that the office of teaching was held very high indeed: "Le doctorat était alors un honneur immense; c'était presque un second épiscopat dans l'Eglise . . . on regardait l'enseignement comme un autre sacerdoce." (*Cf. Gibell, p. 74, note.*)

‡ "Entrato all'ufficio di dottore (e ciò fu nell'anno 1257) prese a reggere una scuola, avendo sotto di sé un baccelliere. Secondo l'avviso di alcuni, il baccelliere fu il celebre Annibaldo intimo amico di Tommaso: altri portano opinione che fosse il Padre Romano della famiglia degli Orsini; alcuni sono di credere che fosse Pietro da Tarantasia, che poi sublimato alla cattedra di S. Pietro prese il nome d'Innocenzo V. L'Angelico Dottore nel suo magisterio lasciò ogni altro lunghissimo spazio addietro, e veramente come aquila levossi a volo sopra tutti e filosofi e teologi. Secondochè si è detto di sopra, l'ufficio di professore non gli toglieva che' non venisse recando in iscrittura bellissime opere, nelle quali quasi a prova spiccavano la sapienza e la santità di lui. Indirizzò al suo diletto amico il padre Reginaldo un Trattato di Teologia, che solo basterebbe a far chiara fede della sublimità del suo ingegno." (*Gibell, Capo XIX. p. 74; see Braville, Chap. XVIII.; Tournon, Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p. 131; Werner, Vol. I., British Capitol, p. 213.*)

of S. James, and received the Doctor's cap between the years 1256 and 1260.

After the Angelical had lectured during the course of a year, as *Primarius Regens*, he was obliged, in accordance with the laws of the University, to make way for another Professor. It was contrary to rule that any Master should teach in the same school for more than three years consecutively. The Saint, however, was fully occupied in matters concerning the interests of his Order.* He was employed to preach the Lenten Sermons at S. James's. A month later he was summoned to Valenciennes. Here the General Chapter of the Dominicans was being held. One of the principal objects which the Fathers had in view was thoroughly to examine the studies, and to place them in the best possible state of efficiency. A Commission was formed to carry out this object. It was composed of the most prudent and most celebrated Dominicans of the schools, viz.: Albertus Magnus, Thomas of Aquino, Bonushomo, Florence of Gaul, and Peter of Tarantasia.† These men soon set earnestly to work. They effected a complete reformation and reorganization of the course. The result of their deliberations was drawn out at length in the Acts of the General Chapter of Valenciennes—the thirty-sixth since the foundation of the Order by S. Dominic. Werner assures us that the influence of the changes produced by this Commission are felt by the students in the Dominican schools to the present day.‡

But the University of Paris, which had been at one period so violently opposed to the Dominicans professing divinity at all, now that it had discovered how great a *prestige* the Angelical had given to the schools, implored him to return. The authorities said they were most desirous to set on one side the law which excluded him from the theologic chair, and that no time ought to be lost in his resuming his old position as a Doctor in the schools. The Saint complied with their request. He

* "Nachdem er sein Jahr als *Regens Primarius* vollendet hatte, musste er den academischen Gesetzen gemäss seine Lehrkanzel an einen Nachfolger abtreten; es war keinem erlaubt, länger als drei Jahre ununterbrochen in einer und derselben Schule zu lehren. Dafür widmete er sich im Jahre 1259 desto eifriger den von seinem Orden ihm auferlegten Verpflichtungen; er hielt während der Fastenzeit die Predigten in der Kirche zu St. Jacob, und einen Monat später verfügte er sich zu dem auf das Pfingstfest in Valenciennes zusammenberufenen Ordenskapitel um im Vereine mit Albertus M. Bonushomo, Florenz dem Gallier und Peter von Tarantasia Anträge zu einer neuen Organisation der Ordensstudien zu übernehmen. Die zufolge dessen ausgearbeitete Studienordnung ist in den Dominicauerklöstern theilweise noch heut zu Tage in Übung; sie findet sich nach ihrem vollständigen Texte in den Acten des Generalscapitels von Valenciennes, des sechsunddreissigsten seit der Stiftung des Ordens." (Werner, *Vol. I., Viertes Capitel*, p. 214.)

† "Nous lisons dans les Chroniques de l'Ordre de S. Dominique, que notre Saint se trouva au Chapitre Général tenu l'an 1259 à Valenciennes, Ville des Pays-Bas en Hainaut. Il fut chargé par les Supérieurs de dresser quelques règlements pour les études, et on lui joignit dans ce travail, quatre autres Docteurs de Paris, entre lesquels étoient Albert le Grand, et Pierre de Tarantaise. Les Loix fort sages, et très-propres pour avancer, et perfectionner les études, qu'ils firent de concert, furent acceptées, dit le P. Echar, et suivies dans tout l'Ordre." (Tournon, *Liv. II., Chap. VII.*, p. 163.)

‡ See *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 214.

appeared once again in his former place. The crowds which had pressed around him before, and had, like the tide, receded at his departure—now he had come again, assembled in still greater throngs than ever.* And thus he continued pouring out his matured wisdom, forming theologians, and building up the Church of God, until obedience summoned him away to other duties.

A man like S. Thomas could not continue lecturing for any length of time, in a great University town like Paris, without attracting notice, and multiplying fame. The Holy See, which had ever kept a watchful and cautious eye upon this great centre of intellectual activity, which never forgot the deeds of learned men, and which ever knew how to turn such men to the best account, summoned the Angelical to Rome. Whether this order was given by Pope Alexander IV. (1260), or by Urban IV., has never been clearly ascertained. One thing is certain, that the Roman Pontiff desired to have this prudent and mighty councillor at his side.† Where we find the Sovereign Pontiff, there we are sure to find the Angelical. Though he never omitted lecturing, still he continued with the Pope. Not only Rome, but Civita Vecchia, Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, and other cities of Italy, received the great theologian, and hung upon his lips. He preached in their churches, he taught in their schools. And thus, either at Paris, or Rome, or Bologna, or Naples, the great Angelical passed away his life, pouring out the golden stream of theologic lore, and silently, and with an heroic perseverance, working out one object, to the realization of which, since his early youth, he seems to have dedicated his entire life.‡

There was nothing desultory in the career of the Angelical. The same wisdom which taught him as a boy to abandon the

* The position of the Saint in the schools may be gathered from the following words of Professor Gibelli:—"Dalla Spagna, dall' Inghilterra, dall' Allemagna, dalla Polonia e da' più remoti paesi traevano a gran numero giovani e uomini alla Università di Parigi (che di questa sola la materia, che ho alle mani, vuole che io faccia menzione) e accessamente, molto di là da nostra usanza, si davano agli studii. Grande era ne' professori il sapere, grande era in essi l'emulazione della scienza, grande l'autorità; grande negli scolari la brama di venire effettivamente dotti. Degno di essere ritornate in vita erano le leggi, per le quali i professori scolari e regolari dovevano di concordia mirare all'aumento delle scienze e alla gloria della Religione." (*Vita di San Tommaso d'Aquino*, Cap. XVI., p. 64.)

† "Die Hochschule zu Paris hielt es für eine Ehrenpflicht, die gesetzlichen Beschränkungen aufzuheben, durch welche Thomas zur Zeit wenigstens an der weiteren Fortsetzung seiner öffentlichen Lehrthätigkeit verhindert war, und lud ihn ein, neben den übrigen Doctoren seine Vorträge wieder aufzunehmen. Thomas entsprach dieser Aufforderung, und fuhr fort, in Paris zu lehren, bis er, entweder noch unter Alexander IV. (1260) oder unter dessen Nachfolger Urban IV., zu gleichem Zwecke nach Rom berufen wurde, und sowohl hier als auch in anderen Städten Italiens, in welchen sich die Päpste eben aufhielten, in Civita Vecchia, Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, als Lehrer wirkte, nebstdem, dass sein Rath in wichtigsten Angelegenheiten, in welchen die wissenschaftliche Einsicht den entscheidenden Anschlag gab, von allen Seiten, selbst von den Päpsten vertrauensvoll zu Rathe gezogen wurde." (Werner, *Erster Band*, *Viertes Capitel*, p. 214.)

‡ Per obbedienza dava lezioni in tutte quelle città nelle quali si conduceva il Pontefice; chò questi non consentiva mai di dipartirlo da sé. Per la qual cosa a Viterbo, e Orvieto, e Fondi, e Perugia furono liete di quel beneficio ed onore, di che le più illustri città si davano vanto. Da per tutto e' porgevasi esempio perfettissimo di ogni virtù, da per tutto destava in molti nobilissima brama di verace scienza, da per tutto lasciava di sé inestimabile desiderio." (Gibelli, *Capo XXII.*, p. 86; Werner, *Erster Band*, *Viertes Capitel*, p. 214.)

Abbey, and to join the Dominicans, taught him also how to turn his vocation to best account. An ordinary man might have made the same step without foreseeing or looking forward to the like results. But the early development of our Saint's judgment, and his talents, must be remembered.*

Excepting the shock he suffered when driven from the great Abbey in early days, and the trials of his vocation, and the annoyance given him by the tumultuous friends of William of S. Amour, his career had been one of peace, contemplation, and uneventful labour in the schools. From the period of his imprisonment at San Giovanni, where he learnt to love the Scriptures, the Stagyrte, and the "Sentences," till he was raised to the honours of the Doctorate, it may be said, without exaggeration, that his life had been one uninterrupted *curriculum* of study. And then, again, from the time he received his Doctor's cap, till he gave himself up, weary and broken, into the hands of S. Benedict, at Fossa Nuova, viz., during a period of about seventeen years, the whole energy of his vast mind was concentrated on deep problems and on intellectual pursuits, on fulfilling that exalted mission which Providence had called upon him to accomplish.†

The Angelical belongs to the highest order of human greatness. In him the intellect is sovereign. And not only is he supreme in intellect, but the texture of his mind, its breadth, accuracy, and balance, its quickness, vivacity, and depth, rank him with Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and then his illumination through the influence of grace, and the knowledge he acquired through the light of revelation, at once lifts him to a more commanding eminence than could possibly have been attained through the power of mere human genius and unassisted reason.‡

* See how the Angelical's teaching bears upon the intuition of truth. Speaking of contemplation, Frigerio gives the doctrine of the Saint thus:—"E perche il fine col principio si conforma, quindi è, che la vita contemplativa ha per iscopo l'affetto verso di Dio. *Hæc est perfectio contemplative vite*, dice egli in questo proposito, *ut scilicet non solum divina veritas videatur, sed etiam ametur*: e questo amore si raccende nell'anima contemplante, col fissare i sguardi nel sommo bene, con molto maggior felicità di quello che avenga all'amor sensitivo col mirar frequentemente gli oggetti amati; sicché questo divin dono della sapientia dalla carità non mai disgiunto, fu per questa cagione da esso agli altri doni preferito." (*Lib. III., Cap. II., n. 1, p. 130.*)

† Gibelli gives the whole temper of his intellectual life in the following words, and shows the bias of his mind:—"Quanto al vivere, pochissimo gli bastava, nè del pochissimo mai si dava pensiero; sempre fra sè rivolgende cose pertinenti agli studi o allo spirito non ponendo mente ai cibi, che si metteva a bocca; e così nè quel tempo pure gli andava a vuoto. Dopo mangiare, e rendute le grazie, era usato di leggere ad esempio di S. Domenico le Conferenze di Cassiano. Domandato del profitto che ne trasse rispose: ne raccolgo divoti sentimenti, che confortano il mio spirito a levarsi più agevolmente alla contemplazione dell'Essere supremo." (*Vita di San Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XI., p. 49.*)

‡ The following words of Frigerio are proof abundant of his great illumination in very early life:—"Risonava per tutto Napoli la fama di Tomaso, celebrandosi per ogni parte con la chiarezza de'suoi natali gli angelici suoi costumi, e gli altri ornamenti e qualità sue personali: ma egli di tali honori non curante, rivolse l'animo a cose maggiori; glorificandosi non d'esser già mondano filosofo, ma ben d'esser discepolo del Signore, e di seguitar nudo Christo sotto la acorta e asperità della Religione: pensiero principiato in lui fin dal tempo che fu in Monte Casino, e poi maturato e stabilito in Napoli finito il corso della filosofia." (*Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Lib. I., Cap. II., n. 5, p. 10.*)

The Angelical selected his department of Church labour: he forged the weapons which other men have had to use; he lived in the world of moral and scientific thought; he abode in his place; he sold himself over, to labour and to toil without respite in his grand vocation; he had that courage, generosity, and sacrifice, in an eminent degree, without which nothing lasting can be accomplished. There was no sloth, cowardice, or want of perseverance in the Angel of the Schools. He possessed time and opportunities such as no Doctor of the Universal Church was ever able to command, and he carried out a giant task such as not one of the columnal Fathers can be said even to have attempted.*

It is only by patiently studying the labours and advantages, the methods and the means of the Angelical, that we can appreciate his services to the world. It is only by carefully considering and comparing his career with the lives of the great classic Fathers of theology, that we can arrive at an adequate idea of his exceptional position. No man in the whole range of Church history stands out like the Angel of the Schools as a prince of constructive theology; no man ever combined in such large proportions the ability, time, opportunity, and perseverance necessary for effecting a master-work.†

To put this statement to the test of facts will not only be to point out the position of the Saint, but it will also bring before the reader, in the most vivid manner, a notion of the wide influence he has exerted over the Christian world.

Enough has already been advanced regarding the opinions of Popes, Councils, and Universities, to prepare the mind for this investigation:‡ It was not the life of an ordinary student that the Angelical lived. It was not merely the simple solitude, and continual study and instruction, which built him up into what he eventually became; but it was the force of his abstraction from creatures, and the vividness with which he grasped and realized the unseen world of moral perfection and of theologic truth.

* In the midst of the few distractions he had, which were after all intellectual, the mind of the Angelical was ever tranquilly resting in its natural home:—"Avvegna ch'è fosse sempre inteso a soddisfare a coloro, che li venivano domandando di assai cose pertinenti alle scienze o allo spirito, e sebbene molte gravi quistioni e molti rilevanti partiti da esaminare avesse sempre alle mani, pure manteneva continuo la tranquillità dell'animo, la chiarezza della mente, non che quella perfetta signoria, che acquistato avea di sè medesimo. E in ciò, per mio avviso, dimorava la non ultima ragione di quelle ben aggringate brevi e pronte risposte, le quali opportunamente veniva altrui facendo. Ne ricorderò una sola: domandato egli un giorno che modo avesse a tenere culmi, il quale desiderasse di venire veramente dotto, egli, quasi molto tempo prima a ciò pensato avesse, di subito rispose: leggere un libro solo." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Capo XXII., p. 86. Seconda Ediz.)

† The truth of this assertion, which is by no means made rhetorically or at random, will come out during the course of the following chapters. The Fathers have each of them strongly-marked characteristics; but in the main they resemble each other as athletes of the Cross in dark days: the Angelical was a student—a contemplative, the great thinker of the Church, possessing the most architectonic mind she has ever produced.

‡ The thesis, as it were, has been first clearly stated, now it has to be proved. It is evident that the Angelical's was a master-mind, how it was such, how it differs from others, will become evident as the character and career of the great Fathers are considered.

His loneliness was by no means the result of mystic dreaming. It was the consequence of the most intense activity, of the most engrossing occupation. Years spent by such a mind as his in one deep study could not have been without their effect. A life-time of intimate communication with the Fount and Origin of all that is Beautiful and True, must have enriched an intellect of such capacity as his.* No man could have lived his life, unless he had been a partaker of a Divine companionship; no man could have given to the world what he has written, except his intellect had been illuminated by a higher power than man's, and unless he had possessed a mighty gift of concentrative intuition into problems of scientific thought.

It will be well briefly to recall to mind the general characteristics of his career. It may be remembered that in Naples, as a youth, he created universal admiration by his transcendent logical ability. Then he came in contact with John a S. Facundo. The Dominicans were famed for the depth and brilliancy of their teachers. What the Jesuits have been in these latter days, that, the Dominicans were then. Heresy had to be repressed, not only by the Inquisition, but also by the store of learning and logic on the side of truth.† To manifest this learning, to throw knowledge into shape by means of this logic, to cleanse, purify, and convert the raw material of thought into a finished scientific consistency, to give unity to the multiplicity of truth, to display its complicated structure, to bring out its claims upon the allegiance of the mind by means of a thousand independent arguments, each separate, yet each witnessing to the other, to overpower the mind by the sheer force of its effulgence:—this was one of the principal aims of the great Masters in the later portion of the middle ages.

It is scarcely probable that the Angelical left the Benedictines merely to become a Dominican Professor. It is scarcely probable that the *Summa* was a simple after-thought. Whether the Saint was blindly led by Providence, or whether his one great work broke upon him by degrees, we have no means of ascertaining with absolute certainty.‡

Yet his history, from the very first, points directly to the issue of his life. His course was straight and direct towards

* For a full account of his abstraction of life, see Frigerio, *Ltb. III., Delle gratie gratis date*, Cap. II., p. 130—137; Cap. III., p. 137—141.)

† "Sentiva anche non senza gran frutto dell'anima sua le spirituali esortazioni, che fra le domestiche pareti a' frati rifacevano, alle quali come fosse uno di essi, era introdotto, e in questa maniera venne soavemente ad affezionarsi a quell'istituto; parendoli di non poter meglio aumentare il talento donatogli dalla divina Maestà, che col rendersi religioso di quel sacro Ordine, che oltre la vita contemplativa quivi professata, è anche in gran parte rivolto allo sterpamento dell'heresie, e alla dilatazione del Vangelo." (*Ltb. I., Capo II., n. 6, p. 11.*)

‡ The following concise words of Werner recall the Divine Providential Eye which was watching and guiding the Saint from the very first:—"Noch vor seiner Geburt hatte ein frommer Einsiedler der Mutter den zukünftigen Ruhm des Sohnes geweissagt; der ihm beigelegte

one point. Had he possessed, as I feel inclined to think he did possess, an intuition of the future, his preparation for it could not have been more complete. Does not the "*Quid esset Deus*" of his boyhood ask a question which is answered in the *Summa* of his declining age? The very books found in his prison form the broad basis of his greatest work: the Bible—Revelation; the Lombard—Tradition and the Fathers; Aristotle—Reason. These master-works he is said to have got by heart, or at all events so thoroughly to have grasped, as to have been completely imbued with their spirit and their force. Next, we find him studying under Albert the Great, at Cologne, at Paris, then at Cologne again, and at Paris once more. His superiors had discovered the quality of his genius. The versatility, wide information, and many-sided energy of Albert, were brought to bear upon the formation of his character and mind. Unquestionably he had had many an anxious discussion with his master, not only on deep subjects of theology, but also on what was beginning to occupy men's minds—on vast systems and profound methods of organizing truth.* It would seem almost impossible for a mind like the Angelical's to grasp the "Sentences," and to comment on them, without being carried beyond the steady, yet narrow and somewhat unscientific process of their author. If the Lombard had done so much—had raised a breakwater against the rising tide of rationalism and irreverence, could not the highest gifts of reason be turned round in the service of the Church? could not irreverence be shown to be irrational; and the fundamental virtues and graces of a Christian heart to be simply the most perfect development of the noblest moral gifts of man? Could the Angelical possibly have known all he did know, and have lived under the influences which were brought to bear upon him, without feeling a solemn call to sacrifice his life in the prosecution of a vocation worthy of his exceptional abilities?†

Name Thomas wurde etymologisch auf die abgründige Tiefe der heiligen Wissenschaft des gott-erleuchteten Lehrers gedeutet; in seiner zartesten Kindheit blieb er unversehrt, als ein Blitz in's Gemach einschlug und neben ihm seine kleine Schwester tödtete; ein einziges Mal zeigte er durch Thränen gegen die mütterlichen Befehle Widerstreben, als er ein mit den Worten Ave Maria beschriebenes Blatt, das er selbst im Bade festhielt, aus seinen Händchen geben sollte; da er es wieder zurückbekommen, nahm er es in den Mund und verschluckte es, den Propheten nachahmend, der die ihm von Gott dargereichte Buchrolle verschlang.—*Ezech., III., 2.*" (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Erstes Capitel, p. 4.*)

* He could hardly have been so intimate with the Dominicans as he was, without touching on points which were of greatest interest in every way to them. Expanding truth, and eradicating error, these were their two great occupations:—"Tommaso, a cui da buon tempo erano in ammirazione le insigni virtù di questi religiosi, avea in costume di condursi a quando a quando al loro convento di Napoli, e non senza sua consolazione usava con quei buoni padri, ai quali, venutogli il destro, ebbe aperto il segreto del suo cuore. Avea in ispezialità in altissima riverenza un cotai padre Giovanni da San Giuliano, uomo compinto d'ogni virtù e fornito di singolare discernimento; con esso assai gli era a grado di conferire di questo suo desiderio, e semprechè ciò faceva, tutto ardeva di entrarè in religione." (*Gibelli, di San Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. IV., p. 22.*)

† According to Bareille, the Benedictine monks at Monte Cassino soon discovered how great a mind was in their midst. And this is all the more worthy of remark, as the Angelical was only five years of age, according to this author, when he entered the Abbey:—"Les rares

The hand of Providence, the dispositions of superiors, the circumstances of his life, the very subjects which he taught, the points on which he wrote—all concentrate, like the rays of light on a burning-glass, upon the one great achievement of his life, upon the *Summa Theologica*.

This *Summa* was the destiny of the Angelical. As naturalists assure us that there are creatures whose one simple end in life is to produce another life, and having accomplished that, to die; so, in a measure, was it with our great Angelical. He seems to have been born into this world to achieve one masterful work, to erect his mighty acropolis, and then to be called away.* The *Summa Theologica*, though written quickly, and at the end of his career, was his one life's labour. It was his great legacy to humanity. It absorbed all his powers, and used up all his knowledge, and employed all the breadth of his vast mind, and all the illumination of grace, accompanied by a pure and abstracted life, to produce that one result.

What are all his other labours but preparations for this *opus summum*? Without such an explanation, his writings become confused and unmeaning fragments, the scattered fruits of intense thought and study, without any appropriate end. If a man goes abroad, and comes upon a heap of stones here, a column there, here a capital, there the portion of a roof, with wood and quarried work, and tiles, and slabs, and sashes, and all the ordinary signs of building—he at once perceives that these materials, though different in kind, are destined to take their place in giving unity to one grand conception; and if, after a time, he returns and finds some splendid pile there, and recognizes in its walls, and roof, and shafts, and capitals,† the

qualités qui distinguaient l'intelligence et le cœur de Thomas furent promptement remarquées par ses nouveaux maîtres. Ils seulesurent comprendre que la Providence veulいた de remettre entre leurs mains un talent d'une valeur peu commune. Sans qu'il leur fût possible d'en calculer tout le prix, ils sentirent vaguement que, par leur acceptation même, ils devenaient redevables, non-seulement à l'égard d'une grande famille, mais encore vis-à-vis de toute la chrétienté. Il y eut au Mont-Cassin, au moment où Thomas entra dans cette demeure, comme un écho des paroles prophétiques recueillies à Rocca-Sicca, avant la naissance de cet enfant. On eût dit que le cœur de ces pieux solitaires ressentait d'avance le poids de ses grandes destinées." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. II., p. 15, quatr. édit.)

* Though he does not develop his thought, it is evident that Professor Gibelli looks upon the *Summa* as the result of a fixed plan. He calls it a "terminus flasso d'alto consiglio," towards which S. Thomas had directed his mighty gifts and glorious studies. The following are his words:—"Intorno a quel tempo Tommaso, comechè non cessasse mai d'intendere coll'usato ardore e all'insegnamento e alla predicatione e a dettare quando un Trattato quando un altro, e sebbene egli il più del tempo fosse dato alle accessue sue preghiere e a quelle sublimi contemplazioni che lo aiutavano a crescere in santità, pose mano a quell'Opera, la quale fu e sarà mai sempre la maraviglia di tutti i dotti. Parlo della sua *Summa Teologica*, alla quale come a terminus flasso d'alto consiglio avea volto il potentissimo suo ingegno, e i gloriosi suoi studi." (*Capo XXV*, p. 94.)

† It may be remarked that the word *Summa* means a collection. "*Summa* latina vox est a prisca, recentioribusque Latinis auctoribus usitata; et quemadmodum peritiores ante nos observarunt, collectionem quandam, sive contractionem significat: quæ cum esse possit vel numerorum, vel sententiarum, vel aliarum rerum; fit, ut *Summa* numerorum, *Summa* sententiarum, et hujusmodi dicere latine et eleganter possimus. *Circumspicis rebus omnibus, rationibusque subductis* (inquit Cicero) *summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium*; hoc est, collegi, ad certæ capitæ contraxi cogitationes meas omnes. Proinde quia collectio omnis et contractio, angustia quedam et brevitatis esse videtur constat hæc voce significari brevitatem, et angustiam quandam; unde formula illæ loquendi ortæ sunt, ad summam dicere, loqui in summa, et hujusmodi quæ significant brevibus paucisque completi nos velle ea, de quibus verba facturi sumus." (Hieron. Vicini, *De Div. Thom. Aquinat. Doct.*, Lib. II., p. 113–114.)

materials he had before seen scattered on the ground, does he not take for granted that the preparation he had seen was the result of careful calculation; and that the architect, before he had given out a single drawing, had thoroughly matured his entire plan;—that he had a distinct scope in view, and was steadily working towards it; that each board and stone, each tile and frame, did not contain its meaning in itself, but alone could be interpreted when brought into relation with the general design? Would he not say, “Those were the materials, this is the grand result?”*

This is precisely the case with the Angelical. Take all his works, his “*Catena Aurea*,” his “Commentary” on the Lombard, his “*Quodlibeta*,” his “*Quæstiones Disputatæ*,” his “*Contra Gentiles*,” his “Compendium of Theology,” even his very first brochures, as well as his voluminous writings on Aristotle and on the Gospels, on Job and on S. Paul—take whatever he has written as it lies scattered up and down his life, whether it come under Revelation, Tradition, or Reason, whether it be the foundation, or the columns, or the buttresses, and you will recognize it, though it may be cast in a different form, as occupying its place in the vast creation of the *Summa Theologica*. So true is this, that those who succeeded this great architect were enabled, from the materials which he himself had drawn together, to complete the edifice which he had left unfinished.†

Combining the parts is the smallest labour of a great architectonic work. Genius lies, first, in conceiving the entire plan; then, in collecting material in sufficient quantity; and, finally, in fashioning each separate portion into shape. When this has been accomplished, then the work is all but ended. The *Summa* was written in a few years; the preparation for writing it occupied an entire life-time of uninterrupted thought and study.

What, then, it will be asked, is this *Summa Theologica*? It is the Christian religion thrown into scientific form, and the

* The whole tendency of the thirteenth century was towards a synthesis of some kind. Men had had enough of fragmentary teaching. Albert's work was too ponderous, it was a mere quarry—of which the Angelical by the way made good use, and neither clear nor precise enough for the student; the Lombard was still commented on and prized; yet the very study of his work had opened men's minds to see beyond him; it had educated them beyond itself, and had indicated many things which it had not carried out. The Angelical's *Summa* is by far the most symmetrical and precise amongst all the digests which have appeared in the schools. No man, even in these days, could construct a *Summa* according to modern wants, without appearing at least to imitate the Angel of the Schools. This points to his elevation of mind which could see so far even into our day.

† Here are some of the philosophers, orators, and poets mentioned in the *Summa*:—“Aristoteles, Algazel, Alexander, Andronicus, Aristophanes, Averroës, Avicenna, Avempace, Avicbron, Boetius, Cajus Jurisconsultus, Democritus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Euclides, geometer; Gilbertus Porretanus, Heraclitus, Horatius, poeta lyricus; Jul. Cesar, de Bello Gallico, historicus; Leneippus, Liber de Causis, Liber Stratagemmatum Francorum; Macrobius, super Somnium Scipionis; Marcus Tullius Cicero, orator; Ovidius Naso; Plato, Peripatetici, Plotinus, Pittacus Mitylenæus, Porphyrius, Pythagoras, Ptolomæus, astronomus; Seneca orator; Sallustius, historiographus; Simplicius, Socrates, Sophista; Stoici, Strabon, Terentius poeta comicus; Titus Livius, historicus; Trimegistus, Varro, Valerius Maximus, orator; Vegetius, de re militari.” (Vid. Opp., Tom. X., Index Novus, p. 572. Ed. Romæ, MDCCCLXXIII.)

orderly exposition of what a man should be. The Angelical had studied the mind of the Church. In as far as is given to man, he had mastered that Divine intelligence.* And just as a Carlo Dolce would pore over some beautiful face, with its sweet modest expression, with its delicate colouring, with its soft-rounded features; just as he would note every shade and tint, to the light living in the eye, and the curve playing on the lips; just as he would photograph all this upon his imagination, and then, with inimitable tenderness and skill, reproduce it upon the glowing canvass—so with the Angelical. He spent his days in the study of the lineaments and expression of the spotless Bride of Christ. To reproduce the likeness of her beauty was the labour of his life; his mind was in harmony with her gracefulness;—for Her radiance is not corporeal: it is the truth, goodness, and harmony of her high supernatural commission which lends to her that loveliness which comes straight from the Eternal Throne.

The mind of the Church, unlike the simple face of a Madonna, is vast, deep, and difficult to grasp, on account of its awful oneness and sublime multiplicity. The Church's mind is reflected in her history; there is a human element in it, as well as a Divine. She has her great giants who are born to her, who fight for her, who die away and are succeeded by others; whilst she, ever young, strong, and beautiful, sweeps on from age to age towards the revelation of her final glory.† Unlike decaying and fickle man, her mind is ever one. As she advances, bleeding, out of the first tragic periods of her history, she unfolds her sympathies more and more. Her enemies maliciously strike at her, and her champions ward off the blow. Her voice, shrill as the bugle, speaks by the mouth of a glorious line of Pontiffs, who live and die, whilst the spirit which animates them goes on without a shadow of alteration or vicissitude. She holds in her hand the Book of the Revelation of the Supernatural Life; she appeals to the past as a confirmation of the present, and she fearlessly challenges her opponents to point out a flaw in her heavenly armour—one single seam through which the glittering point of human reason can penetrate and

* These Popes (the infallible exponents of the Church's mind) help in the construction of the *Summa*:—"Adrianus, Papa; Alexander, Primus Martyr; Alexander III.; Anacletus, Martyr; Agatho, Papa; Bonifacius, Papa; Calixtus, Martyr; Celestinus III.; Clemen. Martyr; Damasus, Papa; Eusebius, Papa; Fabianus, Martyr; Felix, Papa; Gregorius I., Gregorius VII.; Gelasius, Martyr; Honorius III.; Hornusda, Papa; Joannes, Papa; Innocentius II., Innocentius III., Julius, Papa; Leo I., Leo IV., Lucius III., Martinus, Papa; Marcellus, Martyr; Nicolaus, Papa; Paschalis, Papa; Pelagius, Papa; Pius, Papa; Sergius, Papa; Soter, Martyr; Stephanus, Martyr; Stephanus V., Silvester, Papa; Symmachus, Papa; Telesphorus, Martyr; Urbanus, Martyr; Urbanus II., Zephirinus, Martyr." (Vid. *Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinat., Tom. X., Index Nomin., p. 572.*)

† The Angelical studied her also in her Councils, viz.:—"Constantinopolitana, Nicæa, Tolemana, Arausicanum, Ephesinum, Meldense, Aurelianense, Calcedonense, Lateranense, Carthaginense IV., Uvonicense, Agatense, Triburiense, Africanum, Remense, Arelatense, Milevitanum, Ancyranum, Moguntinum." (Vid. *Opp., Loco Citato.*)

wound her.* Her majesty, her grace, her radiant purity, the supernatural character of her whole intelligence and action, the tenderness of her mother's love—all is displayed to captivate the heart of man and to make it fit for heaven. The magic which springs with her elastic step, the beaming of her countenance, the sparkling of her eye—all tell of her Divine Original, of the triumph of an hundred victories, and of the glories of her supernatural crown.

To draw out her picture in such a way that men might understand it, was the life's labour of our Saint. The *Summa Theologica* is, after all, but the scientific exposition of those principles which actuate her life, and lend to her entire being its supernatural loveliness.†

The vastness of the preparation must correspond to the greatness of the work to be achieved. He who would build a mighty temple, must sink foundations in proportion, must cut out massive columns, and must quarry for the walls. He who would give a transcript of the mind of the Universal Church, must be prepared to prosecute studies proportionate to the immensity of such an undertaking.

What are the principal instruments necessary for grasping the Church's mind? Those very studies which the Angelical had engaged in from early youth. They are principally three: the study of Revelation—of the Old Law, and of the New Covenant; the study of Tradition, that is, of the teachings of the Fathers, the Sovereign Pontiffs, and the Councils of the Church; and finally, the study of that Intellectual Science, or Philosophy, which shows the mind how these vast subjects, with all their various groups of truths and principles, can be set up in unity—like the human organism, which is in one sense many, though in another only one.‡

* No! she is strong, and man is weak. She brought a remedy for guilt, and for moral impotence. And "thus it is that Christianity is the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, and of the Mosaic revelations; this is how it has been able from the first to occupy the world, and gain a hold on every class of human society to which its preachers reached: this is why the Roman power, and the multitude of religions which it embraced, could not stand against it; this is the secret of its sustained energy, and its never-flagging martyrdoms; this is how at present it is so mysteriously potent, in spite of the new and fearful adversaries which beset its path. It has with it that gift of staunching and healing the one deep wound of human nature, which avails more for its success than a full encyclopædia of scientific knowledge, and a whole library of controversy, and therefore it must last whilst human nature lasts. It is a living truth, which never can grow old." (*Grammar of Assent*, Part II., Chap. X., p. 482. Third Ed.)

† Take the preparation, or rather a portion of the preparation of the Angelical in one branch of study alone, viz.: Pagan Philosophy as represented by Aristotle—of whom later. In the Parma edition of his works, his *Commentary* on the Stagyrice fills four large volumes. The first, pp. 1–538; the second, pp. 1–441; the third, pp. 1–654; and the fourth, pp. 1–760. When it is remembered what is the nature of Aristotle's writings, that they are in the highest degree logical and metaphysical, that intense application of the mind is necessary for mastering them—to say nothing of commenting on them, and of the fact that few men can fully comprehend some portions of them—some notion may be formed of the view taken by the Angelical regarding wide and deep study. If the substance of the *Summa* comes from Revelation and Tradition, the form in which it is cast, that is to say its framework, has been put together after deep study of Greek method and thought.

‡ Of course the above is not intended as an exhaustive summary of the *loci theologici*. Those who wish for more on this point will find all they could desire in *Melchior Canus*, that enlight-

He who could thoroughly master this three-fold matter, and discover that scientific form or organic structure which displays its mutual harmony and bearing; and through a spirit of supernatural purity could see the hidden things of the spirit; and through the clearness of the intellectual eye could intue the high truths of morality and religion—such a man, if gifted with transcendent ability, with opportunity and time, would be capable of constructing a *Summa Theologica*.

It would be a life's labour, it would be a saint's work, it would require all the reverence, love, purity, and adoration man could command, to bring his spirit into harmony with such a momentous subject. He should possess a genius of the supernatural order, and live away in the world unseen.*

Thus it is evident that the career of the Angelical from the first, the bias of his mind, the labours he engaged in, and the whole direction of his studies, point him out as prepared by Providence for achieving a special work for the Church of God.

The very fact of its being impossible to determine whether or no the Saint had seen his way to the end from the beginning, throws all the greater interest on his life. If he were preparing from the first, and had stretched forth consciously from his youth towards the accomplishment of his vocation, then a flood of light is cast on the character of his intelligence. If on the contrary he were simply led like a little child by the grace of Christ, till his life-object broke upon him, then how marvelously the guidance of an Unseen Hand directed all his ways!

It is necessary at present thus to touch upon the *Summa Theologica* in general, to look upon it as it were from afar—as one might gaze on the distant pyramids, in order to realize it sufficiently for the purpose in hand, though without being able, or deeming it necessary, to study it in detail.† There it stands,

ened reformer, who on this point, as well as many others, owes so much to the Stagyrite. His headings are ten:—I. *S. Scriptura* (v. *Th. Gen.*, § 149—163); II. *Traditio* (*Ibid.*, § 164—183); III. *Auctoritas, Ecclesie Catholice Traditio* (*Ibid.*, § 188—202, et § 207—209); IV. *Concilia præsertim Generalia* (*Ibid.*, § 204—206, et § 211); V. *Definitiones Rom. Pontificum* (*Ibid.*, § 210); VI. *Sancti Patres* (§ 178); VII. *Theologi Scholastici* (*Ibid.*, § 212); VIII. *Ratio Naturalis* (*Ibid.*, § 275—235); IX. *Philosophi*; X. *Historia Ecclesiastica et Profana* (*Ibid.*, § 10).

* As Frigerio says, the Angelical was filled with the spirit of S. Jerome, and of S. Paul the first hermit:—"Ma Tomaso con lo spirito di S. Girolamo, che antiponeva la tonica di San Paolo primo romito tessuta di palme alle porpore reali, rispose: Se il Signore desse a me l'elezione, molto più presto eleggerei le lomlie di S. Giovanni Crisostomo sopra S. Matteo, che l'esser padrone di Parigi, saggiamente proponendo la sapientia e la povertà di spirito a' regni ed agl'imperi; e fra laltre ragioni, che ne asserò, e volle insieme amministrate i suoi compagni, una fu: *Civitas enim hec, si easet nequa propter curam regimini contemplationem divinorum nihil eriperet, et consolationem animi impediret, quam Scriptura donaret. Quanto nanque quis amplius pro amore temporalium premitur, tanto periculosius a celestibus elongatur.*" (*Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino*, Lib. II., Capo X., n. 4, p. 120.)

† The profound view he had of the supernatural help of God, and the special assistance accorded to him, are clear indications of the will of God in his regard:—"Ma perchè la sapientia secondo la dottrina del nostro Santo propriamente consiste nel conoscimento di Dio e delle cose a lui appartenenti, noi per tanto in prima tratteremo della profonda scientia, a ch'egli pervenire delle sacre Scritture, essendone l'autore lo stesso Dio, il quale, come egli dice, dà le chiavi dell'intendimento ai Dottori della Chiesa, a'santi espositori, agli humili, agli amici dell'orazione, agl'innocenti, stando scritto: Nell'anima macolata e di mala volontà non entrerà la sapientia." (Frigerio, *Lib. III.*, Cap. I., n. 4, p. 125—126.)

a colossal monument for all time, witnessing, by its vast outline alone, to the labour, energy, and genius of him who set it in its place.

The fact of the *Summa* never having been completed, far from detracting from its greatness seems to prove it all the more. It was too enormous for any one man to begin and to accomplish. Had the Saint wholly finished it, perhaps we should find it difficult to realize its immensity. Had those vast piles—those splendid cathedrals, with their shafts, and colonnades, and arches, and solemn shade, and blazoned glass; with their massive towers, pinnacles and spires—been run up, in a life-time, as if by contract, we should think much more lightly of them than we do.* But when the life's work remains unfinished, and the hand which began it has fallen into dust, then a certain sadness presses in upon the mind, and we look on the majestic fragment with tenderness, and wonder at it, and venerate that creative brain and skilful hand which have left a token witnessing to the power of man, whilst at the same time it proclaims his absolute dependence on a Being more mighty than himself. We do not think the less of the Angelical because he did not put the last stroke to the *Summa Theologica*; nor is the monument practically injured by remaining unfinished: for the end it was intended to accomplish, it abundantly suffices. Though an outer work may have been omitted, the great central fortress, the real stronghold, the *Secunda Secunda*, stands out bold, distinct, and complete.†

It is this work which fixes the Angelical as the great champion of the Church. It was for this that he was numbered by Pope Pius V. amongst the Doctors. And the very act of ranking him amongst them suggests a comparison to the mind. All are glorious and great—but each in his own special line; each did

* Vielms thus gives the testimony of a learned man:—"Non gravabor his addere Antoni Campani Interamnatum Episcopi testimonium, quamquam prolixum nimis nonnullis videri potest. Sic enim de Doctore nostro loquitur: 'Thomas locupletissimus in Dialecticis; de quibus sic edidit, ut qui ejus precepta non negligerent, et fallere quemquam nolint, et falli ipsi a quoquam nullo modo possint. Locupletissimus in Philosophia; sive illa, quæ ad vite pertinet institutionem, et moralem appellamus; sive quæ in rerum natura versatur, et Julia, easus, eventusque complectitur, et Physicam nominamus; in qua et inventi ipse multa per se snopie ingenio; et aliorum inventa involuta et perplexa, splendidissima et distinctissima luce declaravit. Locupletissimus in scientia Divina, quam Theologicam nuncupamus; nec ullum est ænigma tam ambiguum, nullas tam intricatas nodus aut involverum nullæ tam obscuræ nubes, quas vir Dei sanctissimus non edocuit re-rexerit aperierit.'" (*De Div. Thomæ Aquinat. Doct. et Scriptis, Lib. II., p. 126. Brizio, MDCCXLVIII.*)

† A grave and learned man thus speaks of the great *Summa* of the Angelical, and his enthusiasm may in some way give an idea of its power. No cathedral, however vast and solemn, has made a poet speak with greater warmth than this:—"Longe mihi magis probari Summam Theologicam fateor. Cujus operis augustissimi præstantiam, si mihi sint linguæ centum, oraque centum, si cuncta corporis mei membra vertantur in linguas, et omnes artus humana voce resonent, nec plene narraverim, nec dignum aliquid ejus magnitudine et majestate dixerim. Res, quæ tractantur, diviniæ sunt; sententiæ sublimes, doctrina constans, et subtilis; stylus brevis, et nitidus; ordo pulcherrimus; methodus vero incomparabilis. Ita enim quesita inter se necit, ut aliud ex alio, posterius ex priori instar catenæ pendere, et lucem ac robur accipere videantur." (*Hieron. Vielms., De Div. Thomæ Aquinat. Doct., Lib. II., p. 111-112.*)

his particular service; each earned his own dazzling crown; each showed his valour, or his fortitude, or his political ability, or his eloquence, or his scientific intuition; each stands on the steps of the throne of the Immortal Queen, closer to her and more honourably placed than many others over whose heads circles the aureola.* What was their office? How did they differ? How does the Angelical stand in their regard? What had they to do with his renown?

These questions open out a vast field of thought, prolific with guiding principles and with governing ideas. And how can we refuse to enter into it? A general survey must be taken. How could the picture of the Angelical be drawn without painting in the light and colour which come from abroad, yet still belong to him? How could his position and intellect be adequately portrayed without touching on those influences which helped to secure to him the one, and did so much to expand and elevate the other? How could it be fairly shown that he assiduously studied the Church's mind, unless by pointing out how he came in contact with those who were her trusty servants, who had stood by her in days of storm, who had fought her battle, if they did not pour out the red stream of their lives in her defence?† Did he not hearken to their words, reverence all they said, feed his mind upon their thoughts, cherish them tenderly, and bind them in spirit to his heart as the noblest and fairest creations of Divine omnipotence? Is not the *Summa Theologica* tessellated with their gem-like sayings? and does not the Angel of the Schools, with that sweet modesty which is attached to genius, turn and shape his thoughts with their assistance? Without their steady guidance, how could even he have found his way through the labyrinths and obscurities of the Sacred Scriptures? Without them, what could he have known of the chequered history of the Church, of her adversaries, her combats, and her victories?‡ Have they not one and all,

* Taken in its most rigorous sense, a Father of the Church is a writer of dogma, external to the episcopate, who is a witness to the teachings of ecclesiastical antiquity. Very high qualifications are necessary to secure to any man so high a title. The following are at least the most important conditions: antiquity, orthodoxy in doctrine, sanctity of life, and either express or tacit approbation of the Church. In the Latin Church, the list of "Fathers" closes with S. Gregory (604); in the Greek, with S. John of Damascus (about 754). (For further information, see Fessler, *Institut. Patrologiæ*, Tom. I., p. 26-29; also Alzog, *Manuel de Patrologiæ*, § 2, p. 3, trad. par Bélet. Paris, 1867.)

† I need not refer, in a general way, to the broad contrast between the Catholic writers of the Greek and Latin Churches, in order to suggest to the reader how necessary it would be for anyone writing a *Summa* to master the leading characteristics of both schools. It appears to the present writer that the Angelical possessed many of the Greek characteristics. There is more in him (leaving out S. Augustine, who was cosmopolitan) of S. Justin, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, the Damascene, and the two Gregories, than of Tertullian, S. Cyprian, Lactantius, Arnobius, or S. Jerome. Anyhow, if he was under obligations to the Latin Fathers, he was no less beholden to the great Greek Philosophico-religious school. He must have been influenced by both, which after all is enough for the present purpose.

‡ Vichinus gives a very fair idea of the formation of a *Summa*, in which the teachings and principles of antiquity are collected, located, and adjusted:—"Laudat Plato Græcos," he says, "quod artes et disciplinas omnes, quas a barbaris acceperant, auferunt, et illustraverunt: et

Athanasius, and Basil, and Chrysostom, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Ambrose, as well as Nazianzus and Pope Gregory, in their place and measure, in East and West, established, confirmed, expanded, consolidated, as well as witnessed to the undeviating doctrines of the Church? Do we not, in looking at the *Summa Theologica*, recognize a pillar from Alexandria, a capital from Constantinople, marble from Bethlehem, concrete from Hippo, bases from Cappadocia, ornaments from Milan, and foundation-stones from Rome? Had not the Angelical that priceless gift of assimilating to his own plastic mind, by a certain spontaneous attraction, anything and everything which chimed in harmony with the Church's consciousness, and which illustrated her spotless life? * Can either one or the other be grasped, save in a very superficial manner, without gaining some slight knowledge of the East, without a readiness to undertake the labour requisite for understanding the grand master-principle which grew up in the desert, entered the haunts of men, and formed those primeval heroes of Christianity whose race appears to have become extinct,—I mean those first mighty giants of the Church, those men of violent energy of nature, of bursting fire of heart, of toughest heroism of life,—men who could starve, and scourge, and dwell in tombs and pits, and stifle, with terrific pressure, the suggestions of the flesh, whilst, with an awful superhuman strength, they plied their ceaseless toil in the service of religion, and left monuments at their deaths which have secured their names in everlasting benediction? †

nos nullis effereamus preconiis illos, qui Theologiam in Scriptis Patrum dispersam, et latissimis velut nulli campis huc illic in frustra magis, quam in membra divisam collegerunt, in unumque corpus contraxerunt, et insarum more, multo labore, et vigiliis lambendo, pulcherrimam effluerunt, intraque certam domum sic habitare fecerunt, ut nemo sit, qui non brevi quonque tempore cum convenire possit, deque facie cognoscere, et ejus fieri non jam hospes, sed contubernalis et familiaris? Quanto tempore, obsecro, quanto studio, quibus vigiliis opus est, si Theologus doctus et peritus sola veterum Patrum lectione evadere velit?" (*De Div. Thomæ Aquināt. Doct. et Scriptis, Lib. I., p. 53—54.*)

* Here are some of the "Doctors" and Works mentioned in the *Summa* :—"Ambrosius, Anselmus, Augustinus, Athanasius, Antonius in sermone ad monachos, Basilus Magnus, Bernardus, Beda Venerabilis, Benedictus in Regula sua, Canones Apostolorum, Cassianus de institutis cenobiorum, Cyrillus, Chrysostomus, Cyprianus, Collationes Patrum, Damascenus, Decretis, Dionysius Areopagita, Dionysius Alexandrinus, Didymus, Eusebius Emisenus, Eusebius Cesarensis, Glossa Ordinaria, Glossa Interlinearis, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Gregorius Nyssenus, Gregorius Magnus, Gratianus, Hebraica Veritas, Hesychius super Leviticum, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Hugo de S. Victore, Ignatius, Isidorus, Itinerarium Clementis, Maximus Commentator Dionysii, Liber de Infantia Salvatoris sed Apocryphus, Leo primus, Liber sententiarum Prosperi, Maximus Episcopus, Magister Sententiarum, seu Petrus Lombardus, Origenes, Prosper de Vita Contemplativa, Præpositus, Rabbi Moses Judæus, Rabanus, Remigius, Richards de S. Victore, Severianus, Vita Sanctorum Patrum." (*Vid. Opp., S. Thomæ Aquināt., Tom. X., Index IX., p. 572.*)

† See the supernatural life of S. Ephrem, in the *Five Patrum, Vol. I., especially Cap. I., p. 319*; of S. Simeon Stylites, *Cap. X., p. 330*; of S. John the Almoner, *Cap. I.—LI., p. 342—382*; of S. Epictetus and Asion, *Cap. XLII., p. 402, Cap. XXII., p. 410*; of S. Pothimus, *Cap. III., p. 427, Cap. VIII., p. 434*; of S. Frontinus, *Cap. I.—XI., p. 446—603*, supposed by some to have been written by S. John of Damascus; or, if you look to great women, of the beautiful S. Enphrasia, especially *Cap. XIII., p. 629*; of Saint Mary, *Cap. I.—XVII., p. 652—660*; of S. Thais, and her relations with S. Paphnutius and Anthony, *Cap. I.—III., p. 661—664*; of S. Pelagia the Sinner, *Cap. I.—XV., p. 664—672*; of Saint Mary of Egypt, *Cap. I.—XXVII., p. 674—690*. In men and women the power of love seems the same. A giant race of heroic lovers of the Cross lived in the midst of a wicked day.

Throughout the history of mankind we perceive those cardinal principles which govern the world energizing in certain typical representatives, whose force of character offers free scope to their full development. The man of rarest genius—a Newton, a Bacon, or a Shakespeare, whether he be a mathematician, a philosopher, or a poet, displays, with a force and brilliancy beyond all other men, his special gift. Alexander and Cæsar will always be typical commanders; Plato and Aristotle are pattern thinkers; S. Augustine and S. Thomas model theologians. They were born, and made their career, and died. But their influence survives, flesh falls to dust, earth to earth, but the soul lives on. The tongue which articulates, and the brain which thinks, become stiff, and shrivel into clay; the cardinal principle which inhabited and ruled in the brain, and whose cause was pleaded by the tongue, lives still, energizes still, but in other minds: it does not decay, it multiplies like fire, it is propagated, it manifests itself here and there and finally becomes a portion of the intellectual furniture, or the life-thought, of large societies of men.* In all great movements, one principle guides and colours all. One master-mind controls. Discover this principle, find out the ruling power, study the mind and method, and the centre-germ of an enormous expansion will be discovered, which will explain of itself the fecundity, force, and tough vitality of truth. Draw out the tap-root, and the mighty growth of the tree is no longer an enigma.

The great columnal Doctors of the Church seem to belong to a race apart. Though we look upon them at so great a distance, still they stand out as distinct in expression, as bold in outline, as supremely great, as if we had just been warmed by the vision of their mighty deeds, or had only just escaped from the spell of their fascinating presence.† Whence did their power come? What made them so unique?

Bear patiently, gentle reader, being whirled far away to the

* This is seen very plainly in the influence of master-minds. Homer and Virgil still exert their power over men. Men's minds are formed by them to classic taste through the influence of certain principles, the issues of which those poets had the gift of expressing more vividly and perfectly than others; so of philosophers; see Plato, and above all Aristotle—whose principles, perhaps, on the whole, rule with a greater force than those of any other philosopher who has not borrowed from him. But the most telling instance is that of Christianity. Here is a principle essentially belonging to a New Covenant, and now exerting a greater sway, judging by numbers, than ever before. Men die; Christianity lives on and expands over the world.

† What better spiritual reading could a Catholic ecclesiastic select than the Lives of the great Fathers of the Church; or than their ascetical writings; or even, in some instances, than their polemical ones? To master the life of one of these great giants—S. Athanasius, for instance, or S. Basil, or S. Gregory, or S. Ambrose—is to possess a new standard of life, to measure human life by a new rule, to discover the secret principle of greatness in the Saints, as well as the origin of their vast energy, generosity, and singleness of purpose. While they shame us, they elevate us; and we close the book, glad that such men have lived on earth, for they remain as lasting patterns of hard work and heroic devotedness. So grandly human, so perfectly divine, they are model men for all ages of the world.

cities of the East, and into the sandy deserts of Palestine and Egypt. Bear patiently being suddenly dropped in quite another world, so different from that which has, up to the present, been occupying thy attention.

If we would fully understand the stream, we must travel to the source. If we would find whence proceed those bright deep courses of thought which seem to have flowed into the soul of the Angelical, we must seek out, not only the great principle of *quies* at Cassino, of activity at S. James's, of love, reverence, adoration, and purity at S. Victor's; but we must search out yet another principle, which formed the intellectual soul of the great masters of the Christian mind in earlier ages.*

The East had her say in the glories of the Church, as well as Western Christendom. And if the Angelical learnt many things at Paris, and Cologne, and Rome, and Bologna, and Naples—if he was influenced and moulded by the teaching of these schools, he was also educated and informed by Constantinople, and Cæsarea, and Alexandria, and Bethlehem, and Hippo, and Antioch, and Milan. If he was impressed, on the one hand, by Albert, and Bonaventure, and John a S. Facundo, and Pietro Martini, and Erasmus, and Pietro d'Ibernia, and John of Germany; he was, on the other hand, no less influenced—indeed much more so—by Augustine, and Chrysostom, and Gregory, and Athanasius, and Jerome, and Ambrose, and the great Fathers of the Church and of the Desert.†

What was the one book which of all others the Angelical chose as the most invigorating spiritual nourishment? Cassian's "*Collationes Patrum.*" What is the substance of Cassian's work? It treats of these great masters of the Fathers of the Church—of the primeval solitaries of the Egyptian desert, who,

* There is a principle which protects man from the taint of scepticism, sensualism, and materialism, and directs his faculties most perfectly to the most perfect end. By means of it he finds truth, and rests securely on it. Heftinger sums up his treatise on "the kingdom of Truth" with these words, which may easily be applied:—"Entweder er [man] längnet alle Wahrheit—absoluter Zweifel, allgemeine Skepsis—oder er längnet alle höhere, geistige, ideale Erkenntniß—Sensualismus und Materialismus—oder endlich er längnet die religiöse, geoffenbarte Wahrheit—Naturalismus, Rationalismus. Ihm gegenüber haben wir die Gewissheit der menschlichen Erkenntniß überhaupt, das Dasein der Wahrheit in und für den menschlichen Geist nachgewiesen. In dreifacher Ordnung hat sie sich uns dargestellt; als *simultane Erkenntniß* durch die Thätigkeit der Sinnesorgane, als *geistige Erkenntniß* durch die Thätigkeit der denkenden Vernunft, als *religiöse Erkenntniß* durch den Glauben an die sich offenbarende Gottheit." (*Apologie des Christenthums, Erster Band, Erste Abt., Zweiter Vortrag*, p. 93.)

† The following extract is proof abundant of the extraordinary mastery the Angelical had over the great Church-Fathers, and of the way in which he knew their minds:—"It is impossible to read the *Catena* of S. Thomas," says Dr. Newman, "without being struck with the mastery and architectonic skill with which it is put together. A learning of the highest kind—not a mere literary book-knowledge, which might have supplied the place of indexes and tables in ages destitute of those helps, and when everything was to be read in unarranged and fragmentary MSS.—but a thorough acquaintance with the whole range of ecclesiastical antiquity, so as to be able to bring the substance of all that had been written on any point to bear upon the text which involved it—a familiarity with the style of each writer, so as to compress into few words the pith of a whole page; and a power of clear and orderly arrangement in this mass of knowledge, are qualities which make this *Catena* perhaps nearly perfect as a conspectus of Patristic interpretation." (*See Catena Aurea, Vol. I., Part I., Preface*, p. 3–4. Oxford, MDCCCXLI.)

amongst the driving sands of the wilderness, under the blazing sun of the sky, far from the haunts of men, built themselves up into majestic patterns of Christian heroism, by unwearied lives of love supreme and holocaustic sacrifice. Like the pyramids, under whose shadows some of them reposed, they are simple, colossal, unapproachable, and they point with silent eloquence, even to this day, out of the scorching sand of earth up to the Everlasting Rest.* When first she set out on her world-wide mission, the Church of God, like some deep strategist, selected important and commanding positions from which to energize, on which her forces might concentrate, to which her armies might retire, from whence they could advance, and with the Sword of the Spirit subjugate the grossness of ignorance, slay the animalism of idolatry, and vanquish the blindness of pride. Her image is the Crucified, her standard is the Cross.† As we perceive great strongholds rising up in the West, and defending the land—Naples, Rome, and Bologna, Salamanca and Toledo, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Paris, Oxford and Cambridge—so was it at a much earlier period in the East. Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, are the cradle-lands of Western civilization. Here the great drama, beginning with Adam and ending with Christ, was acted out. Here is the region of which the Old Testament is the history. Here the New Covenant was fulfilled. Here the Church sprang from the side of Christ, and gaining strength in her advance, spread like the garment of spring over the face of the dreary earth, and then, bursting into blossom, enriched the whole world with her fragrance and her fruit. This was essentially the home of sources, of first facts and first principles.‡ Would you trace tradition to its

* They made the greatest sacrifice, and God in return made them the greatest men. How profoundly Dante makes Beatrice speak!—

“Lo maggior don, che Dio per sua larghezza
Fesse creando, e alle sua bontate
Più conformato e quel ch'el più apprezza,
Fu della volontà la libertate,
Di che le creature intelligenti,
E tutte e sole furo e son dotate.
Or ti parrà, se tu quinci argomenti
L'alto valor del voto, s'è sì fatto,
Che Dio consenta quando tu consenti?
Che nel fermar tra Dio e l'uomo il patto,
Vittima fassi di questo tesoro.”

(*Paradiso, Canto Quinto*, 19—30.)

† Those who argue against Christianity because of the growth of the religion of Mahomet, or on account of the large Buddhist populations of India, &c., might remember that Christianity after all has been the only religion which has flourished with success in both East and West. The universality of its reception in nations and climates so very antagonistic, shows that a truth is in it which is higher and more extensive than peoples and zones; that, like the atmosphere we breathe, it is made to circle round the globe, and to fill the spiritual lungs, and purify the religious blood of all mankind. At this day we are living on the views, thoughts, and traditions which so grandly stood out in the fourth and fifth centuries.

‡ Here Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, began a movement which cannot be said to have ended yet. Mesopotamia and Palestine saw in germ what the West has seen in fulfilment. Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, and then the great Elias, all these were children of the Eastern world. The seed of life burst the bonds of a single nation. The husk fell away as Christ rose from the tomb. The sons of Japheth inherit the promises of the Semitic race. The Apostles preach and plant. Carthage in the West, and Egypt in the East,

fount?—you must seek the East. Would you learn how the first Christians, whose hearts were still throbbing and whose cheeks were still pale with the excitements of Calvary, loved, and suffered, and died?—you must hasten to Jerusalem. Would you see the Church herself, that potent Queen, as she sends forth the twelve, as her army in terrible array, to subjugate the whole globe to the dominion of the Cross?—you must go to the Holy Land. Would you learn how to live, or know how to die?—you will learn it there, following the footsteps of the Crucified, and looking on the gibbet of the Cross.

And just as in the West, so here too are great strategic centres to be found on the banks of the Nile, on the sea-coast of Africa, and in proconsular Asia.* There were eighteen hundred bishops—one thousand keeping watch in the Greek provinces of the empire. Wherever great marts of trade rose up, cities of pleasure, or capitals of learning and letters, whithersoever men flocked for business, study, or amusement, there they would surely find Christ standing in the midst of them.† There is Constantinople, the hinge of two continents, with the commerce of the world riding at anchor in the Golden Horn; and Ephesus, “the Eye of Asia,” on whose waters lay the shipping of the whole Mediterranean coast, and whose roads struck out right and left into the heart of a populous and teeming country; Edessa, the University of the far East and the home of S. Ephrem; Antioch, in the valley of the Orontes, one of the largest cities of the world; Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia; Damascus, like an emerald set in the sand, with its shining water-courses and blossoming orchards; Jerusalem, on its seven hills; and, finally, to make an end, Alexandria, the Queen of Cities, the emporium of the world, great in the sciences and all the arts of life, a centre of attraction to every nation under the sun.‡ All these, and many more, were ecclesiastical

the Copt, the Greek, and the Asiatic, then the Gothic tribes which had descended to the South, as all these form one great polity, the imperial sway of the Church becomes visibly universal. The West cannot be adequately realized without looking to the East.

* See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III., Chap. XX., p. 283. London, 1820.

† And not only have we great strategic positions, but we find that certain periods of danger were met by certain able men; as if Providence, to recompense the Church for the tribulations she had to suffer, vouchsafed glorious children to her during trial, so that, like her Divine Fonder, in her very crucifixion, her, or rather His glory should be revealed. In the eighteenth century we find S. Alphonsus and S. Benedict Labré; in the seventeenth, S. Francis of Sales, S. Francis Regis, S. Jane Chantal, S. Vincent de Paul, &c.; in the sixteenth, S. Francis Xavier, S. Ignatius, S. Philip Neri, S. Teresa, S. Charles Borromeo, S. John of the Cross, &c., and so on. And he who cares to think, will find that each of these great servants of God was raised up to meet some special evil or some special want. The list, of course, might be continued to Apostolic times.

‡ “The See of Alexandria was then (in the fourth century) the most important in the whole Church. Alexandria, till the rise of Constantinople, was the most powerful city in the East. The prestige of its founder still clung to it. Egypt, even in the Pagan parts of the Empire, was still regarded as the ancient nurse of religious mysteries, and the possession of the Temple of Serapis made Alexandria the chief sanctuary of Europe.” (See Stanley's *Eastern Church*, Sect. VII., p. 227.) This suffices to show that Alexandria was a very powerful centre. That its See was the most important in the East is true; that it was the most important in the Church cannot

strongholds and cities of light, from which one or more great luminaries, like beacons at sea, shed abroad their strong rays and gave an illumination to the Eastern world. Just as there have been burning fires in the West, so in the East also. The lamps may have varied in shape or in texture, but the oil has ever been the same: all gave light, but differing each from each in colour, yet harmonizing each with each, one lending to the other that which was wanting in itself till all combine—the luminaries of the East fusing with those of the West—and present, as they do in the *Summa Theologica* of the Angelical, one broad mellow reflexion of the intellect of the Universal Church.* All united in loving her, yet each regarded her from his own point of view, each strove to interpret her mind faithfully, each mastered some one chosen feature or dwelt upon some special lineament: and all these studies joined harmoniously in one, presented to the mind the most perfect picture of her figure. Without noticing them to some extent, she cannot be adequately understood either in colour or in form.

Where are we to look for the first fact, or first principle, which gives their dominant character to the great Fathers of the Church? What is that one thing which renders them so unlike other men? I refer, of course, to the great teachers of the East. Must we look towards the imperial rival of Rome on the Bosphorus, or to the many-peopled city on the Nile, or to Damascus, or Jerusalem, or Antioch?†

History repeats itself. The principles of Christian greatness, looking at their germinal growth, possibly may differ in variety—just as there are many varieties of plants or many variations to a single air, but they cannot, without destruction, be different in kind. It may naturally be assumed that a flower which thrives and blossoms in the wilderness, is not likely to find a congenial soil in the cultivated plains of artificial exuberance. What the grotto of Subiaco was to the West, that, the cave on

be maintained, when the See of Rome is brought into comparison with it. History is decided as to the relative importance of the two Sees. Besides, did not the See of Alexandria, in the person of Athanasius, appeal to Pope Julius?

* The two languages in which the doctrines of the Church have been principally conveyed. Greek and Latin, were well formed to subserve the use of ecclesiastical teaching. Theory and practice, if any substantial work has to be done, must go together. Practice without theory is to work at hazard; theory without practice is not to work at all. Greek represents theory; that is, it is the language best adapted for speculation, literature, philosophy, and in these uses it had been gradually moulded to perfection. Latin, on the other hand, represents practice. In the Roman Empire all public businesses were carried on in Latin. The Courts were conducted in Latin; orators and rhetoricians consequently had, in great part, the formation of the language: hence the characteristic of the Latin Fathers is to be diffusive, irregular, and rhetorical; that of the Greek Fathers is to be more simple and precise—both are good, and tend, in their synthesis, towards a perfect realization of truth.

† Where were the great men of the Old Covenant to be found? Where do we find the Prophets of the Old Dispensation? In the great cities? S. Paul tells us where:—"In melioribus, in pellibus caprinis . . . in solitudinibus errantes, in montibus, in speluncis et cavernis terre," (Heb. XI., 37—38.) Think too of the two great lights of the Old and New Law—Elias, and S. John the Baptist.

Mount Colzim had been to Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. S. Benedict is but the repetition of S. Anthony and S. Pachomius, modified by S. Basil, and tempered by the practical genius of the Latin race.*

Whilst theology remains the same in its elements and substance, it may receive a portion of its form and of its colour from the character of those intellects which have had the formulating of it, and were employed by the Church to expand it before the people. The characteristics of the Greek and Oriental intellect are imprinted on the theology of the Eastern Fathers, whilst the teachings of the West, though influenced greatly by what had gone before, are moulded according to the build of the Latin mind. For there is little doubt that the impress of Greek culture, united to the warmth of character and fiery imagination belonging to the Asiatic, told upon the methods of Eastern thought; whilst the wide-reaching mastery of the energetic Roman mind, with its love of law and genius for organization, with its strong bias towards the concrete, exerted a telling effect upon the theological forms of Western divinity.†

And if much depends upon race, must not something depend upon climate and morality? Speaking broadly, the West is the land of cloud and of wood; the East is the country of sun and of sand.

The East is the land of primeval humanity. Reminding one of the discovered wrecks of an antediluvian age, with its boundless forests, and gigantic animals wandering over interminable wastes—the monster cities, endless deserts, and startling contrasts of teeming vegetation and boundless wilderness which make up the Oriental world, overawe the mind with a sense of overpowering magnificence, whilst preparing it to meet with a race of men whose intelligence partook of the character of that nature amongst which they were destined to spend their lives.‡

* And S. Anthony himself draws from the original fount of the Sacred Scriptures. S. John Chrysostom calls this system the "philosophy introduced by Christ." S. Bernard says that it was set on foot by the Apostles. Cassian says the same. Suarez, in his *Seventh Tract (Lib. III., Cap. II.)*, says that the monastic state is *de jure divino*, because it was immediately instituted and handed down by Christ himself. The whole principle is laid down in the *Acts of the Apostles*, in the second and fourth chapters. See also *S. Mark, X., 29—30.* (See, for full information, Bulteau's *Essai de l'Histoire Monastique d'Orient, Liv. I.*)

† It has been the fashion amongst most Protestant writers to lay great stress on the love of the Greek Fathers for the theoretical and the abstract. There is no doubt that their minds lent themselves to philosophical disquisition, and that their very language, with its richness and elasticity, fostered in them such a propensity. But when this has been said, we must ever carefully bear in mind that there is nothing so real and concrete as that which has to do with God's honour, and with the attributes of Christ. If it would not be to fight for an abstraction to defend the pure name of a mother, why should it all at once be fighting with an abstraction to defend the attributes and the honour of a Saviour and a God? Perhaps because those who thus talk, unwittingly treat their Maker as if He were a sort of figment—a high generalization of nature's laws! This is intelligible, but it ought to be clearly understood.

‡ Montalembert, in quite another connection, draws out the character of those who lived in that country, adoring and wrestling, binding themselves to God, and battling with the fiend:—"Qui n'a contemplé, si ce n'est avec les yeux de la foi, du moins avec l'admiration qu'

In looking on Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the eye is soon carried away over trackless desert, the *tabula rasa* of the East, with its stretches of blinding sand and its limestone ranges, over which the sleepless eye of a burning sun eternally keeps guard, lest a blade of grass or a creeping thing should invade its monotonous barrenness. There were but two powers which could beat back the sand and defy the power of the sun: the waters of the mountains, and the energy of man.* Wherever a sweeping river rose and gathered strength, on it went, and majestically flowed through these wastes into the sea; whilst on its banks, and as far as its influence extended, where the land permitted, vast carpets of luxuriant vegetation spread out on either side, all embroidered with blossoms and flowers, perfuming the air with the balmy fragrance of spring, and delighting and astonishing the eye with their Oriental splendour of colour—blue and violet creepers, acacias and palms, fields “full of summer sounds and scents,” of opulent beans, and vetches, and cotton. Even to this day, the woods are vocal with flights of wild doves, the Nile swarms with water-fowl circling in the air, and following the stream, or dozing in the sand, or screeching their monotonous cry as they plunge out of sight into the water. The solemn pelican is there, and the graceful heron; whilst the eagle soars up into the blue vault, and balances himself over the river, field, and wood, as if to gather all under his imperial protection.†

Such is the magic action of the water when controlled by the energy of man. Such were the places chosen for the site of great cities. Men built their homes by the great highways of water. Such was Nineveh, on the left bank of the Tigris—the

inspire un incontestable grandeur d'âme, les luites de ces athlètes de la pénitence et jusqu'aux merveilleuses histoires de ces femmes perdues qui, après avoir en vain essayé de les corrompre, se montraient dignes de les imiter et capables quelquefois de les surpasser par des prodiges de repentir et de sainteté! On ne s'arrache pas à ces récits. Tout s'y trouve; la variété, le pathétique, le sublime et la simplicité épique d'une race d'hommes, naïfs comme des enfants et forts comme des géants." (*Les Moines D'Occident*, Tom. I., Liv. II., p. 57.)

* "The evenings in Upper Egypt and Nubia are of matchless beauty. It is so hot in the daytime, and the sun's rays are reflected so dazzlingly from the water, the desert sands, and the calcareous mountains, that you are unwilling to leave the cabin of the boat in which the voyage up the Nile is performed. Towards evening you come out to inhale the mild and salutary air. The sun sinks behind the Libyan hills, which cover themselves with dark blue shadows, while the rays of light play upon the Arabian hills as upon a prism, and deck them with the fleeting hues of flowers, jewels, and butterflies. Single heights resemble large fiery roses, while the more extended ones seem like chains of purple amethysts. Date-palms, in groups or garlands, or in less graceful straight rows, here and there a single nabek-tree, with its slender branches, or a stiff dom-palm, and the *Acacia nilotica*, sprinkled with millions of yellow blossoms—all this is reflected in the still waters." (*Orientalische Briefe*, see *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert*, by Hahn-Hahn, p. 71.)

† For these facts see *Orientalische Briefe*, *Loco Citato*.—"These pictures are not to be seen everywhere upon the Nile. Sometimes, especially in Nubia, the vegetation on its banks dwindles down to a narrow strip of bean-fields, which scantily feeds the population of a poverty-stricken village. Sometimes it disappears altogether, when walls of rocks or boulders line the bank." (*The Desert*, *Loco Citato*.) This suffices to suggest the great contrasts which exist in the East, especially when the desert borders great towns, or is cut through by irrigating water-courses. In Nubia, on the Lybian side, the gigantic temples of Abusimbel are by degrees disappearing in the sand. At the great cataraets of the Nile the desert spreads out like a boundless ocean of tawny sand, and carries on to the very centre of Africa.

capital of the Assyrian Empire; such was Babylon, lying on the Euphrates—the emporium of the commerce of the world; such, once again, was gigantic Thebes, on the Nile—"the city with a hundred gates," and the ancient metropolis of Egypt. Then there were the gay towns dotted along the seaboard of Asia Minor, and Syria, and Palestine, and Egypt—on the one side looking out over the blue Mediterranean, bearing on its bosom the richest merchandise in the world; and on the other, encompassed by gardens and orchards, and all the charms and perfumes of a luxuriant vegetation. Wherever man has had the chance, he has pushed back the desert from his door, and has extended the sweep of his possessions, and has enriched them, like Damascus, with an expanding circle of bud and of blossom, amidst flashes of cool sparkling water.*

But with all his energy, man, after all, can make but small impression on the trackless desert. Like an island in the ocean, the refreshing oasis, with its palms and pools, simply seems to testify, by the very contrast, to the world of barrenness which surrounds it. See the great Syrian desert, stretching out from Anti-Lebanon to the Euphrates, or the lesser Arabian desert between Gaza and Cairo, from the Mediterranean to the mountain chain running from Arabia into Egypt. Excluding the vegetation of the Delta, the fertile valley of the Nile, and the islands of flowers which live in the river's midst, excluding the the work of water, and the work of man—in Egypt, endless barrenness spreads itself abroad. Enormous cities, rank vegetation, sublime solitudes of burning sand, tombs, pyramids, temples, sphinxes, all on a gigantic scale, and over all and above all the open eye of the glaring sun:—such is the general character of the Eastern world which gave birth to Moses and to Christ.†

In all this magnificence and immensity, both in the works of nature and the works of art, there is something which leaves an impression on the mind, distinct, *sui generis*, yet difficult to describe. We seem to be looking on a first creation, where the best and the boldest did the greatest and mightiest deeds, where men were giants by growth of nature, and had been cast

* "Wherever the hand of man arrested for a moment his labours, and where the water of the river did not penetrate, there the characteristics of the desert instantly asserted themselves. Such is the great Syrian desert, from Anti-Lebanon to the Euphrates, at the entrance to which lies Damascus, with its vast circle of green orchards, in which walnut-trees, apricots, olives, pomegranates, and fig-trees thrive in indescribable profusion, watered by the seven branches of the Barrada, a small river which rises in the caverns of Anti-Lebanon. Only ten paces from its banks begins the desert, where the sand lies in heaps." (Hahn-Hahn's *Fathers of the Desert*, p. 69.)

† "The Nile valley is but one narrow strip of green rescued out of the sandy desert. Close upon the beautiful cities, swarming with life, centres of commerce for the Jew, of learning for the Greek, of easy living and frantic joy for every race under the sun, lay the sands of the desert." (See Dalgairns, *The Holy Communion*, Part III., Chap. I., p. 199.)

in a larger and more generous mould than we. Their very tombs, in their grandeur and proportions, dwarf our most solemn minsters in comparison; their temples are splendid creations of boundless wealth and endless toil; those sphinxes staring over the sand, and those everlasting pyramids, all speak of a race of men (if so it may be said) living gigantically once: now, crumbled into dust for evermore.* Even the dynasties of Egypt, counting back two thousand years before Christ—composed of men of the stature of giants—bewilder the mind whilst trying to unravel them. Egypt was living in refinement before Europe had a history, before Greece knew anything of the arts of life, before Carthage, or Athens, or Rome had entered the dreams of men. Her sphinxes, her obelisks, and her pyramids have survived many a polity and civilization. They had looked down on the conquering Persians, they were there when the Macedonians took possession of the land and founded the dynasty of the Ptolemies, and they still lived on, as changeless as ever, when, under Augustus, “the Mother of Wonders” was reduced to the condition of a province of imperial Rome (B.C. 30).

All this beauty and exuberance of nature, all this grandeur and magnificence even of the desert, together with the vast works left by the hand of man as eternal monuments of his own decay, must have sealed the minds, even of Christians, with a special impress; must have coloured their imaginations, and furnished them with certain characteristics in harmony with such marvellous creations.†

But what of the morality and religion of the East?—who were the rulers?

In the first century of Christianity, the imperial power may be said to have been coextensive with the limits of the known world. From Rome, the centre-point of its gigantic polity,

* And the history of Egypt seems to bear this out. There was a monarchy in Egypt in the time of Abraham. At the time of Herodotus the priests claimed for the monarchy an antiquity of upwards of 11,000 years. Between B.C. 2700—1525, there were many contemporary kingdoms in Egypt. Two thousand years before Christ, writing, drawing, and mechanics flourished amongst the people. They had their priests, their policy, their methods of war. The history of the Hyksos, their victories, and their expulsion, and then the expansion of Egypt into a single monarchy, is worthy of study. Now came the real greatness of the country. The temples, palaces of Thebes were built, obelisks were set up; Ethiopia, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia were invaded. All this strange almost preternatural history impresses on the mind a sense of greatness and aboriginal and human perfection. (Cf. Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History*, Part II., p. 58—74.)

† In reading Roswilde's *Vite Patrum*, an impression is made upon the mind which harmonizes with the sensation produced by the study of Egyptian antiquity: I mean, that there is something awfully simple, large, and enduring in those lives and methods. Total abandonment to God; risking *all* for Him. Not being content with being devoted in the world, but flying away as far as might be, even from nature itself, into caves and pits. Then the rigid perseverance for long trying years in the same course. Then the leading motives of their minds, their governing thoughts—they were all sublime in their grand simplicity. Death was so realized, that earth corrupted in their sight. Judgment became so awful, that they were ever in spirit before the Judge; hell so terrific, so real, that they would not trust their bodies to ordinary food or sleep; and Christ's love so overpowering, that they would willingly endure all this, and more, for His love's sake. They were spiritual pyramids built with divine hands—simple, immovable, and ever pointing up to Heaven.

spread out its influence from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and from the Danube to the cataracts of the Nile. In the Western half of this mighty empire, the Roman culture was predominant ; in the East, since the conquests of Alexander, the Grecian culture everywhere obtained, and penetrated more and more into the civilization of Rome itself.*

The immensity of the empire proves that the Romans must have been of a tough and vigorous race. But a venomous poison had been poured into their blood, which was stronger even than they ; and it finally eat into, and brought to nought, their iron constitution. It seized upon, and corroded, the wide framework of their polity, till at last, being weakened and undermined, the shocks and jars administered to it by rough barbarians dislocated all its jointures, and it heaved, broke up, fell to pieces, and became absorbed into a stronger life. Rome itself, the imperial city, the centre of the vast system, was the terminus of a network of grand highways and military roads which radiated into far-distant provinces and dependencies ; in the East, they penetrated as far as Thebais and Arabia, and ran up to Caledonia in the West. But the blood which had been urged, healthy and pure, through these arteries, returned at length, tainted with germs of disease and impregnated with a thousand corruptions. If Rome sent forth her mighty armies to subjugate the nations, the nations flowed back into Rome and took a terrible revenge.† Thousands, from all quarters of the earth, streamed into the imperial city—not with the bow and the spear and the vigour of manhood, but with music and dancing, with softness and enervating passion. Greece brought in her sensuous poetry and her mind-polluting mythology ; Asia brought with her a gorgeous and magnificent luxury. Greeks and Syrians, Asiatics and Egyptians, corrupted the minds and the bodies of the people, till the Romans became, like themselves, monsters of debauchery and impurity, of

* Thus in the space of seven hundred years, beginning on the banks of the Tiber, imperial Rome, from a nest of thieves, became the ruler of nearly an hundred millions of souls. Physical difficulties alone seemed to have held back the advance of its conquests. Africa's desert, Ethiopia, Arabia, Hibernia, and Parthia, if they were not absolutely under Roman control, at least had felt the force of the great tide of conquest which swept over more favoured portions of the world. Octavian was only manifesting his political wisdom when he declared that "Rome must not enlarge the borders of her empire." (*Cf. Döllinger's Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book I., p. 1—2.*)

† Abject servility to authority reigned in Rome. Despotism was its natural result—despotism which was fostered by women, freedmen, flatterers, spies, and informers, and which resulted in wanton abominations, thirst for blood, scorn of humanity, and all those horrors which tyranny, when freed from shame and all manner of control, freely indulges in. Slaves, dragged together from every land, imported their foreign manners into families, and poisoned society with their iniquitous teachings. "Rome had become a Greek city in language and manners, and the Syrian waters of the Orontes streamed into the Tiber,"—so the poet afterwards complained in his picture of the manners of his day ; while in a century and a half from Augustus, Athenæus could say, whole nations of the East had settled themselves in Rome. This Rome, since Augustus, maintained a population approaching, or perhaps equal to, that of London of the present day—of a million and a half, possibly two millions." (*See Döllinger's Jew and Gentile, Vol. I., Book I., p. 5.*)

cruelty and superstition. Of nearly two millions of men—most of them aliens, slaves, sinks of utter depravity, formed one half the population, and nurtured the children of the other half. Abject poverty and boundless wealth stared each other in the face and hated each other. It seemed as if all the vices and concupiscences, all the corruption and pestilences of every nation under the sun, taking advantage of the great highways of the world-city, had set out together from their natural homes, and had poured into her streets and squares and temples:—suicide, contempt of life, hatred of the poor, child-murder, female debauchery, and the gratification of the most brutalized sensuality, became the ruling passions of the Romans.*

The rest of the empire seems to have taken its tone from the centre city, which all looked upon as the metropolis of fashion and of thought. The corruption which Asia and Greece had carried into Rome was here stamped with the imperial image, and then passed current in the provinces, ennobled and sanctioned by the highest authority.

But our subject at the present moment is the East. In the great cities of Asia Minor and Egypt, the native immorality of the population was fused with a mixture of Greek and indigenous philosophy, and was sublimated or debased, as the case might be, by the mythologies and religions which were common amongst the people.

The refined idolatry of Greece was brutalized in Asia Minor, and intensified by the wickedness of Rome. Fear, sensuality, and utter prostration of soul marked out the religion of the masses. They would cut themselves with knives, and slash their face in honour of the "Great Mother." During the orgiastic dance, whilst the Phrygian flute was playing, they would howl, and stab themselves, and career about with blazing torches in their hands.† Blood, laceration with swords, frenzy, and sensual debauchery, constituted the principal ingredients of the Asiatic worship. Lust and debauchery were practised

* "Side by side with the enormous opulence of a small number of families, such poverty prevailed that Augustus, in his time, had been obliged to provide upwards of two hundred thousand of the inhabitants with money, corn, and bread . . . The old pure citizen blood . . . kept continually dying out . . . proceeding partly from a wide-spread disinclination to the state of marriage. . . . Rome, therefore, inevitably became the city in which all the vices of different zones, all the defects and excrecences of human society, were gathered together and blended—the city in which a homeless population, roaming about in idleness, beggarly, and yet habituated to all the requirements of luxury, were maintained out of the public revenues; and that was the plebs, forming the greater proportion of the free community." (See Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile*, Vol. I., Book I., p. 5.)

† The religion of the Oriental was essentially brutal and slavish. The strange mixture of fear and sensuality which is manifested in their worship, has nothing of the polished wickedness of Greece about it. It is curious to study the blending of Greek and Asiatic idolatry, to see how the fusion takes place, and when the more refined and cultivated intellect of the Hellenic nature essayed to metamorphose the beasts and coarse brutes of the Orientals into something like a respectable shape. The Greeks turned the first-class God of Asia at once into Zeus—if he were a male. Thus, in Caria, Zeus becomes "an hermaphrodite, with beard and woman's breasts, and swathed like the Ephesian Artemis; so that everything about him was foreign to the Hellenic Zeus." (*Jew and Gentile*, Vol. I., Book VI., § 1, p. 373—374.)

in honour of the gods. No idea was more profoundly engraved on the mind of the people than that their deities were to be propitiated by acts of unchastity. The most revolting wickedness was elevated into a *cultus*. Men bit their arms, and hacked themselves with swords, and reeled and danced with the intoxicating frenzy of bacchanalian ecstasy, thinking by so doing to gain the protection of their gods. In Egypt, the religion of the people was a passionate, sad, and tenacious clinging to the worship of the burning sun above them, and of the brute creation at their feet. They adored innumerable sun-gods, who were represented in grotesque forms of animals and men. Their idolatrous system spread like a net-work over Upper and Lower Egypt, and was fostered by a strong caste of circumcised priests, who formed corporations, and served in their temples. They worshipped the bull and the goat.* Swallows, frogs and toads, weasels and otters, cats, dogs, and sparrow-hawks, were embalmed when they died. If a cat expired, all the members of the household cut off their eyebrows. If a dog died, they shaved themselves all over as a token of bereavement. Incense was burnt before these nasty animals when alive. They were washed, anointed, richly dressed, and put to bed on soft couches. The usual gross immoralities accompanied the worship of them. Man, the crown of God's beautiful creation, the heir of eternal glory, was lowered to so deep an abyss of abject depravity, that he became more abandonedly degraded than the vile reptiles which he adored.

Thus Rome, Asia, and Egypt, were steeped in the rankest corruption. Greek philosophy and poetry, Egyptian animalism and brutality, Asiatic lust and frenzy, Roman dishonour and thirst for blood, each acting on the other, changed the fair order of God's beautiful world—taking the imperial city as a centre, and her possessions as a circumference—into a dark and hideous ruin. There lay the vast empire of Rome, as a strong woman borne down by a boiling fever running in her veins, poisoned by some "wicked broth" in every artery, and half stifled by the horrors of the diseases which were eating out her life.†

* "The worship of the sun formed the basis of the Egyptian system. The first group, as well in the cycle of the gods of Upper Egypt as in those of Memphis, was composed only of sun-gods. . . . The Egyptians saw in the sacred beasts not merely symbols of the gods, or emblems of divine properties; the people worshipped beasts, as Plutarch observed, directly and immediately; in their eyes they were the bearers and vessels of deity; the gods made them the medium of their intercourse with man. . . . Worship was universally paid to cattle, lions, cats, dogs, weasels, and otters; amongst the birds, to the sparrow-hawk, the hoopoe, the stork, and the sheldrake; and amongst fish, to the eel and lepidotus." Then the sheep, wolf, hippopotamus, the crocodile, the oxyrhynchus, and serpents and fish, were eaten in one part of the country, and were adored in another. (For full information, see the *Jew and Gentile*, Vol. I., Book VI., p. 438, 454, 456; or, from p. 437—488.)

† The persecutors of the Church seem to have ended miserably. Lactantius has left an interesting treatise on this point. Nero stabbed himself (A.D. 68). Domitian died by the hands of his wife (96). Septimius Severus died of a broken heart. Maximin was made away

But the fulness of time at length came. The "Prince of Peace" was born in Bethlehem of Juda. To those who in gross darkness had been yearning for the dawn, for the Orient from on high, who were looking for "the Expectation of the Nations," the Light at last had arisen.

Christ came unto His own, and suffered for them, and was crucified. The Life-giving Spirit came down. The fishermen preached. The poor and illiterate, then the learned and mighty, began to become sensible to the action of a novel influence which had come upon them. The new leaven pierced into the hideous mass of Roman imperial corruption. The gates of heaven had been opened upon the world. The cold speculations of Platonic philosophy warmed into the energy of a practical devotedness. The irons of the slave dropped from his wrist, as he looked up from his chains to a glorious inheritance. The new religion, radiant and spotless, gracious and severe, bore in her hand the image of the Crucified, and proclaimed Him the Saviour and Physician, not alone of the empire, but of the whole of the human race. She claimed world-dominion.* She pointed from earth to heaven's gates. She drew men off their sorceries, idolatries, and lusts, from their crawlings in the slime, and their adoration of animals and insects, and pointed through death's gate to the Judgment to come, and beyond that to the eternal lake, and then again to the great Spiritual City of the Lamb. There she showed them the Father Everlasting, His adorable, true, and only Son, Christ the Crucified King of Glory, and the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. There she pointed out to them the angels, and all the heavenly hosts, adoring for ever-lasting before the throne of the Almighty God.

O what a change! when the gates thus parted, and the black earth looked up into the glorious heavens! What a stir amongst the people who were creeping in gross darkness amongst the shadows of death!

The great Roman empire, though writhing on her couch of agony, was startled by this new and mighty influence. She lay in her lethargy whilst the Persian, and the Chaldean, and the

with by his soldiers (237). Decius perished miserably in his expedition against the Goths (251). Valerian was taken by the Persians and stayed alive. Aurelian was murdered by his secretary. Maximian was put to death. Galerius rotted into his grave. Diocletian starved himself to death (307). Then came the ravages of the Goths, Germans, Sarmatians, and Parthians.

* It is a pity that Gibbon was not alive when Dr. Newman burst his fallacies into fragments regarding the cause of the spread of Christianity. "It is very remarkable that it should not have occurred to a man of Gibbon's sagacity to enquire what account the Christians themselves gave of the matter. Would it not have been worth while for him to have let conjecture alone, and to have looked for facts instead? Why did he not try the hypothesis of faith, hope, and charity? Did he never hear of love towards God, and faith in Christ? Did he not recollect the many words of Apostles, Bishops, Apologists, Martyrs, all forming one testimony? No; such thoughts are close upon him, and close upon the truth; but he cannot sympathise with them, he cannot believe in them, he cannot even enter into them, because he needs the due preparation of mind." *Grammar of Assent*, Chap. X., § 2, p. 456.)

Egyptian, and the Syrian, performed their unclean orgies around her bed.* But when she perceived the fair form of Christianity approach, and felt her draw back the curtain,—she shrieked. She was conscious that now her hour had come. Just as when the gentle priest, with candle, and stole, and holy oils, approaches the bed of a woman whose intellect is shaken and whose blood is on fire, of one whose soul is possessed by the foul demon,—just as when he opens the curtain and meekly shows himself, she stares at him with blood-shot eyes, and shrinks from the sacred instruments and emblems of Redemption, and utters loud cries and suppressed moans, and frenzied, strikes wildly at the cross, and at the minister of her Salvation—so was it with the dying empire of Rome. Ten several times did she, with savage violence, summon up all her strength to shake Salvation from her. With the rack and the stake, and the amphitheatre and the *barathrum*, with blood and with iron, did she think to accomplish her task. It was the agony of her last convulsions, the death-struggle of a woman of robust constitution, who had shamefully abused herself with vice, and had intoxicated herself with many sorceries. She tore men to shreds by dogs, crucified, burnt, and wrenched them asunder, shoved them into red-hot chairs, dug out their eyes, seared the sockets, chopped off their fingers, stripped them, scorched them with plates of brass, cut the tendons of their thighs, cast them in dungeons, sent them to the mines, and broke them and maimed them in all their organs; but she expired at last and rotted into the earth, and the fair form of religion, like some beautiful pageant, took possession of the land.†

Yes! look on the work of her hands for one moment. Open the map. The centre of Christianity has been carried westward. Jerusalem has given way to Rome. Spain, France, Germany, England, and the North, are subject, not to the galling oppression of the victorious Roman, but to the sweet and light yoke of Divine Christianity. The influence of the Church, unlike the culture of the Greeks and the law-loving genius of

* As the terror of a whole life of sin, when vividly brought by reviving faith before the conscience of a dying man, makes him shrink with horror from himself, so the Roman Empire, or those who governed it, were terrified by the very purity of Christianity, which was their absolute condemnation. Slavery, the great cause of Roman decay and poverty, child-murder, the practice of abortion, female debauchery, contempt of life, gladiatorial games, and love of cruelty—these had little in common with the teachings of the Cross.

† And the spirit which made her so unapproachably great, is drawn out in these words:—“When the persecution raged in Asia, a vast multitude of Christians presented themselves before the Proconsul, challenging him to proceed against them. ‘Poor wretches!’—half in contempt, half in affright—he answered, ‘If you must die, cannot you find ropes or precipices for the purpose?’ At Utica, a hundred and fifty Christians of both sexes, and all ages, were martyred in one company. . . . In Egypt, a hundred and twenty confessors, after having sustained the loss of eyes or of feet, endured to linger out their lives in the mines of Palestine and Cilicia. In the last persecution . . . the slaughter of men, women, and children went on by twenties, sixties, hundreds, till the instruments of execution were worn out, and the executioners could kill no more.” (*Grammar of Assent*, Chap. X., § 2, p. 477–478.)

the Romans, has never degenerated into sensuality or despotism. She gradually extended her sway more and more abroad, and increased in popularity in proportion as she grew in power. What brought destruction upon the vast imperial rule of Rome, melted before her glance, and, losing its aboriginal barbarism and sterile wildness, simply added to her fertility, and helped to advance, on all sides, those fundamental principles of truth which are at once the origin of her greatness and the secret of her rapidity in success. First, the Goth, and then, the Hun, and finally, the Lombard—they came with their rough clubs, and thundered blow upon blow, and smashed to pieces the civilization of Greece and Rome, making a clearance, as it were, certainly unknown to themselves, for the expansion of that supernatural polity which was not only to absorb into itself what they had broken up, but which, more marvellous still, was to draw within its influence, and thoroughly to impregnate with its spirit, those adventurous barbarians who had been rash enough to dispute its power.*

She still has no rival in the West. The cities of Ionia and Æolia, Corinth and Athens, Marseilles and Cyrene, Gaul and Africa, the seaboard of the Euxine, Syria, Parthia, and even Bactriana—all these basked in the light of Greek thought, and delighted in the sweetness, freedom, and sensuality of the religion of the beautiful; but they all faded away, like the colossal empire which succeeded them. Imperial Rome, beautiful Athens, voluptuous Corinth, "many-peopled" Alexandria, the cities of Achaia and Laconia, have followed great Seleucia, thoughtless Nineveh, Babylon, "the hammer of the universe," Memphis, with its splendid colonnades and palaces, Heliopolis, with its temple of the sun, and Thebes, the "great Diospolis," the oldest city in the world. Polities which once seemed as if they had to last for ever, dynasties which appeared superior to decay, conquests so vast that their very greatness afforded a sort of guarantee of their stability, civilizations so fascinating to human nature, answering so harmoniously and so completely to the refined and educated sensuality, to the exquisite fastidiousness of a cultivated people, that they promised to endure so long as man remained the same,—all have perished, or have

* "Während der Jahre der Verfolgung verbreitete sich das Christenthum durch die inwohnende Kraft der Wahrheit und durch äussere günstige Umstände nach allen Himmelsgegenden, so dass es schon im dritten Jahrhundert die Grenzen des Römerreichs überschritt. Es entstanden Kirchengemeinden in Syrien, Kleinasien, Armenien, Mesopotamien und Persien; in Aegypten und Nordafrika, in Griechenland, Macedonien und Italien; in Gallien (Lyons), Spanien und Britannien." (See Weber's *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte*, *Erster Band*, *Zweiter Cursus*, § 230, p. 276.) Weber gives five causes, in the natural order, which go towards accounting for the spread of Christianity; and which, when taken with the supernatural action of the Church herself, form a very adequate reason for the marvellous rapidity of her advance. The whole of that portion of Weber's work treating of *Die Völkerwanderung und die Begründung des Monothelismus* (Vol. I., p. 270—294), is well worth reading.

been swept away, or have been so far absorbed with other systems as to have lost every vestige of an independent autonomy.*

One only power remains, losing here yet gaining there, ever advancing if sometimes receding, and always manifesting a vitality witnessing to an indestructible principle which cannot have anything in common with those ephemeral energies which spring to the surface, spread over it, flourish for a season, and, like all else that is mortal, wither and die into the earth. Greece founded in human passion, and Rome set up in mental pride, contained within themselves the elements, not only of their temporary vigour, but also the germ of their inevitable decay. Supernatural faith, energizing in the mind and hedged round by Divine protection, alone possesses the vitality necessary, not merely for holding her own amidst the shocks and throes of the battle, but—whilst all else rises, falls, and disappears around her—for proceeding with unruffled step towards the fulfilment of her destiny, and for proving to things which die that she remains fresh and young and beautiful as before, almost reversing, in her own case, the order of nature,—increasing in the elasticity of youth, as she advances in the experience of age.†

Such has she proved herself to be. But at the period of which I am writing, she was engaged in her mighty struggle—wrestling with the maddened frenzy of falling Rome. The contest lasted, with the rack and the knife, with intermittent periods of repose, for about three hundred years. It was an awful period in the world's history—the possessed soul struggling with its Saviour. This one heinous sin, added to the animalisms, depravities, and slaveries, of which sufficient mention has been made, scared those who had received from the lips of saints the awful truths of religion. It cannot be too vividly realized that the great doctrines of Christianity broke in upon the world's darkness, as if the night were suddenly lighted up by a flame bursting from the heavens.‡ These doctrines wholly trans-

* The fact seems to be that this lasting influence alone can be ascribed to Truth. However much the teachings of philosophers or sensualists may seem to fit in with man's nature, if they be not conformable to what is true and good, they will, like the deordination which they produce, in their own time be brought to nought. Thus what could be more fascinating than the high, generous, noble-minded picture which the Greek would paint of the genuine Grecian. Beauty and propriety are blended here, and serve each to heighten the interest of the picture. But beauty and propriety are like lovely blossoms, they must grow from a stout root—they cannot of themselves live to a very old age; they must be the legitimate daughters of Truth and Justice, then they will live and multiply their power.

† The Church has made a steady progression beginning with the conversion of S. Paul to the present hour. In the epoch of persecutions, we have missions to India and to Gaul. The Æthiopians are converted after the First General Council. In 399, there is the mission to the Scythians; 496, conversion of Clovis; 558, conversion of the Visigoths; 596, conversion of England; 648, mission to the Low-Countries; 690, mission to Friesland; 725, the Germans are converted; in 778, the Saxons; in 826, the Danes; Sweden in 830; Russia in 844; Bulgaria in 855; Bohemia in 880; Poland, 964; Hungary, 1001; and so on.

‡ It is difficult to throw oneself into a state of mind altogether different from that in which we habitually live. Not less astonishment and a less shock was the opening of heaven's gates

formed the minds of those who received them: their entire moral nature was revolutionized. Men of honest purpose, of deep thought, of generous impulse, shrank from the moral leprosy around them.

They perceived that the world was steeped in wickedness, and they knew that it would perish. They felt deeply convinced that death is certain, that there is a hell beneath, a heaven above, that sin is to be repented of, that there is a judgment to come, that man has but one soul and that immortal, and, finally, that the love of Christ is beyond all price, to gain which love is to possess all things, and to forfeit which is to suffer irreparable loss. To love Christ, to save their souls, and to maintain truth—these were the master-thoughts, and the motive-principles of action, in many noble minds during the early struggle.*

Thus men fled from the contamination of the vast luxurious cities, into the boundless deserts, to "work out their Salvation in fear and trembling." The world might go on and have its fill of wickedness, but they tear themselves away, to meditate on death, and on the judgment to come, and on the everlasting recompense.

It was thus in tombs, and caves, and pits, under the palm-tree in the blinding desert, amidst the haunts of wild and odious monsters, or in the forlorn and solemn wilderness, that the mustard-seed was planted which was the germ of great glories in the Eastern and Western Church.

These mighty men, these Fathers of the desert, formed a race of themselves. They are the primeval men of the Oriental Christianity, the granite rocks upon which a superstructure might be raised which should endure for ever. They seem as full of stability as the pyramids and sphinxes amongst which they dwelt. From youth to old age would they live in the desert, on roots, dates, leaves, or dry bread, and water gushing from the rock.† Their life was a continual fast, they slept on

to the heathen than would it be were the darkness of midnight suddenly, without any warning, to turn into the brightness of day upon us. He who had been crawling all his life after creeping things, and adoring them in his slavish, melancholy, passionate way, is taught to look on the beautiful face of Christ, and to believe. Superstition gives way to genuine belief; and the horrors of an uncertain future, and the insecurity of the present, disappear, as religion teaches man a certain creed with certain prospects, and secures to him a firm and healthy hope in future happiness.

* See what profound simplicity there is in the *Verba Seniorum* given by Rosweide; for instance:—"1. Dixit Abbas Antonius; Ego jam non timeo Deum, sed amo, quia amor foras misit timorem. 2. Dixit iterum: quia de proximo est vita et mors: si enim lucremur fratrem, lucrabitur Deum; si autem scandalizamus fratrem, in Christo peccamus. 3. Abbas Ammon de loco Nitronia, venit ad abbatem Antonium, et dixi ei; Video quia majorem laborem quam tu sustines, et quomodo nomen tuum magnificum est in hominibus super me? Et dixit ei Abbas Antonius: quoniam et ego diligo Deum plus quam tu. . . . 6. Dixit Abbas Agathon: quis secundum voluntatem meam nunquam dormivi, retinens in corde adversus quemquam dolorem, neque dimisi dormire alium habentem adversum me aliquid. . . . 9. Dixit Abbas Pastor: Conare secundum virtutem tuam nulli omnino facere malum, et castum serva cor tuum omni homini." (*Vita Patrum*, Vol. I., Lib. V., *Libellus XVII.*, p. 973-974.)

† In more modern times, religious men were called after their founders, e.g., Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, &c. In the first ages they took their names from the

the bare ground, they fought with demons, they encountered the hyena and the bear, they wore scarcely any clothing, they continually prayed and toiled, they were stern men, with intensest passion controlled by severest discipline, they were assaulted by terrific temptations, they had iron frames, they lived to a patriarchal age, they were simple, fundamental, and direct in their teaching: to love Christ, to trample on the flesh, to resist the devil, to quench bad thoughts, to pass through life, and to get to heaven—such is a summary of their theology.

S. Paul lived on a few oats and a little water, and fought sleep as he would a tyrant. S. Hilarion, who at fifteen years of age “went naked into the wilderness, though armed with Christ,” and whose countenance beamed with a heavenly radiance, lived in a morass, with gnats and flies, amidst reeds and rushes. Peter the Simple became a hermit when sixty-eight. Paphnutius, whose eye was pulled out in the persecutions, was brought up in a hermitage. Ammon was twenty-two years in the desert. Serapion only wore a piece of linen about his loins.* S. Onuphrius was seventy years in the wilderness. Spyridion was a shepherd in the isle of Cyprus. Abbot Mark was shut up in a cave thirty years. Didymus dwelt ninety years alone.† Abbot John lived three years on a bare rock, without covering, in a mournful solitude. Auxanon, when a child, inhabited a mountain cave. Some passed half a century without seeing a soul. James of Nisibis lived for years in caverns and forests, on roots and leaves, clothed in a goat-skin. S. Auxentius dwelt on a wild mountain, and S. Zeno in a tomb. Some lived in fissures in the rock, or on pillars, or in holes in the earth, or in woods and caves, or in the midst of dank marshes, or amongst the ruins of palaces or of temples of the sun. So powerfully had the influences of the Unseen taken hold of men in these terrible times, that what was begun by Paul, and was continued by Anthony, Macarius, Pachomius, Moses, Arsenius, and others, grew into gigantic proportions.‡

place which they inhabited, as the solitaires or monks of Mount Scethis, Tabenna, Nitria, and Canopus in Egypt. Anchorites lived in private cells. The monks of Mount Casius, near Antioch, lived in caves; others, in tents or cells; the Cenobites lived in common; the Sarabaites, whom S. Jerome calls the pests and banes of the Church, were vagrants, wandering, without rule, wherever they had a mind. They loved to dwell in cities and castles, and to make a great show of piety, when they were not overtaken by riotous excesses.

* The *Stylite*, or Pillarists, lived on pillars. Simeon Stylites was the founder of this system. He lived about the time of the Council of Chalcedon. He had a disciple named Daniel. The Simeon Stylites Junior dwelt sixty-eight years upon a pillar. Bishops sometimes left their sees to live in penance on a pillar. It is said that Alipius, remained seventy years on one, and that two choirs of virgins and one of monks attended him alternately day and night, singing psalms and hymns with him:—“Habuit sibi adiunctos duos choros virginum et unum monachorum cum quibus alternatim hymnos et psalmos die nocturne decantavit.” So says Sulpicius. (See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. II., Book VII., Chap. II., §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, p. 247—253.)

† See Socrates *Hist. Eccl.*, Lib. IV., p. 511; *Patrol. Græc.*, Tom. LXVII.

‡ There were also, though at a later date, religious men in Constantinople, about the middle of the fifth century, who were called “watchers.” Their office was to so combine, that the

As early as the times of S. Anthony, "the cells in the mountains were like tents filled with divine choirs, singing, discoursing, fasting, praying, rejoicing over the hope of the future. . . . So that any one seeing the cells, and such an array of monks, would have cried out and said: 'How fair are thy dwellings, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel; like shady groves and like parks beside a river, and like tents which the Lord hath pitched, and like the cedars by the waters.'"*

Of all the Fathers of the Desert, S. Anthony is the greatest, for he has left a deeper mark upon the world than all the rest. He was the patriarch of solitaries, the keen discernor of spirits, the mighty example, after whose pattern the greatest men of the Church have modelled their lives.

The grand simplicity of primeval principles, of foundational example, is exhibited in him. There is but one other who is more overpowering to the imagination than he, and that is Elias the Thesbite. As others moulded themselves on Anthony, so Anthony formed himself on Elias, and thus is brought about an intimate ascetical relationship between the two covenants. Elias,† Anthony, Basil, Benedict, Dominic, Thomas of Aquino—these are the links which connect together, in a harmony which testifies to truth, the heroic teachings of God's purest and noblest servants.

The broad principles of S. Anthony's life must be indicated, the grand corner stones must be pointed out, in order that the reader may examine the basis on which the splendid edifice of religious perfection is constructed.

The one living image in Anthony's mind was Christ. This solitary lays down the monastic principle of S. Benedict. "He exhorted all," says S. Athanasius, "to prefer nothing in the world to the love of Christ."‡ His one toil in life was to fit

divine service should always be going on, something like the "perpetual adoration" of our own day. Studius, a rich Roman noble, joined the Order. He built a monastery for the brothers, which was called Studium, and the brothers are named Studite—probably the first religious institute which took the name of its founder. Sozomen speaks also of the "Grazers" βοσκοί who lived on the mountains, never living in house, or eating bread or meat, or drinking wine. They prayed in hymns and psalms till the time came for their dinner, then each would take out his knife, and search the mountain-side for herbs or roots to make a meal. (*Cf.* Bingham, *Vol. II.*, Book VII., §§ X.—XI., p. 264—265)

* "Erant igitur in montibus monasteria quasi tabernacula repleta divinis choris psallentium, lectiois studiosorum, jejunantium, orantium, exultantium spe futurorum, laborantium ad eleemosynas erogandas, unita charitate et concordia junctorum. Ac revera videre erat quasi aliquam segregatam regionem pietatis atque justitiæ. Nullus ibi qui injuria vel afficeret, vel afficeretur; nulla exactoris increpatio, sed multitudo ascetarum, quorum unum omnium erat virtutis studium; ut qui monasteria vidisse talemque monachorum constitutionem, exclamasset haud dubie: quam pulchra domus tue Jacob, et tabernacula tua, Israel! ut memora umbrosa, ut paradisus juxta fluvium, ut tabernacula quæ fecit Dominus, quasi cedri prope aquas." (S. Athanasii Alexandrini Arch. Opera Omnia. Pars I., Hist., et Dogmat., Tom. II., Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, p. 835—976, n. 44, p. 907; *Patrologiæ Græcæ*, Vol. XXVI.) When the words of S. Athanasius are quoted in the English, Kingsley's translation has been made use of: see *The Hermits* (p. 32—32), in which, however, much of S. Athanasius's *Life*, as it stands in Migne, is omitted.

† Elias seems to have been S. Anthony's model. (See *Vita S. Antonii*, n. 7, p. 854; also *Versio Evagrii*, ad calcem.)

‡ These are S. Benedict's words:—"Nihil amori Christi præponere." (*Reg.*, Cap. IV., n. 21.) Again:—"Christo nihil præponant." (*Cap. LXXII.*, n. 11.) These are the words of S. Athanasius.

himself for heaven. His great wrestling was with the devils, and with his own thoughts. His marked characteristics were indomitable perseverance and stability in an arduous life. He never looked back, he abode in the wilderness, he fasted rigorously, his bed was the ground, and he strove with hell during a space of nearly ninety years without a single break.*

His history is briefly this:—His parents were noble Egyptians of Middle Egypt. Like S. Benedict, he despised letters from early youth; like S. Benedict, as a child, he preferred solitude as his best companion. When he was eighteen, his parents died. His ardent, generous mind loved to dwell on the mighty acts of the Bible saints. He knew the Scriptures by heart. He could not get over the thought of the Apostles abandoning all for Christ. Like S. Francis, going into the Church one day he heard the words: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor; and come, follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven;"† and he was so deeply moved on hearing these other words: "Be not solicitous for to-morrow,"‡ that he rid himself at once of all his possessions.§ He wished to exchange this visible world for the unseen kingdom.|| He took lessons of perfection from holy men; "he stamped upon his memory their devotion to Christ, and the mutual love which all in common possessed." Satan, perceiving how formidable an adversary he was likely to become, buffeted him. But Anthony spurned his impious suggestions, "setting his thoughts on Christ, and on his own nobility through Christ." This was Anthony's first struggle against the devil; or rather this mighty deed in him was the Saviour's, who condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Lord might be fulfilled in us.¶

asius giving S. Anthony's Sermon:—"Hortans omnes ut nihil mundanarum rerum anteferrent charitati Christi." The Greek runs thus:—"πασιν επιλεγων μηδεν των εν τω κοσμω προκρινειν της εις Χριστον αγαπης." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 21, p. 874; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

* *Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 21, p. 874; n. 24, p. 879; n. 29, p. 887; n. 31, p. 890; n. 37, p. 898; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI. In fact, this *Life*, with S. Anthony's discourse on evil spirits (whether it was ever made by him or not), is a useful treatise on that fearful subject.

† *Matth.*, XIX., 21.

‡ *Matth.*, VI., 34.

§ "Sex autem nondum exactis mensibus a parentum exitu, cum de more ad Dominicum procederet, atque secum animo cogitaret, qua ratione Apostoli relictis omnibus secuti sunt Salvatorem, et qui pretia afferebant, ut egenis distribuerentur: nec non quoniam quantaque istis spes in cælis reposita sit; hæc secum reputans, in Ecclesiam ingreditur, contigitque ut tum Evangelium legeretur, et audivit Dominum diviti-illi dixisse: *Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus, et veni, sequere me: et habebis thesaurum in cælis* . . . mobili- bus vero omnibus venditis, multamque hinc collectam pecuniam pauperibus distribuit, panes solum sororis causa reservatis. . . . Rursus in Dominicum ingressus, audivit Dominum in Evangelio dicere: *Nolite solliciti esse in crastinum. Nec ultra illic remanere sustinens, egressus, illa quoque tenuioribus largitus est.*" (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 2, p. 842–843; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

|| S. Anthony born, 251; adopts a solitary life, 270; goes into the desert, 285; supports S. Athanasius, 355; dies, 356; S. Athanasius writes his life, 364.

¶ "Sustinebat miser diabolus vel mulieris formam noctu induere, feminaque gestus imitari, Antonium ut deciperet; at ille Christum cogitans, ac propter illum nobilitatem spiritualitatem quæ animæ secum reputans, carbonem illius fallacie restinxit." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N.*

"He watched so much, that he often passed whole nights without sleep; and that not once, but often, to the astonishment of men. He ate once a day, after the setting of the sun, and sometimes only once in two days, often even in four; his food was bread with salt, his drink nothing but water . . . he mostly lay on the bare ground."*

Yet in spite of his terrific austerities, the spirits of the air attacked him like vultures, and almost destroyed him. He shut himself up in a tomb. A multitude of demons set upon him and smote him till he swooned away under their blows. He was taken for dead, and was carried out of the tomb. But he slipped back again at midnight, and cried out to the demons: "Here am I Anthony; I do not fly from your stripes; yea, if you do yet more, nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ."† The devils tried another plan, at midnight, whilst Anthony was in the tomb, he suddenly heard a great crash, the walls of the place seemed to burst asunder, and the foul fiends poured in upon him, changing themselves into the shape of all manner of hideous beasts and loathsome reptiles. The tomb swarmed with fierce lions, savage bears, bulls, snakes, asps, scorpions, and wolves, and all of them each making its own frightful noise, rushed upon him to destroy him. Though almost speechless from their blows, he cried out to them: "A seal to us and a wall of safety is our faith in the Lord."‡ After this the Lord said to him in vision: "Since thou hast withstood, and not been worsted, I will be to thee always a succour, and will make thee become famous everywhere."§

And Christ poured into him supernatural strength, and he yearned to give himself with still greater abandonment than ever to the service of the Crucified.

Antonii, n. 5, p. 847; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.) Again:—"Hæc prima fuit Antonii contra diabolum victoria: imo potius in Antonio egregium facinus Salvatoris, qui damnavit peccatum in carne, ut justificatio legis impleteretur in nobis, qui non secundum carnem ambulamus, sed secundum spiritum." (*Ibidem*.)

* "Magis igitur magisque corpus macerabat, et in servitntem redigebat, ne forte in aliis victor, in aliis succumberet. Asperiori igitur vitæ genere assuescere in animum induxit; quod multis admirationi fuit, ipse tamen ejusmodi laborem facile tolerabat: animi enim aheritas diuturnitate temporis, habitum illi bonum afferebat; ita vel minima oblata ab aliis occasione, perminutum ipse hac in re studium exhiberet." (*Ibidem*, n. 7, p. 851.)

† "Delatus a viro, clausisque de more foribus, iterum solus erat intus: atque ob plagas stare cum non posset, decumbens orabat. Et post orationem edito clamore aiebat: Hic adsum ego Christus! non vestras fugio plagas, etiam si plures inflixeritis, nihil me separabit a charitate Christi. Psallebat deinde: Si consistant adversum me castra, non timebit cor meum." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 9, p. 855; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

‡ "Noctu itaque tantum excitare strepitum, ut totus conventus videretur locus et quasi ruptis quatuor caso parietibus irruere demones visi sunt, variis ferarum reptiliumque induti formas: fuitque statim locus spectris repletus, leonum, ursarum, leopardorum, taurorum, serpentum, aspidum, scorpionum, atque luporum. Horum unumquodque forma propria movebatur. Rugiebat leo quasi invasurus, taurus coram petere videbatur, serpens reptando non accedebat tamen, lupus irruens retinebatur. Erat demum omnium quæ apparebant ferarum horrendus strepitus, ferocis animus." (*Ibidem*, n. 9, p. 858.)

§ "Sublatis itaque oculis tectum vidit quasi apertum, ac lucis radium ad se descendere . . . Auxilio Antonius animadverso, postquam amplius respirasset, doloribusque levatus, visum quod apparerat his verbis compellavit: ubi eras? cur non ab initio apparuisti, ut meos levares dolores? Tum vox illi emissâ: Hic eram, ait, Antoni, morabarque tuum spectans certamen. Cum itaque sustineris, neque speratus fueris, ego ero semper tibi adiutor, tuncque nomen ubique terrarum celebre reddam." (*Ibidem*, n. 10 p. 859.)

He was now thirty-five years old. He set off for the wilderness. The devils tried to seduce him, putting the likeness of a silver plate in his way, and dropping bags of gold. But he buried himself in a crevice in a mountain, and here he wrestled and struggled with the fiends of hell, who, with yells and clamour and in fearful shapes, attacked and molested him. And thus he continued serving God, battling with temptation for the space of twenty years.*

Hundreds now came to him to gather wisdom from his lips. His friends, who had not seen him for many years, marvelled at two things in him: at the vigour of his body, for it "had kept the same habit, and had neither grown fat nor lean from fasting, nor worn by fighting with the demons;" and at the "purity of his soul." And here S. Athanasius makes purity identical with self-control and unmoved serenity. Do not these words seem to be written of the Angelical?—"They wondered again at the purity of his soul, because it was neither contracted as if by grief, nor relaxed by pleasure, nor possessed by laughter or by depression; for he was neither troubled at beholding a crowd, nor over-joyful at being saluted by so many, but was altogether equal, as being governed by reason, and standing on that which is according to nature."†

He who lived in the sand, under the burning eye of the sun, amidst demons and wild beasts, thus for a hundred years possessed his soul in patience! It was this mighty force of character, this divine stability, which made him the stem and root of the Tree of Life.

As birds in the spring-time fill with noisy life the sandy places which had been forlorn before, so companies of men, seeking the gate of heaven, surrounded Anthony, and made the waste desert teem with an angelic host, who sent up through the hot air, to great God on high, acts of love, reverence, and adoration, with the fragrant incense of complete self-sacrifice.

"And Anthony groaned daily, considering the mansions in

* "Verum inimicus, ejus ardens propositum, conspicatus, ejusque impediendi cupidus, magni argentei disci speciem in viam projecit (n. 11, p. 859.) . . . Rursumque cum progrediretur non vanam speciem, sed verum aurum in via projectum conspexit . . . Copiam solum miratus Antonius, tanquam ignem prosiliit, atque sic pertransiit, ut ne quidem vultum converteret: imo cursum ita concitavit, ut extra conspectum esset lateretque sibi locus." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 12, p. 862; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

† "Viginti itaque prope annos ita degit, asceticam seorsim agens vitam, neque inde progressus, nec nisi raro visus ab aliquo . . . (Familiares) ut viderunt illi, mirati sunt corporis habitum eundem ipsum esse qui semper fuerat, nec per quietem obesum pinguedine, neque macie confectum per jejunia demonumque certamina; talis quippe erat, qualeum ante secessum ejus conspexerant. Animi item puri mores erant: nam nec mœrore coarctari, nec voluptatibus diffluere, neque vel risum, vel tristitiam præferre, neque conspecta multitudine turbari, neque tanta salutantium frequentia lætari visus est. . . . Gratiam item Antonio loquenti dederat Dominus; ut mœstos plurimos consolaretur . . . hortans omnes ut nihil mundanarum rerum anteferrent claritati Christi." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 14, p. 863-866; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

were the only vegetation which met the eye. He tilled a patch of ground on the other side the mountain; the wild beasts came, and upset his work; but he forbade them, and they obeyed; the demons still swarmed about him; tumults, and sounds of many voices, and crashing of arms broke through the solitude. At night, the mountain was full of savage monsters, glaring with their eyes, and making the darkness hideous with their bellowing and roaring; all the hyenas of the wilderness crept out of their burrows at dusk, and surrounded Anthony where he lay, gaping at him with white teeth and red jaws, and threatening to tear his body into atoms. But the Cross and the love of Christ were too powerful for the phantoms. This was Anthony's one stay, the Image of the Crucified, in whom he "trusted as Mount Sion." When he uttered the simple words: "I am the servant of Christ," the devils "fled away, pursued by his words as by a whip," says S. Athanasius.*

It would take too long to speak of his wonder-working power, of his visions and his prophecies: he saw the soul of Ammon carried up to heaven, he cured Fronto of a grievous disease, he brought health to the Christ-bearing maiden of Laodicæa,† he cast out devils, and cured numberless sicknesses, in the name of our Lord. He foretold the horrors of the Arian domination, and he heard a voice saying: "My sanctuary shall be defiled." He prophesied the fate of Balacius the persecutor, who had his thigh torn open by the bite of a horse.

He abhorred heresy, and shrank from contact with the Meletians and Manicheans. He loathed the Arians with all the force of his nature—he knew they struck at the divinity of that Lord whom he worshipped as the Ark of his Salvation.

These unprincipled heretics circulated a report throughout Egypt, that the great Father of Solitaries favoured their blasphemous tenets. Knowing his boundless influence, they thought to use his name as a tool to push forward their wicked policy. When Anthony heard of this, he was filled with grief and indignation. At the request of the bishops, especially of Athanasius, he hurried off at once to Alexandria.‡ Here he

* "Et diabolus quidem, ut canit David, observabat Antoninum, et stridebat dentibus in eum: Antonius vero a Salvatore consolationem accipiebat; nullo ex caliditate et dolosa vafricitie illius accepto detrimento. Ipsi itaque noctu vigilant! immisit diabolus feras, ac prope omnes quo in illa eremo erant hyænæ, ex latibulis egresse, medium ipsum circumdedere, singulis blanti ore morsum minantibus. Animadversa ille inimici techna, ait illis omnibus: Si accepistis adversum me potestatem, paratus sum vorari a vobis; sin estis a demonibus submissæ, ne moremihî, sed abscedite: Christi enim servus sum. Hæc Antonio dicente aufugere illæ, quasi verbi flagello pulsæ." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 52, p. 918—919; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

† *Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 61, p. 931; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.

‡ "Per id circiter tempus Arianî, rumoribus spargendis semper invigilantes, temere jactitabant magni per Egyptum nominis virum Antonium monachorum patrem doctrinæ suæ favere et astipulari. Peristata res Antonio dolori fuit; graviterque incensus novatoribus, hortatu episcoporum, et maxime Athanasii, Alexandriam se confert. Tum cepit Arianos

argued, with mighty energy, against the Arians. He declared them to be the precursors of Anti-christ; and burning with divine love, he preached Christ, and His Eternity, and Divinity, to the people. Great was the exultation of the faithful when they heard him speak thus. The whole city turned out to look upon the renowned Solitary of the desert, as he declaimed in vast wicked Alexandria, and attacked the blasphemers of the Lord. The worshippers of the sun, and of the bull, and of the beasts, were struck dumb with astonishment to see an unlettered man manifest so great a fire and ability in confronting error and in advocating truth. They were wholly overcome by the stupendous miracles wrought through the prayers of Anthony. He made more converts in those few days than others were in the habit of making in twelve months. All Alexandria, pagans included, was loud in proclaiming him to be "a man of God."*

His energy against heresy caused his fame to spread into distant cities, amongst Greek philosophers, potentates and priests. He became known as "the man of God." His supernatural power was acknowledged on all sides. Once, two Greek sophists went out to tempt him, and he overset them in their own fashion: when they reviled him for not knowing letters, he asked them this question: "'Which is first—the sense, or the letters? Is the sense the cause of the letters, or the letters of the sense?' They answered 'that the sense came first, and invented the letters.' He replied: 'If then the sense be sound, the letters are not needed.' . . . So they went away wondering," says S. Athanasius, "when they saw so much understanding in an unlearned man."†

His fame spread even to the courts of kings. Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, wrote to him as to a father, asking his advice. When he received their letters, Anthony called his monks together, and said to them: "Wonder not if a king

publice coarguere, hereticos appellare, hæresim eorum vocare Antichristi prodromum, prædicare Filii aeternitatem, Deitatem, populum voce montisque in vera doctrina confirmare. Ingens fuit multitudinis lætitia, grande odium conflatum hæresis adventu viri Dei. Accurrabant cives videndi Antonii cupidius fragantes. Ipsi gentiles conspecta viri litterarum imperitii vi orationis stupefacti signis miraculisque ad præces ejus editis . . . tanto numero ad Christianam fidem confluxere, ut plures paucis diebus, quam alias per integrum annum, veræ fidei viam ingrederentur." (S. Athanasius Alex. Archiepisc., *Prologomena*, p. 80; *Patrolog. Græc.*; *Tom. XXV.*)

* "Lætabatur porro populus omnis, audiens a tanto viro anathemate damnatum Christo inimicam hæresim, civesque omnes videndi Antonii desiderio accurrabant. Gentiles ipsi, luno eorum sacerdotes, ut vocant, ad Dominicum accedentes, aiebant: Rogamus ut humilem Dei videre nobis liceat: omnes quippe ita eum appellabant." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 70, p. 942; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXVI.*)

† *Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 73, p. 946; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXVI.* Another example is the following:—"Allquando ad eum accessere duo Græci philosophi, rati se Antonii posse periculum facere: qui tunc erat in exteriore monte. Agnitique ex vultu viris, illisque occurrentes, per interpretem ait: Quid tantum suscepistis laborem, O philosophi, ut stultum hominem conveniretis? Respondentibus illis nequaquam stultum ipsum esse, sed perquam prudentem, dixit: Si stultum adlatis hominem, illud certe inani labore: sin me prudentem arbitramini, mihi estote similes, cum quæ bona sunt imitari par est. Nam si ego vos adlatissem vos imitaturi eram, cum autem ad me vos accesseritis, mei similes efficiamini: Christianus quippe sum. Admirati illi abscessere." (*Ibidem*, n. 72, p. 943.)

writes to us, but wonder rather that God has written His law to man, and spoken to us by His own Son.”* He did not wish to have to do with kings, but his monks persuaded him to send a reply, and so he laid down for them the one principle which dominated his own life. “He counselled them for their Salvation,” says S. Athanasius, “not to think the present life great, but rather to remember Judgment to come; and to know that Christ was the only true and eternal King.”

“He was like a physician given by God to Egypt. For who met him grieving, and did not go away rejoicing? Who came mourning over his dead, and did not forthwith lay aside his grief? Who came wrathful, and was not converted to friendship? What poor man came wearied out, . . . and did not despise wealth, and comfort himself in his poverty? What young man coming to the mountain, and looking upon Anthony, did not forthwith renounce pleasure, and love temperance? Who came to him tempted by devils, and did not get rest? Who came troubled by doubts, and did not get peace of mind? . . . How many maidens, too, who had been already betrothed, and only saw Anthony from afar, remained unmarried for Christ’s sake?”†

At length, when nearly a hundred and five years of age, Anthony fell sick, and he called two young monks who had supported him in his feebleness, and said: “I indeed go the way of the Fathers, as it is written—for I perceive that I am called by the Lord.” And he bade them give one of his sheepskins to Athanasius, and also the cloak which was under him, which had been a present from the bishop, for though it had grown old, he desired to return it to him.‡

“‘And for the rest, children,’ said the dying solitary, ‘farewell, for Anthony is going, and is with you no more.’ Saying

* “Ne miremini si ad nos scribat imperator, homo enim sit; sed miramini potius quod legem hominibus scripserit Deus, et per proprium Filium nobiscum luctatus sit.” (*Ibidem*, n. 81, p. 955.)
 † “Roseripit, laudans ipsos quod Christum adorarent; dabatque monita salutem spectantia; monebat item ne presentia magni facerent, sed potius dei iudicii recordarentur, scirentque Christum solum eternum esse imperatorem.” (*Ibidem*, n. 81, p. 955.)

‡ “Demum quasi medicus Ægypto a Deo datus erat. Quis enim mœstus illum adiit, quin gaudens recesserit? quis accessit mortuos lugens snos quin statim luctum deposnerit? quis iratus adventi, nec in amicitiâ redactus est? quis pauper ad illum demisso animo accessit, auditoque ac viso illo, divitiis non contempsit, et non de paupertate sua consolationem admisit? quis monachus remissior illum conveniens, non fortior postea fuit? quis adolescens in montem profectus, visoque Antonio, non abnegans illico voluptates temperantiam est amplexus? quis a demone tentatus ipsius adiit, quin liberatus sit?” (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 87, p. 966; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

§ “Quot jam procos habentes virgines, tantum Antonio eminus conspecto, Christi virgines, mansere? Veniebant etiam ad illum quidam, ab exteris regionibus, qui percepta cum aliis omnibus utilitate, domum redibant, quasi a patre suo deducti.” (*Ibidem*, n. 88, p. 966.)

¶ “Vocatisque iis qui secum erant . . . ait illis: Equidem ut scriptum est, viam ingrediatur Patrum; video enim a Domino meo vocari. Vos autem vigilate. . . . Christum semper respirate. . . . Nulla vobis sit communicatio cum schismaticis, aut prorsus cum hæreticis Arianis . . . Meum itaque corpus humate. . . . Ego quippe in resurrectione mortuorum incorruptum ipsum a Salvatore recepturus sum. Mea dividite vestimenta, Athanasioque Episcopo melotem date unam, pallinque quo obolvebar, quod novum ab ipso cum acceperim, jam detritum apud me est.” (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 91, p. 970—971. *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

thus, when they had embraced him, he stretched out his feet, and, as if he saw friends coming to him, grew joyful on their account (for, as he lay, his countenance was bright), he departed, and was gathered to his fathers."*

Such was the end of the great Patriarch of the Desert. The love of Christ, the shortness of time, and the length of eternity, —these great influences fashioned him into the spiritual gladiator that he was. So fixed was he on attaining heaven, that the powers of hell could not turn him one inch out of the way. S. Athanasius says that "he looked not back," saying to himself continually, in the Apostle's words: "Forgetting what is behind, stretching forward to what is before." It would seem that this great athlete was especially raised up to be a pattern for men living in a tempestuous age; a model for those champions to form themselves on who were to command in the great fortresses of the Church. He who could succeed in being in the world what Anthony was in the desert, would become a mighty ruler and a king of men.

So beautiful and striking was Anthony's personal appearance, that men could pick him out of a multitude.† "His countenance had great and wonderful grace; and this gift too he had from the Saviour. For if he was present among the multitude of monks, and any one who did not previously know him wished to see him, as soon as he came, he passed by all the rest, and ran to Anthony himself, as if attracted by his eyes. He did not differ from the rest in stature or in stoutness, but in the steadiness of his temper and the purity of his soul." When over a hundred years old, "he remained uninjured in all his limbs: for his eyes were undimmed and whole, so that he saw well; and not one of his teeth had fallen out, but they were only worn down to his gums, on account of his age; and he remained sound in hand and foot; and, in a word, appeared ruddier and more ready for exertion than all who use various meats, and baths, and different dresses."‡

* "His ille dictis, postquam ipsum osculati sunt, erectis pedibus, ac quasi amicos adeuntes contemplatus eorumque causa lætus, nam dum decumberet hilari erat vultu, exspiravit, et appositus est ad patres suos." (*Ibidem*, n. 92, p. 971.)

† "Magna mirabilisque vultui ejus inerat gratia. Illudque præterea donum a Salvatore consecutus erat, ut si, dum in monachorum cœtu adesset, aliquis eum sibi antea ignotum videre vellet, statim accedens, prætergressus alios, ad eum accurreret, illius quasi aspectu attractus. Neque statura, aut latitudine aliis præstabat, sed morum compositione atque animæ puritate; namque cum imperturbatam gereret mentem tranquillos item habuit externos sensus . . . pueros quippe habebat oculos, dentes tamquam lac caudidos. Eo ipso modo dignoscebatur Antonius; præ mentis enim serenitate nunquam perturbabatur: ac præ animi lætitiâ, nunquam tristi erat vultu." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 67, p. 939; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

‡ "Omnino incolumis perduravit. Illætos quippe oculos atque integros habuit, ita ut recte videret: dentiumque illi ne unus quidem excidit, solummodo prope gingivas attriti erant ob grandem senis ætatem. Pedibus autem manibusque sanus omnino permansit, et sane omnibus, qui variis cibis, lotionibus, variisque vestibus uterentur, vegetior apparebat, atque omnino robustior. Nequaquam enim scriptis suis, non gentili sapientiâ, non aliqua arte sed sola ergo Deum pietate celebris fuit Antoninus." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 93, p. 974; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

The state of the Roman empire, and of Egypt, has already been referred to. We have seen what pagan philosophy, literature, and religion can effect. Anthony stands up in the desert, a marvellous contrast to the popular teaching and practice of the world; he does not write treatises, or enter into polemics; he preaches by pattern, he converts, and argues by example.* He stands before the eye of pagan Alexandria and Rome, as a fruit of the tree which is called Christianity. The Greek could write exquisite verses on the beauty of virtue, the Roman could speak of probity and justice, the philosopher could descant on the good, the beautiful, and the true,—but where they failed, where paganism and rationalism always have failed, and always will fail, was in presenting the spectacle of a living breathing man, with soul and passions, abiding from childhood to old age in an undeviating course of fidelity to the highest aspirations of the human heart. All men can appreciate this; none are so obtuse as to be blind to generosity, self-sacrifice, devotedness,—to sincerity of purpose singleness of aim, and spotlessness of life.† Arguments in the shape of facts, principles in the form of practice, dreams which are realized, and hopes which are fulfilled before the eyes,—these are palpable enough to affect the grossest mind, and startling enough to shake the most sluggish disposition out of its habitual lethargy.

It was the intense simplicity and reality of S. Anthony's life—his being so thoroughly Christian, Apostolical, and Scriptural—that made him in the order of action what first principles are in the order of ideas. He himself is a living *Summa Theologica*. And what the Angelical, so many years afterwards, threw into the form of a magnificent scientific exposition—that, Anthony, “the Physician of Egypt,” had already acted out, in the practice of his life, under the palm-trees of the Egyptian desert. Love of Christ, stubbornness of purpose, the Holy Scriptures, and the unseen world, hatred of error, and sympathy with truth, the Judgment, and the recompense:—these influences formed the great heroes of the wilderness.‡

* How marvellously his fame spread!—“Unde enim in Hispanias, in Gallias, Romanis, in Africam, in monte latens degentisque viri fama delata fuerit, nisi Deus suos ubique terrarum claros notosque redderet, qui ipsam Antonio sub initium pollicitus est?” (*Ibidem*, n. 93, p. 974.)

† It need hardly be said that we in England have not been without Hermits and “Ankers.” The remains of their cells are still to be found in many churches in England—once Catholic, now Protestant. In the diocese of Lincoln, they were very common in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The “incline” could see into the church and attend mass from his cell, built conveniently for that end. Twelve feet seems to have been about the size of the cell. S. Gilbert of Sempringham drew seven young ladies to follow this life. S. Hutta immured herself at Hny, near Lidge. In England, Gilmichael was a hermit, so was Roger Eller, so was Hugh Cominch. (*Cf.*, Kingsley's *Hermits*, p. 329—334.)

‡ Montalembert seems fully to have appreciated the greatness of these men:—“L'Egypte, cet antique et mystérieux berceau de l'histoire, cette terre déjà consacrée dans le mémoire des chrétiens pour avoir été la prison du peuple de Dieu et le refuge de l'enfant Jésus et de sa mère, l'Egypte fut encore choisie pour être le berceau de ce monde nouveau que vont créer la

And their principles were transplanted into the noisy world, and animated the spirits of those chosen athletes who were battling amidst the din and strife of life, teaching men how to govern others, by first governing themselves.

Now consider for a moment the history of the great champions of the Church from the beginning—excluding the Apostles—till the death of Pope Gregory the Great (604). Study the history and character, realize the weight, of the Greek and Latin Fathers. There is evidently a vast development, and a decided ethical advance, perceptible at a certain point in the enquiry.

Take S. Anthony as a stand-point.* Observe the Patristic stream as it approaches him—it is either comparatively shallow, or it is comparatively obscure; look at it as it careers past him, down the bed of time—it is larger, fuller, clearer than before.† To escape from figures, those champions who preceded S. Anthony had either smaller opportunities, or were less rigid in their expressions, than those who came after him.‡ This change is traceable, amongst other causes, to the marvellous influence exerted by this Saint's teaching and example upon the great columnal Fathers of the Church. What names of renown do we meet before that of S. Athanasius, the familiar friend of S. Anthony?§

The Churches of Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Gaul had been founded, not to speak of Edessa, and of India. Then we meet the Apostolical Fathers—S. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, and Hermas, witnesses of truth in their day, but whose extant writings are few in number and fragmentary in form. Next, we come upon the Greek apologists, who represented Christian science to a cor-

foi et la vertu chrétiennes. La vie monastique y est définitivement inaugurée, au sein des déserts, par les Paul, les Antoine, les Pacôme, et leurs nombreux disciples. Ce sont les fondateurs de ce vaste empire qui a duré jusqu'à nos jours, les grands capitaines de la guerre permanente de l'âme contre la chair, les modèles héroïques et immortels offerts aux religieux de tous les siècles." (*Les Moines d'Occident*, Tom. I., Liv. II., p. 55—56.)

* "Anthony was born A.D. 251, while Origen was still alive, while Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neocesarea. He lived till A.D. 356, to the age of 105, when Athanasius was battling with the Emperor Constantine, nine years after the birth of S. Chrysostom, and two years after that of S. Augustine." (See *Church of the Fathers*, Chap. VII., p. 178. Fourth Edition.)

† Dr. Pusey says, in quite another connexion:—"Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Basil, Athanasius, Jerome, have left a much deeper impress, and moulded succeeding periods in their own character far more than the Apostolic Fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, or Tertullian." (*Preface to Vol. I. of the Library of the Fathers*, p. 22. Oxford, MDCCCXL.)

‡ Let this not be misunderstood:—"The primitive Fathers handed down the full tradition; yet all their expressions have not been understood even by saints. S. Basil and S. Gregory are severe on S. Dionysius. S. Hippolytus, S. Methodius, S. Ignatius, and S. Justin may be, and have been, misunderstood. All that is here asserted is, that as the Church gained on the world, her teaching expanded, and its details became more and more defined.

§ "Nothing is more striking than the last will of S. Anthony. He sends his garments to Athanasius. This seems to signify that he sent him, or rather wished him to be clothed with, his spirit. And indeed, S. Athanasius, in his *Life*, evinces how highly he prizes the legacy of Anthony, and seems to look upon it as a constant reminder to follow his example. He says:—"Qui autem accipere beati Antonii utramque meliorem, et detrimentum ab eo pallium, quasi res magni pretii ambo illa custodiunt, atque in illis Antonium conspiciunt: his quoque amici, ac Antonii moniti cum gaudio gestare videntur." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii*, n. 92, p. 971; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXVI.)

rupted world. It cannot be denied there are great names amongst the Fathers of the second and third centuries. We have the rise of the Alexandrian school, with Pantænus, Clement, and Origen amongst the Greeks; whilst we find S. Irenæus, and Tertullian, and S. Cyprian amongst the Latins.* But we only possess one considerable work of S. Irenæus. Tertullian lapsed, through his violent impatience, into heresy; whilst the most famous name of all, that of Origen the Adaman-tine, is not free from grave suspicion. His writings have had, in several points of no small importance, to be either defended or explained away. The Church does not seek for talent alone, or industry, or knowledge of many tongues; she loves him and trusts in him who loves her and trusts in her; and he is her choicest advocate who knows best how to assimilate her spirit, and, with the most perfect accuracy, to reproduce her mind.†

To do this a man must learn to be humble, to sink self, and to seek Christ, as S. Anthony did in the wilderness. Indeed, a whole army of splendid captains seems to have been created by the drill and discipline of the desert. A race of stern, strong, and stubborn men arose, fit to cope with the great powers of darkness, and with an idolatrous generation. What S. Anthony had to do with the demons and the beasts, that the Fathers had to do with heretics and schismatics; and they had to maintain themselves unscathed by the same methods as had been adopted by him.‡

And they appear on the world's stage, as if they had been moulded into form by some unusual influence. So many and such names do not fall so close together in the whole range of Church history. Here, within a space of sixty years, we have S. Athanasius (373), S. Basil (379), S. Gregory Nazianzen (389), S. Ambrose (397), S. John Chrysostom (407), S. Jerome (420), and S. Augustine (431).

* Catechetical school of Alexandria from 180—254. Pantænus (180), in youth a Stoic, converted by a disciple of the Apostles—S. [Titus Flavius] Clement (213 or 217), probably born at Athens, succeeded Pantænus; Origen (254), S. Irenæus (202), though a Latin Father, wrote in Greek; Tertullian (220), of Carthage; S. Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr (262).

† The fact of Origen having exerted in the East an influence somewhat analogous to that of Augustine in the West, makes it all the more certain that there must be some want of harmony between his mind and that of the Church—otherwise, since he was so unquestionably great as a religious teacher, she would have ranked him amongst her Doctors. The Church did not so rank him and others, says Alzog:—"Parceque, malgré leur valeur littéraire et leur piété, ces auteurs n'ont pas constamment et partout expliqué et défendu la doctrine chrétienne selon l'esprit de l'Eglise." (*Patrologie*, § 2, p. 3.)

‡ P. de Ravignan is not less terse than true when he says:—"La solitude est la patrie des forts, le silence leur prière." (*De l'Institut des Jésuites*, p. 31.) "L'histoire monastique," adds Montalembert, "tout entière n'est que la démonstration de cette vérité. Et comment en eût-il été autrement? qu'était-ce que leur vie, si ce n'est une protestation permanente contre la faiblesse humaine? une réaction chaque jour renouvelée contre tout ce qui rabaisse et énerve l'homme? une aspiration perpétuelle vers tout ce qui plane sur la vie terrestre et la nature déchue? L'Âme, toujours élevée à Dieu par les moindres habitudes de la règle quotidienne, lui offrait sans relâche le triomphe des forces les plus pures et des instincts les plus généreux de la nature humaine sur les sens et sur les passions." (*Les Moines d'Occident*, Tom. I., Introduction, p. 32—33.)

The Church had gone through three hundred years of persecution. For four centuries all her popes were saints. She had had her apostles, her confessors, her martyrs, and her apologists. Now came the period of consolidation, organization, and expansion. This was the time of wide-spread heresies and General Councils, which, in condemning error, defined and developed the initial teachings of the Church. The Donatists, the Arians, the Macedonians, the Pelagians, and the Nestorians, drew out from her the riches of her wisdom, and called forth from her greatest champions the highest efforts of their genius.* Nicæa, Constantinople, and then Ephesus, saw the beautiful Mother of men exert her influence, and grow out towards the full expansion of her beauty. With such mighty powers in active motion, during times pregnant with huge events, men of more than ordinary calibre, of extraordinary energy, purity, and stability, were called for, to fight her battles and to advocate her cause. Such men arose, and their greatness has been in proportion to the fidelity with which they emulated, in the world, those principles of perfection which Providence held out to them as a pattern, in the marvellous life of "the Physician of the Egyptians."†

If it was heroic love of Christ which carried the boy Anthony into the wilderness, and maintained him there for nearly a hundred years, it was the same mighty charity which put a fire and a fortitude into the spirit of S. Athanasius—which bore him through six and forty years of bitter persecution, and sustained him, against the machinations of Bishops, Emperors, and Councils, in the undeviating prosecution of one dominant idea.

He was born about the year 296. His parents were Christians, most probably Egyptians. From boyhood, he loved and closely watched the ceremonies of the Church. The venerable Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, when looking out on the sea from his high tower, perceived a group of children playing on the sands. They excited his curiosity; and on sending for

* *Persecutions*.—First, 64; second, 95; third, 106; fourth, 166; fifth, 202; sixth, 235; seventh, 249; eighth, 257; ninth, 275; tenth, 303.

Councils.—First General Council of Nicæa, 325; second, of Constantinople, 381; third, of Ephesus, 431; fourth, of Chalcedon, 451—then comes the fall of the Western empire.

Heresies.—Montanists, 171; Schism of Novatus, 251; Manicheans, 277; Donatists, 314; Arians, 319; Macedonians, 360; Pelagians, 412; Nestorians, 420; Eutychians, 448. After this begins the era of great national conversions, to which reference has been made in another place.

† See how mightily the followers of S. Anthony opposed the Arians. Sozomen gives a vivid account of the persecutions of the Arian Lucius:—"Multi enim tunc temporis admirabiles viri regionum illarum monasteriis præerant, omnesque pariter opinionem Arii avversabantur. Quorum testimonio adherens multitudo vulgi, eandem cum illis doctrinam fidei profitebantur." He goes on to show how some of these monks, on account of their maintaining the teaching of Nicæa, were banished to a pagan island, and how they converted it from a nest of devils to the true Christian faith; and turned the much venerated temple of idols into a church of God. This is but a miniature of their general influence. (See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl., Lib. VI., Cap. XX., p. 1339-1343; Patrology, Græc., Vol. LXVII. Migne.*) The heretics Eunomius and Apollinaris were checked by the Solitaries just as the Arians had been. "Id porro istis accidit," says Sozomen, "quod antea Ariani acciderat." (Vid. *Hist. Eccl., Lib. VI., Cap. XXVII., p. 1370.*)

them, he discovered that they had been administering the rite of Christian Baptism to each other in play, and that the boy called Athanasius had acted the bishop's part. The holy prelate thereupon took the boy-bishop under his protection.* And this was the beginning of that long career of brilliant and arduous service which has immortalized the name of S. Athanasius, and which has left its mark for all time upon the Church of God.

To give a detailed description of his life—with its contests and vicissitudes, with its romantic episodes, its daring deeds, its ceaseless toil, its dauntless bravery, with its weariless perseverance in prosecuting the one cause he had espoused—would occupy too large a space. But the general outline must be touched upon, and that soul or spirit indicated which was at once the cause and the explanation of the whole course of his career.†

Naturally of a religious turn of mind, endowed with a retentive memory, an extraordinary self-command, a keen, incisive, ready, and versatile intelligence, Athanasius gave promise, from an early age, of that eminence to which he afterwards attained.

He studied under Alexander; but it is evident from his life, and from the whole bias of his mind, that he had been impregnated with the spirit of the martyrs of the Church, and of the Fathers of the desert.

What S. Anthony was in the wilderness, that, Athanasius was in the world. The one was persecuted, worried, and, had they possessed the power, would have been destroyed by demons; the other was persecuted and worried, and would have been murdered by wicked men. The devils hated Anthony, because Anthony loved his Heavenly King; men hated Athanasius, because he loved the Incarnate Word. If Anthony,

* And the Baptism seems to have been declared valid by the holy bishop:—"Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Cumque adessent, quis eis ludus, et quid egissent vel quomodo, percontatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidi negare primo; deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius puerulis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, simul et ab eo qui interrogaverat, ubi videt secundum religionis nostre ritum cuncta constare collocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisse traditur illis, quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerit infusa, literari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea quæ a sacerdotibus mos est." (*Vita S. Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandrini*.—*Vid. Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena*, p. 61; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV. Migne.)

† He appears to have been born about A.D. 296; is received by Alexander, 313; seeks S. Anthony, 315; writes *Contra Gentes*, 319; Arian strife, 323; Constantine becomes aware of the heresy, 324; Synod of Nicæa called, 325; death of Alexander, 326; Athanasius succeeds, 326; goes into the Thebaid, 327; Arius goes to Alexandria, 332; Synod of Cæsarea, 333; S. Anthony enters Alexandria against the Arians, 334; Synod of Tyre, 335; Athanasius exiled to Trèves, 336; death of Constantine, 337; return of Athanasius, 338; Alexandrian Synod, 340; Synod of Antioch, 341; Synod of Sardica, 347; Gregory murdered, 349; Athanasius energizes against the Arians, 350; Synod of Shyria, 351; Athanasius writes *De Nicænis Decretis*, 352; death of Magnentius, 353; Synod of Milan, 355; Athanasius writes his *Apologia de fuga sua*, 356; Synod of Constantinople, 360; Julian, Emperor, 362; troubles in Alexandria, 367; Synod of Rome, 368; of Alexandria, 369; of Rome, 370; Athanasius writes against Apollinarius, 372; death of Athanasius, 373.

without wavering for a moment, resisted the devils during a long life of temptation, S. Athanasius, during forty-six years, without showing the slightest symptom of weakness, withstood the terrors of persecution, the artfulness of dialectical pretence, and the weariness of many and tedious exiles, in the service of his Lord.*

The one paramount life-giving principle in the mind of either was devotedness to Christ—not Christ as an abstraction, or an idea without energy, a simple picture in the mind, but Christ as a living, personal, mighty Master, as King of Glory, as Eternal Judge, as the Resurrection and the Life, as the Alpha and Omega, the Begin-all and End-all of human destiny, and as the Sovereign of the mind, the Possessor of the heart, and the Imperial Ruler of the Universe.†

Both Anthony and Athanasius felt, not only that Christ was their one Supreme Lord, but that He was the "Physician of the world." They saw around them on every side the loathsome leprosy of lust, idolatry, and degradation. They burnt with charity towards man, because they loved God truly. Could they, as men with human hearts in their breasts, suffer that Physician to be deprived of His credentials and shorn of His *prestige*? Was it tolerable that the claim which He had upon the attention of mankind should be ignored, argued away, expunged? Was the Saviour of souls to be banished out of His own kingdom, and no effort to be made in His defence?

What was Arianism but the destruction of the very brain of Christianity? Deny the divinity of our Lord, and creation at once falls into the darkness of eclipse—the unclean monsters creep from their lairs, the impurities of heathen worship poison the land again, and the latter state of the world becomes worse even than the first.‡

* And in fact, looking on the Arians in the light which S. Epiphanius throws on them in his *Adversus Hæreses* (Tom. II., *Patrol. Græc.*, Vol. XLII.), and also with the eyes of S. Athanasius and S. Anthony, they seem to have been possessed by a spirit of pride, cruelty, and hypocrisy, more in keeping with the popular notion of evil spirits than with that of men. The picture drawn of Arius by S. Epiphanius is sufficiently expressive:—"Porro inflatus opinione sui senex ille a scopo veritatis excidit. Puit hic proceriore statura, tristi oris specie, totaque corporis configuratione, subdoli serpentis instar, ad fraudem et fallaciam composita, ita ut callido illo externoque habitu facile simplicioribus animis obreperet. Nam hemiphorium et colobium indutus in colloquiis ac salutationibus blandus erat imprimis, atque omnium animos adulationum illecebris devinctos tenebat." (S. Epiphanius *Advers. Hæreses*, Tom. II., Lib. II., *Hæres.* LXXIX., p. 206–207; *Patrol. Græc.*, Vol. XLII.)

† This personal love of our Lord and Master seems to be as the very marrow and fibre of religious life. In proportion as this personal love of the living Christ possessed the men of old, in that proportion they were mighty. This it was that made martyrs and confessors. Only read the lives of the Solitaries, beginning with the First Hermit, and this great love explains the whole action of their lives. The more one reads the writings of the great Columnal Fathers, the more it becomes evident that it was the flame of this divine fire which made them strong and operative. It was love more than science, Christian chivalry more than the forms of logic, which lent to them their marvellous power, and made their names a pillar of strength. Their personal sway did great things in their day, and the human beauty of their minds is still found reflected in their works—read their orations and letters.

‡ This fact S. Athanasius felt intensely. It was, indeed, *Athanasius contra mundum*, inasmuch as he was fighting the world on a world-question. It was a question of Christ, or of idolatry—just as the grand division of human thought in these days is between Christianity or infidelity. S. Athanasius shows that the falling-off from Christ leads men to adore the sun,

The saints were jealous lovers of the Crucified. They became flames of devouring fire when His honour or good name was menaced. And their love increased in proportion as they studied the condition of the world, and saw what would become of it without Him—what would ensue if His name were blotted out, and the earth made desolate.

Such, then, was the grand informing principle which is at once the explanation and the cause of the indomitable energy, the unconquerable tenacity, the violent enthusiasm, which come out in the eventful life of the great S. Athanasius. He was a world-saint, for he had a world-battle to fight and win; and the spirit which was in him, leading him on, and giving him light, prudence, acuteness, and force, was his unquenchable love of the Incarnate Word.*

The superficial historian, who looks upon a saint as he would upon a clever statesman, an able chief, or a righteous king, holds in his hand the lock, and may examine its wards, but he does not possess the key. Athanasius fighting for an abstraction till wearied out at eighty years of age; or Anthony living his life away in the wilderness, in obedience to a mere idea;—men consuming their strength, wasting their gifts on an unreality, or on any object inadequate to their exertions, are simply exhibitions which scare and shock. But let the object be worthy of the effort, let it be Christ, and then the picture represents a splendid hero, who can never suffer enough, who can never be spent too much, who can ever offer more—in the service of so high a Lord and Master.†

moon, and stars, then they sink lower and lower still, then:—"Quia etiam pejora meditati, in lapides et ligna, in reptilia, aquatilia, et terrena atque in feras et brutas animantes divinum et cœleste Dei nomen transtulerunt, omnesque soli Deo debitos honores illis attribuerunt: verum antem Deum Christi Patrem rejecerunt." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Pars I., Oratio Contra Gentes*, n. 9, p. 18-19; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV.) These great men took large views of the world, and felt that Christianity was an all-embracing good.

* To give a few of his expressions:—"Ubi ille in nostram regionem introivit, et sibi domicilium in nno corpore ex nostris elegit, mox omnes hostium adversus homines insidia finem habuere, et mortis corruptio, cujus vires adversus illos tante autes erant, penitus evanuit. Perisset enim hominum genus, nisi omnium Dominus et Servator Dei Filius mortem consumpturnis advenisset." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Pars I., Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, n. 9, p. 111; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV.) Again:—"Verum ubi advenit Dominus, humanamque ejus dispensationem experientia inimicus cognovit, cum non posset carnem decipere, quam gestabat Christus: tunc ille qui universum orbem se comprehensurum pollicitus sibi fuerat, jam inde propter Christum etiam pueris, tanquam passer, superbus cepit esse ludibrio." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Pars I., Epistola ad Episcopos Egypti et Lybie*, n. 2, p. 542, Vol. XXV.; see also *Tom. II., Pars I., Oratio II., contra Arianos*, n. 39, p. 223, Vol. XXVI.) In fact his writings are made up of a profound love and deep appreciation of Christ, the "*omnium Servator Dei Filius*."

† In fact his zeal may be said to have looked beyond the grave. When in the hands of death, he declared that if he found mercy with Christ his Lord, he would prostrate before Him, and not lift his face from the earth, till he had shut the gates of the idolatrous temple of *Rarail* in Alexandria:—"Erat Alexandria idolum nomine *Rarail*: cum vero Athanasii jam febre correpti quies appropinquaret, dixit: Si invenio misericordiam apud Christum Dominum meum, precidam coram eo neque faciem meam levabo, donec claudantur fores templi idoli istius. Testati vero sunt sacerdotes Alexandrini, quod septem diebus elapsis ab ejus obitu, misit Jovianus imperator fidelis mandata, secundum quæ templum illud occisum est." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Vita S. Athanasii ex Arabico Versa*, p. 251; see also the *Elogia Veterum*, if they really relate to the Saint, *Ibidem*, *Prolegomena*, p. 274-280; see *Apologia Contra Arianos*, n. 6, p. 258, *Tom. I., Pars I.; Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV.)

Athanasius loathed the Arians, because they struck at Christ : he tenderly loved the monks and Solitaries, because they worshipped and defended Him.

Indeed, the Solitaries who spent their time in silence, penance, fasting, and wrestling, formed a species of basis of operations for those fighting for Christ in the busy world. To look on them, and to converse with them, was to acquire new strength, and fresh courage ; the fires of devotedness were stirred up, and the athlete went forth from the wilderness into the tumult of the battle, refreshed and invigorated, joyously to spill his blood in the service of his King.*

Thus S. Athanasius found a sure *point d'appui* amongst the Fathers of the desert. From Anthony he learnt what it was to love Christ indeed.† He could see love's flames lighting up the countenance of that devoted man. His one delight was to be in his company ; he often visited him ; he wrote his life. Anthony was no less drawn to Athanasius. When the archbishop was driven into exile, Anthony often sent letters to Constantine, urging his return.‡ The emperor answered him with respect, for he looked upon Anthony as one of " the pillars of the world." S. Anthony's last words referred to S. Athanasius. He sent him as a memento, at his death, his sheepskin and his cloak. So Paul, the first hermit, when dying, said to Anthony : " Bring the cloak which Athanasius the bishop gave thee, to wrap up my corpse."§ Just as Athanasius gave his covering to Anthony, and just as S. Anthony, dying, sent his cloak to Athanasius, so it may be said that they partook of each other's spirit :—Anthony was the Athanasius of the desert ; Athanasius was the Anthony of the world.||

In fact the whole bias of Athanasius was towards the ascetic life. He loved all the desert Fathers. He gave a cloak to Abbot Macarius. S. Ammon and Theodore were his familiar

* See how beautifully Sozomen describes the method of the solitary life. (*Hist. Eccles., Lib. I., Cap. XII., p. 890—895, Patrolog. Græc. Vol. LXVII.*)

† "Magnum quippe mihi huiusmodi vel ex sola Antouii memoria obvenit . . . Litteris itaque vestris acceptis, volebam quosdam monachos accersere, ex his maxime qui frequentius illum adibat: ut ab illis edoctus plura vobis possem transmittere; sed cum ad finem jam vergeret navigandi tempestas, urgetque talisclarius: ideo quicumque novi (scilicet cum illum vidi) et quæ ab eo ediscere potui, qui non modico tempore virum secutus sum atque lavanti manibus aquam effudi . . ." (*Vid. Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. II., Pars I., Vita S. Antonii, Proœmium, p. 838—839; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.* See also *Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, p. 61; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

‡ See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles., Lib. II., Cap. XXXI., p. 1025—1026; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LXVII.*

§ Paul said to Anthony :—" It would indeed be a happy thing for thee, and I could desire it for thee, to be already allowed to follow the Divine Lamb; but thy life and thy example are still necessary to the brethren, therefore wait patiently. But thou shalt bury me like a dutiful son, and I beg of thee, if thou art not afraid of the labour, to fetch the cloak which the bishop Athanasius gave to thee, and clothe me in it for my burial. . . . Anthony was amazed to find that Paul knew of Athanasius and the cloak, and he kissed his hand silently and tearfully." (*See Hahn-Hahn, Fathers of the Desert, Paul of Thebes, p. 88.*)

|| *Vid. Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. II., Pars I.—Vita S. Antonii, n. 91, p. 971; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*

companions. He took the Egyptian hermits to the Eternal City, and set men's hearts on fire with a love of the heroism of the Cross. He spoke amongst the Roman nobility of the wonders of Anthony's life, of the devotedness of the Solitaries, and of how Pachomius had peopled the banks of the Nile with families of Saints. Though the history of Aglaüs and Boniface were known to the Roman people, the narratives of Athanasius came upon them like a new revelation. Roman nobles abandoned their pride, leaving a life of luxury, and the pomp of place, bound themselves over to a life of poverty and obscurity, out of love of Christ. Roman ladies, who were so delicate that they could hardly bear the movement of their gilded chairs, or the weight of their splendid apparel, or the pressure of their embroidered slippers, cast all this on one side, to live to God in prayer and fasting and terrific penance. The children of Scipio, Camillus, and Anicius, wiping from their minds all thought of human glory, sought Christ in poverty of life, in blind obedience, and in chaste abandonment of love. One can see now, in imagination, the beautiful and high-minded Marcella, the noblest of Rome's daughters, hanging entranced upon the lips of Athanasius, as he relates to her the marvels of the desert, and how Christ could turn the terrors of the wilderness into a home of happiness and joy.* And well may Athanasius have loved the Solitaries. The desert was his safest retreat, his sweetest home in trial. He trusted the Solitaries, wrote to them, made them his confidants, and loved them as no others. They were his joy and his crown, and his firmest stay in the great struggle he had to carry on against the world. Had he not drunk deeply of their fountains, he never would have ridden out so many tempests, such fierce hurricanes, and have remained without a spar broken, or a line out of place. His love of Christ dominated him so masterfully that, whilst it kept all taut, it propelled him forward with greater power than could be brought to bear upon him through the continued action of the world, the devil, and the flesh.†

* This was in the year 341. The two monks whom he took with him were Ammon and Isidore. The former had so utterly renounced the world, that he did not care to raise his eyes to look upon the splendour of the imperial city:—"Quorum prior tanta erat humanarum rerum incuria; ut etsi Romæ amplitudo omnes vel longe terrarum sitos homines ad sui spectaculum evocaret ille tamen amphitheatra, plateas et opera publica, Romæ degens, ne conspectum quidem ire vellet." This same Ammon, when he heard that there was a probability of his being made a bishop, mutilated his body, thinking by so doing to escape such an infliction. "Isidorus autem non minore virtutis fama et fluxarum rerum abdicione florebat." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I.*, *Prolegomena, Præfatio Editionis Benedictinæ*, n. 21, p. 39; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV.)

† Read his letters, orations, and apologies—they speak of a personal, living war against the *Hostes Christi*, as he continually calls them. He is defending one he loves, as well as serves. See also *SS. Patrum Egyptiorum Opp. Omnia*, S. Pachomius Tabennensis Abbas, § 1, p. 943; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XL.

What saint of the Church, save those who sat on Peter's chair, has at the same time held so high a position, has confronted such mighty enemies, and has left such a splendid name? The Chair of S. Mark was, next to that of Rome, the most exalted in the Church; Alexandria was the most flourishing city in the Empire; the Bishop of Alexandria was Primate, with almost boundless power over the whole of Egypt; he exerted a sway in the civil order which enabled him, when supported by the Egyptian people, to withstand the arrogance of emperors, and to preserve the independence of the Church. Constantine, it is supposed, ostracised Athanasius through jealousy. Constantius at first was afraid to banish him, whilst the Apostate Julian drove him into exile, because his vast influence was oversetting all the pagan temples in Alexandria. And in spite of the power of counts, prefects, tribunes, eunuchs, bishops, emperors, and armies,—in spite of malice, perjury, and fraud, he held his own, and proved himself equal to the combined malice of his enemies.* There is something great in his whole career. There is something sublime in the way he bears the weight of calumny and condemnation.† Coalitions may form, and meet, and plot; courtier-bishops, men of subtle intellects and large acquirements, may use shallow-minded emperors as their tools against him; Tyre, Antioch, Arles, Milan, in council assembled, may pass sentence. He may be accused of murder, sacrilege, tyranny, oppression, of whipping and imprisoning bishops, of sedition, treason, theft, of robbery of widows, and of violating virgins consecrated to God. Constantine may cast him out, the impious Constantius may try to ruin him, Julian may attempt to murder him, and Valens may deliver him to his enemies; he may be banished to Treves, and Antioch, he may be driven to Rome, or forced to fly into the inmost recesses of the desert, or to hide himself away in his father's tomb, or to conceal himself six years under the roof of a pious virgin; armed men may break into his church at midnight, to pierce him with their spears and arrows—it

* Even Gibbon is forced to speak well of Athanasius. After treating of his becoming Archbishop of Alexandria, Gibbon says of him:—"He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the Homoousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business as the duty, and the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution the Archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine for the government of a great monarchy." (See *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. III., Chap. XXI., p. 357. London, 1820.)

† See how beautifully S. Gregory Theologus speaks of the great Athanasius, in his eulogium upon him. (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., *Oratio* XXI., in *Laudem Athanasii*, p. 1082—1128; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXXV.)

matters not :* he knows in Whom he believes, and though he is well aware that one simple blow at the divinity of his Lord would free him from the implacable malice of his enemies, yet he preseveres, with one resolve fixed in his mind immovably—that the cause of Christ his King should not be compromised, but rather that all this opposition should testify in the face of the world to all time, and bring out into luminous relief this one dogma of religion, viz., that the Christ who possessed his heart, and reigned in his intelligence, is Consubstantial with the Father by Whom all things are made.

Nor was he without his triumphs. Deep-rolling clouds, and bursts of piercing sun-light, made up the summer of his day. See him at Nicæa. Three hundred prelates from all quarters of the East are there. Asia and Egypt, Rome, India, and Armenia are represented. The cultured Greek, the vehement Egyptian, Syrians, and bishops from Palestine fill the great hall, with one thought living in their minds—whether Christ should be declared to be God, or to be a creature merely.† Hermit-bishops like S. James of Nisibis, courtly prelates like Eusebius of Nicomedia, or Cæsarea, venerable men, with their eyes dug out, or their hands scorched, or their legs disabled—the tokens of recent persecution—have come to bear their witness to the truth. There is Potammon, the friend of S. Anthony, and the venerable Paphnutius who had suffered for the faith and lived like a hermit. All these martyr-bishops were devoured by zeal for the house of the Lord, and were ready to lay down their lives, as they had been ready to suffer in their organs, in its defence. Many a heart must have leaped up in that meeting, when the question was raised regarding the Godhead of the Incarnate. See, then, this magnificent assembly of the most learned men in the East, full of the wisdom of the ancients, and of the experience which is gained in a chequered and an eventful life. See the great Emperor Con-

* The following is sufficient testimony to the brutality and lawlessness of his enemies:—"Ariani omnibus terrori erant, imperatorisque formidinem opposcentes, apud omnes venditabant sese, comminantes illius iram. Virginibus autem Christi implacabile bellum indixerant impuri homines, quia eas impietatem detestari compererant. Quamobrem alias ex ædibus deiecerunt, alias affecere contumeliis; earumque capita, que potissima tunc erat ignominie nota, nudari iusserunt a petulanti illa juvenum caterva. Mulieribus quoque suis facultatem dederunt contumelias arbitrio suo cuivis illarum inferendi. Honestæ igitur ac fideles matrones, his conspectis, declinabant occursum huiusmodi." If such was the treatment of women, we may imagine what the feeling against S. Athanasius was. (Vid. *Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, n. 9, p. 129; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

† Alexander and Athanasius were from Alexandria on the orthodox side; on the heterodox, Arius and his followers, Sarus, Enzoius, Achillas, Theonas, and Secundus from the Delta. Then there were Eustathius, Macarius of Jerusalem, Paul of Neocæsarea, Aitallah, Aristaces, son of Gregory the Illuminator, and John of Persia. Then again, Leontius of Cæsarea—claimed by both parties—and Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Menophantus, who occupied churches of great position, but who were strongly in favour of the Arian heresy. Many more names might be mentioned, such as Alexander of Byzantium, Acesius, Marcellus, Spyridion, Nicholas Marcus, Victor and Vincentius—but space does not allow. For the list and description of the Council, see *Opp. S. Athanasii, Prolegomena, Tom. I., Vita S. Athanasii, p. 65-67; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*; also Stanley's *Eastern Church, Lect. III., p. 97-112. Second Edition.*

stantine, a stout warrior clothed in gorgeous magnificence, with his sparkling diadem pressing his flowing hair, and enveloped in a purple or scarlet robe trembling all over with stones and with gems.* See the venerable Alexander, bent with years, slowly advancing to address the Fathers. Remembering how Christ, showing the seamless garment all torn by the Arians, had appeared to his predecessor, he solemnly proclaims his testimony to the Godhead of the Redeemer. Hardly has he done speaking, when suddenly a young man, bright, beautiful, short in stature, with auburn hair, breaks in with a torrent of fiery eloquence, and holds that great assembly speechless, as, full of the spirit of Elias and of Anthony, he pleads the sacred cause of the Saviour of the world. He is but a deacon, he is scarcely five-and-twenty years of age; but he, in the face of that august meeting, with as great chivalry as any knight of Arthur's table, throws down the gauntlet, and initiates a struggle which only ended with his life.† The friends of Alexander were rapt in admiration of his splendid gifts and masterful self-possession, whilst the eyes of Arius and his party were lit up with no ordinary fire, seeing themselves confronted with such uncompromising boldness by the mere scribe of Alexander.

To paint the gleams of light which shot across his path, when he confounded his accusers, or when he was triumphantly received in the desert by hosts of anchorites, who issued forth from their tombs and caves, with torches and songs, to meet him, would take too long.‡ But think of his favour with the Roman Pontiff, or recall the time when the whole of Alexandria turned out to salute him on his return from exile! The multitude strewed their embroidered carpets on the ground and bore green boughs in their hands, and, like a moving forest of ever-

* "His towering stature, his strong-built frame, his broad shoulders, his handsome features, were worthy of his grand position. There was a brightness in his look, and a mingled expression of fierceness and gentleness in his lion-like eye. The bishops were further struck by the dazzling, perhaps barbaric magnificence of his dress. His long hair, false or real, was crowned with the imperial diadem of pearls. His purple or scarlet robe blazed with precious stones and gold embroidery. He was shod, no doubt, in the scarlet shoes then confined to the emperors. As he advanced up the hill, he cast his eyes down, his steps faltered, and when he reached the throne allotted to him, he stood motionless, till the bishops beckoned to him to be seated." (Stanley's *Eastern Church*, Lect. IV., p. 122-123.)

† "Hic complurium antistitum emicuit vis ingenii veræ fidei amor, studium ecclesiasticæ pacis . . . maxime tamen omnium Athanasii: qui tametsi diaconus solus erat, et ait Theodoretus, juvenilis ætatis, nemini uni quantumvis grandævo secundo studio Arri confutandi; quæ de re audiendus Gregorius Nazianzenus 'In sancta synodo Nicæna atque illo trecentorum et duodeviginti virorum numero, quos Spiritus sanctus in unum coegerat, quod facultas tulit, morbum compressit. Nondum quidem in episcoporum numerum affectus, verum primas tenuit inter eos qui hunc eo commigrassent non minus enim virtute quam gradum dignitate, honoris præstantia speciebatur' . . . Quo factum, ut tota vis mali in capitis ejus periculum postea lumineret, ipseque unus omnium impetum exceperet." (Vid. *Opp. S. Athanasii*, Tom. I., *Prolegomena*, *Vita S. Athanasii*, n. 7, p. 68; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV.)

‡ Here is another example:—"Usque Syenen autem, extremum versas Æthiopiam Thebaidis oppidum, contendit adverso flumine. Cumque Tabennensin navigio transiisset, exit obviam Pachomius magna comitante monachorum frequentia, qui adventantem hymnis, psalmis, cantu, nulla prætermissa gaudii significatione, virum exceperunt." (*Opp. S. Athanasii*, Tom. I., *Prolegomena*, *Vita S. Athanasii*, n. 6, p. 73; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXV.)

green and blossom, they accompanied him in triumph back to the many-peopled city. The clapping of hands sounded like the voice of thunder, and the air was heavy with the fragrance of incense and ointments, whilst the night quivered with the myriad flashes of light betokening a vast illumination of the city, which no doubt threw its beautiful reflection far out into the sea.* Athanasius had many, and able, and scheming enemies, but he also had many devoted friends. The people were with him; the army of the desert was at his back; and his glory, far from growing dim as it recedes into the past, seems rather to display the brightness of its shining with all the more unapproachable intensity.

How different was Athanasius, both in appearance and in character, from the satanic Arius! Whilst the former shrank with terror, like S. Thomas, from being highly-placed, the latter, with an ungovernable ambition, longed to be Archbishop of Alexandria.† We are assured that it was the bitterness of his disappointment, at seeing S. Athanasius preferred before him, which soured his temper and drove him into open rebellion against the teaching of the Church. He was brimful of overweening self-conceit; he had powerful abilities; he was artful, sly, cruel, cunning, and a master of spiritual hypocrisy. S. Epiphanius says that he was possessed by the devil.‡ S. Athanasius maintains the same. In appearance he was a tall, thin man. He did not set out on his full course of blasphemy till late in life. When at Nicæa, he was sixty years of age. There appeared to be a fire burning within him. He could be calm and solemn, like a beast of prey after gorging; whilst, at times, the glare in his eyes and the fierceness of his gesture would reveal the demon which kept watch within. He seemed to possess two personalities:—he had the animal elements of the leopard, and at the same time he was smooth and insinuating, speaking on spirituality with the most melodious

* "Nam per sexus, ætates atque artes singuli divisi, quo pacto solet civitas illa instrui, cum publico aliquem excipit honore . . . fluvius omnes natus erat? Nilum etiam quivis poeta dixerit, illum, inquam, vere aurifluum et spicis uberem, ab urbe ad Chereu retroactis cursu fluentem, diurno, imo longiore itinere . . . Nam quid publicos plausus commoneorem, et aromatum profusiones, pervigilia et totam urbem lumbis coruscantem, ceteraque omnia lætitiæ argumenta, quæ Athanasio amplissime, imo supra fidem conferebantur? Sic vir eximius, ac cum tali pompa et celebritate civitatem suam ingreditur." (So says S. Gregory Nazianzen, see *Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii*, n. 10, p. 109; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV., Opp.*)

† "Arium igitur cui erat explaudende sacre Scripture provincia, Alexandrianæ sedis occupanda libido inceserat." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii*, n. 3, p. 52; see also an account of his subtlety and artfulness. *Ibidem*, n. 4.)

‡ "Hunc igitur Arium Alexandri presbyterum Satanae spiritus invadens impulit (quemadmodum scriptum est) pulverem adversus Ecclesiam excitare." (*Opp. S. Epiphani, Tom. II., Adversus Hæreses, Lib. II., Hæres. LXIX.*, § 2, p. 203; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLII.*) Again:—"Inflatus opinione sui æveus ille a scopo veritatis excedit." (*Ibidem*, §§ 3-4, p. 206-210.) The ancient writers speak of the great dialectical skill of Arius, e.g., Socrates—*Hist. Eccles., Lib. I., Cap. V.*, p. 42. "Erat porro dialecticæ artis altiarumque disciplinarum scientissimus; et quæ opportuior ad extirpationem via, præferebat pietatis religionisque studium singulare." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii*, p. 60; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*) Natalis Alexander says:—"Dialecticarum argutiarum erat peritissimus." (*Vid. Hist. Eccles., Tom. VII., Sec. IV., Art. III.*, § 1, p. 48.)

of voices. The cooing of this half dove, half tiger, drew women by hundreds under his despotic sway, and, attaching themselves to him, they abandoned the orthodox teaching of the Church.* Like Apollinaris, he set his doctrine to the music of obscene songs, to render it popular amongst the people, and left no stone of cruelty, hypocrisy, and lying unturned, to forward the evil cause he had espoused.† His death, which is described by S. Athanasius, is a worthy conclusion to his life; and he represents the most revolting spectacle of unscrupulous self-sufficiency and of turbulent ambition which is to be met with in the annals of ecclesiastical affairs.

S. Athanasius not only dedicated his tongue, and his unapproachable knowledge of the world and of human nature, to the support of Christ's divinity, but he also vigorously wielded his pen. There is a freshness and vivacity in his writings, which, after so many hundreds of years, make them read as if his soul was still heated with emotion, and as if the ink in his pen had not had time to dry.‡

In his "*Oratio Contra Gentes*," which he wrote before he entered the Arian battle, he points out, with great precision and force, the position of the Word in the economy of the world. He speaks of the original uprightness of man; he treats of the various gradations by which, at length, he arrives at the lowest and most degrading form of Egyptian idolatry; he shows how the mind, by degrees, abandoning the contemplation of the Word, is drawn to self, and in the darkness of nature loses its only good; he speaks of the nature of the soul, of its immortality, and indicates how the thought of eternity strengthens man in heroic love, and enables him to live a virtuous life, and to face death bravely.§ And if the soul is spiritual, must not its author be spiritual too?

* For a description of him, see *Opp. S. Epiphani, Adversus Hæreses, Tom. II., Hæres. LXIX.,* § 3, p. 206. Or see his picture in *Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, p. 60; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.* A modern sketch of his appearance can be seen in Stanley's *Eastern Church, Lect. III., p. 100. Second Edition.*

† He used to sing these airs himself, and plunge and dance in wild violent excitement, as if possessed by the fiend, during his performance. S. Epiphani, on the other hand, fitted holy doctrine to popular songs, and thus made truth enter the minds of men in the amusements of daily life.

‡ Erasmus, who was an expert with regard to style, speaks in the highest terms of S. Athanasius's compositions:—"Erat vir ille sæculo tranquillissimo dignus, dedisset nobis egregios ingenii facundieque suæ fructus. Habebat enim vere dotem illam, quam Paulus in episcopo putat esse præci Puam, το διδακτικόν, adeo dilucidus est, acutus, sobrius, attentus, breviter omnibus modis ad docendum appositus. Nihil habet durum, quod offendet in Terulliano: nihil επιδεικτικόν quod vidimus in Hieronymo: nihil operosum, quod in Iuliano: nihil facinosum, quod est in Augustino, atque etiam Chrysostomo: nihil isocraticos numeros, aut Lysia compositionem redolens quod est in Gregorio Nazianzeno, sed totus est in explicanda re." (*Opp. S. Athanasii, Tom. I., Prolegomena, Prefatio Editionis Benedictine, § 2, n. 2, p. 23.*)

§ The influence of the Alexandrian school is very evident in all the writings of S. Athanasius, especially in his *Contra Gentes*, and his *De Incarnatione*:—"Die der Mahrede des Clemens Alexandrinus zu Grunde liegende Idee des Logos ist in zwei apologetischen Jugendschriften des heiligen Athanasius (a. 319): *Oratio Contra Gentes—De Incarnatione Verbi*, unentfälschter ausgeführt und näher entwickelt." (See *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der Christlichen Theologie*, von Dr. Karl Werner, *Erster Band*, §§ 47—48, p. 166—171.)

He seems deeply impressed with the fact that Christ was the Sun of the world : that He, and He alone, could melt men's hearts, and draw them off the horrors of idolatry and the follies of Greek mythology. His "*Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*" is the natural sequel to the former discourse. His polemics against the Arians, his apologies, his letters, and the history of the Arian question which he sent to the monks,—all his main writings on theology, breathe one spirit, speak of one object, pursue one end, maintain one cause, and that is, the Divinity of Jesus Christ. In this his life's energies were absorbed, for this he wrote, fought, suffered, and died.*

And thus was one splendid career dedicated to carrying out one aim. Just as the Angelical, in his place, spends his life in preparing for, and realizing, a scheme of Christian theology, so S. Athanasius spent his in displaying, by his writings and his ceaseless battlings, the one dogma of the Consubstantiality of the Son of God. He fixed that truth for ever ; there could be no mistake after Nicæa, and the struggles which followed it. He brought out the Lord vividly before the consciousness of Christendom : he caused men to think of Him, to write of Him, to defend Him, to elicit the Church's mind concerning Him—in one word, to prepare materials for a work which he could not have accomplished himself, that is, for a scientific exposition—fitting in with the organism of the entire revelation—of the claims of our Lord's divinity upon the adhesion of the world.†

Now what is there in common between S. Anthony, and S. Athanasius, and the Angelical, and what is the difference between them ? Is it possible that the Prince of Theologians, in the thirteenth century, owes anything to, or is connected in any way with, a Solitary of the Egyptian desert, or with the hero of a battle which was waged so many hundreds of years before his time ?‡

* Werner says of the *De Incarnatione*: "Eine zusammenhängende Entwicklung der christlichen Lehre von der Menschwerdung Gottes und von der Erlösung durch Christus findet sich in der Schrift des heiligen Athanasius, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, einem der schönsten und anspruchendsten Schriftdenkmale welche das christliche Alterthum uns überliefert hat. Athanasius setzt sich in dieser Schrift zum Zwecke, zu beweisen, dass die Fleischwerdung des Wortes Gottes nothwendig, möglich und Gottes würdig gewesen." (*Ibidem*, § 90, p. 390; Cf. Alzog, *Patrologie*, § 45, p. 227—240; also Andres, *Dell' Origine, de' Progressi e dello Stato Attuale d'ogni Letteratura*, Tom. VI., p. 69—72.)

† His principal works are *Tom. I., Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*; his *Oratio Contra Gentes*, p. 5—96; *Oratio De Incarnatione Verbi*, p. 96—198; *Apologia Contra Arianos*, p. 248—410; *De Decretis Nicænæ Synodi*, p. 415—476. Then, *Tom. II.* :—*Quattor Orationes Contra Arianos*, p. 13—526; *De Synodis*, p. 682—794; *Vita S. Antonii*, p. 837—975; *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos*, p. 985—1027; *Contra Apollinarianum, Lib. II.*, p. 1094—1166; *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto*, p. 1191—1218. His numerous apologies, and letters, and instructions to monks and others, are all filled with the same burning spirit of championship of Christianity, showing the inner spirit of the man, and telling us at this day what a consuming fire of love had been lit up in that great heart of his. He who would learn that theology is no mere abstraction, and that God's honour is not a mere scholastic subtlety, might read with profit the works of Athanasius.

‡ The influence of man upon man is simply the power of principle which acts, as lightning flashes from one cloud to another, through its own inherent power. Men are not separated so much by years, occupations, or circumstances, as by motive-principles of action. A man who

As one golden cord can run through beads of silver, pearl, and lapis-lazuli, each keeping its own shape and colour, each different from each, and yet all dependent on and held together by the single thread—so with the master-heroes of Christianity. Anthony, in the midst of the swarming devils of the East, scared by terrific visions and scourged by the ministers of hell, ever in agony with the fiend, ever battling with his flesh, is essentially the great wrestler of Christianity. With him, it was “violence” which bore away the prize. His mighty work for humanity was to combat and to die, and then to be the pattern man of Christian heroism, and to read to a future world the lesson of a life. Though no one, save perhaps Elias, ever exerted so great a sway, still, it was not by learning—of which he knew but the name, nor by science—of which he was absolutely ignorant, that he was to impress the consciences of men; but it was by the great example of his unwearied and entire abandonment of himself to Christ.* Blot out S. Anthony’s life, and his whole influence has gone. His “Life” is his “*Summa Theologica*.” His course is marked at every turn by the dogmatic principle; and the wealth of moral and positive teaching enshrined in his career, energizing in it and practically realized by it, was afterwards cast into system by the theologian. What is the “*Summa Theologica*,” after all, but the grand principles of Anthony’s life, seized, expanded, arranged, and thrown into the symmetry of scientific order? Is there not a striking relation between the two?—are they not as nearly connected as practice is allied to theory? And if they be so intimately bound up, are they not strung together upon one simple thread or principle? That which gives unity to the manifold splendour of the lives of the great Church heroes, is this abiding fact—that they abandoned their entire being to an intense personal love of Christ.† They may be moulded and changed, and

really loves Christ is in far more intimate union with S. Anthony, S. Athanasius, and S. Thomas, than he is with his next-door neighbour, nay, even with his own brother or his child, if that brother or child has abandoned the principle upon which Christian love is founded, as it is the only bond which can bind men in harmony together for any length of time.

* It was the “follow me” of Christ that acted with such magic in the third and fourth centuries of the Church. In fact a few simple words heard sometimes by accident in the “Gospel” have done more for the world than all the scientific pedantry of pretensions learning has been able to effect with years of toil. S. John Chrysostom calls the abandonment of all things to possess Christ fully—“*philosophia a Christo introducta*”—“the philosophy introduced by Christ.” In fact, S. Jerome, S. Bernard, Cassian, and others, insist that our Lord Himself, and then the Apostles, by their example, introduced the action of monastic heroism into Christian society. (See, besides, *Mark*, X., 21, 29, 30; *Matth.* XI., 21, XVIII., 22; *Acts*, II., 44, 45, IV., 32, 34, 35, 37.)

† Thus we find that the nearer men lived to primitive times, the more they approached in their lives to the practices of monastic life:—“On pourrait même affirmer,” says Montalembert, “que pendant les trois premiers siècles tous les chrétiens gardèrent un certain caractère monastique. Ils étaient austères et rigides jusque dans la sérénité de leur foi et la jeune ardeur de leur enthousiasme. Ils restaient purs au fond de la corruption universelle. Leur vie était plus ou moins caché au sein de la société païenne. Ils étaient de ce vieux monde comme n’en était pas. . . . Et parmi eux, d’ailleurs, il s’en est toujours trouvé un grand nombre que le goût de la perfection ramenait à l’abnégation des premiers jours.” (*Les Moines d’Occident, Tome Premier, Liv. II., p. 48.*)

formed into different shapes, yet one thing is ever the same in all—the risking of this life, and all it offers, that they may lay hold on Jesus crucified. This was the grand work performed for the world by Anthony—he burnt into men's minds, for all time to come, by the splendours of his majestic solitary life, a living picture of passionate devotedness towards the Incarnate Word. It is comparatively an easy thing to write upon, and expound in theory, the high principles of heroic sacrifice; but to put them into practice is a far more difficult task.* A high courage, a divine self-forgetfulness, a giant energy of purpose, a heart throbbing with love and chivalry, a heroism beyond all words,—this all men must feel—must have animated, during ninety years, the entire moral and intellectual system of the great Solitary of the Eastern desert.

It was this principle which the Angelical had in common with S. Anthony—a supreme and personal intimacy with Jesus Christ. True, all holy men love our Lord, He is their King and Master; yet still the intense heart-attachment to Him, as to a living, breathing friend, a real possessor of the heart which beats and of the brain which energizes—so personal, so intimate, that He can be almost seen with the eyes, and almost spoken to with the tongue; so real, that His presence satisfies all the longings of the restless human spirit—such a Love as this, so marked and so intense, absorbing into itself all other interests, seems to be special to a certain class of men, whose course has run in the direction of monastic life.†

Great stress has been laid already upon this marked characteristic of the Benedictine Rule. No love, except a personal love of Christ hanging in all His beauty on the Cross, is strong enough to attract men into the wilderness, or to urge them to throw up all that nature prizes most, to gain that love without impediment. To worship Christ, to make Him first and last in all things, to realize Him and see Him in all men—such is the

* Frigerio shows very powerfully how the Angelical, in theory as well as in practice, understood the principles in question:—“Lasciassi consimar come holocausto dal fuoco del divino amore secondo la sentenza di lui medesimo da esso non men praticata, che giudicata espressiva del perfetto Religioso: *Cum omne quod habet, omne quod videt, omne quod sapit, Deo offert, holocaustum est*; poichè a simiglianza dell'holocausto, che tutto ardeva e riducevasi al niente in honor di Dio, così egli talmente s'accese del divino amore, che, per usar le sue parole, amava non sui ipsis remanserit, sed amati, a guisa dell'Apostolo, che francamente dicea: *Vivo io non più io, ma in me stesso vivo Cristo*; potendo egli che così altamente parlava col medesimo Apostolo gloriarsi e dire: *Non enim audeo aliquid loqui eorum, quæ per me non efficit Christus.*” (*Lib. II., Cap. I., n. 10, p. 70.*)

† See how, as has been shown in another place, in early years the Angelical abandoned his entire intelligence to Christ:—“Per la qual cosa vestito che fu del sacro habito, non volea pensare, ne parlar d'altro che del suo amato Signore; e se accadeva, che nelle comuni conversazioni s'introdicesse qualche ragionamento, che non fosse di Dio, egli immediatamente si partiva, in tal maniera, mostrando, che simiglianti discorsi ad esso non appartenevano, ne aggraviavano: anzi era suo detto familiare, che non sapea capire, come un Religioso pensare e discorrer potesse, che del suo Signore.” (*Frigerio, Lib. II., Cap. I., p. 67.*) See also the lines written by the Angelical, beginning thus:—

“*Te mea Christe sem vident mens, spesque requirat;
Diligat affectus, os laudet, vita sequatur.*” etc.

teaching of the great Patriarch of Western monks. It is the spark of living fire in his Rule, and lends to it its special character, and forms the explanation of its wide-spread success.*

Here, then, S. Anthony and S. Thomas met, at the foot of the Cross of Christ; here their souls seem to mingle, and are lost; here is the secret of their heroism and the key to all their influence.

And there is a more intimate relationship of master and disciple between the two than at first sight may be supposed. In proportion as the Angelical was influenced by S. Benedict, in that same proportion S. Anthony was his master. The energy of Eastern monasticism sprung from S. Anthony; Athanasius was his disciple, especially in his chivalrous personal love of Jesus; S. Athanasius introduced the principles of S. Anthony into Rome; the family of S. Benedict was impressed by the splendid heroism which surrounds a life of abandonment to Christ,† and it was simply the traditions of Athanasius which induced the boy Benedict to fly away from the world, and bury himself in solitude, to live to God alone. The spirit of S. Benedict is identical, in its main features, with the spirit of S. Anthony and S. Athanasius; and the spirit of the Angelical, if it was Benedictine in anything, showed itself above all else in his sensitive love of the Incarnate Word of God. He, indeed, seems to have possessed that love in its fullest intensity. So much, indeed, did he realize our Lord's presence, that Christ absolutely spoke to him from the Cross, and conversed with him as a friend converses with his friend.‡

Thus the man of heroic pattern, S. Anthony, manifests the power of Christ in his marvellous life; S. Athanasius shows him forth by his chivalrous battling in His cause and for His honour in the concrete world amongst the din and noise of men;

* See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XI., p. — ; also the note, p. . The principles drawn out in those pages, and so much insisted on as being creative in respect of the Angelical, were not of Western invention. They came from the East. S. Benedict had been under the influence of Athanasius and of Anthony. He does not consider his Rule to be more than an introduction to their teaching: though he certainly seized the master-principle and made it his own, and expounded it with power.

† "Parmi les grandes maisons qui donnaient l'exemple de cette transformation chrétienne du patriciat romain il faut surtout signaler la *gens Anicia*, qui . . . semble avoir été la plus riche et la plus puissante de Rome à la fin du IVe. siècle. Elle comptait alors parmi ses membres le fameux Anicius Petronius Probus . . . Petronius, fut, selon quelques-uns, moine avant d'être évêque de Bologne. Elle devait produire plus tard les deux plus grands personnages de l'histoire monastique, saint Benoît et saint Grégoire le Grand; et dès lors les deux plus illustres docteurs de l'Occident, saint Jérôme et saint Augustin, célébraient à l'envi la gloire d'une race où tout le monde semblait naître consul, mais qui avait donné encore plus de vierges au Christ que de consuls à la république." (*Les Moines d'Occident*, Tome Premier, Liv. III., p. 148.)

‡ Doubtless the experience of the Angelical, in his relation with the sacred humanity of our Lord, urged him to write as he did regarding it. Frigerio says:—"Lascio scritto, che la sacratissima humanità di Christo serve a noi di guida per condurne e sollevarne alla consideratione della Divinità in cui principalmente la divotione consiste; e che questa virtù porta all'anima spirituale allegrezza, tuttoche per accidento la mestitia, in ricordarsi delle proprie colpe, che perciò ne riman compunta e contrita." (*Lib. II., Cap. II., n. 12, p. 78.*)

whilst the Angelical, possessed of the very same spirit, proceeding from the same source, manifests the power of his Master in the order of abstraction, conceiving, through His assistance, the splendid scheme of Salvation; drawing principles and traditions from the life of Anthony, and the writings of Athanasius, and exhibiting to the world the most perfectly organized system of religion which has ever been presented before the mind of men.

Three saints as different in their natural characters and in the circumstances of their lives as can be well conceived, namely: the Solitary of the wilderness, the ecclesiastical Politician of the city, and the Student of the schools—Example, Practice, and Theory—all harmonize with exquisite perfection, through the overpowering mastery of one simple principle, which taught them to abandon all things, that they might grasp and possess one only treasure—the personal love of Christ the Incarnate Word.*

* These most important words of S. Benedict show, with luminous evidence, how intimately his spirit was bound up with the monasticism of the East. If his master-principle of life had not been the personal love of Christ he could not have written thus: after speaking of the scope of his Rule, he says:—"Ceterum ad perfectionem conversationis qui festinant, sunt doctrina sanctorum Patrum, quarum observatio perducit hominem ad celsitudinem perfectionis. . . . Quis liber Sanctorum Catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat ut recto cursu perveniamus ad Creatorem nostrum. Nec non et Collationes Patrum, et instituta, et vita eorum . . ." Then, as if his spirit was meant to lead to theirs, he says:—"Quisquis ergo ad patriam celestem festinas, hanc minimam inchoationis Regulam descriptam, adjuvante Christo, perface, etc." (S. Benedicti, *in Reg., Cap. LXXIII.*)

CHAPTER IV.

S. THOMAS AND S. BASIL.

PART II.

THE high principles of Christianity which manifested themselves to mankind in the desert-saint, Anthony, and the world-saint, Athanasius, were too noble and too full of divine fire not to work their way into many earnest hearts. The desires of the flesh, and the pride of the spirit, when once these principles possess a man, are, like dross, gradually burnt out, and in their place the power of sacrifice and the vigour of devotedness take hold of, and transform miserable clay into something like a resemblance to the image of Christ crucified.*

Though we must now quit Alexandria and Egypt, we cannot leave those principles of Christianity which displayed themselves there so masterfully. For they were in fact the lever-powers of the earth. They seem, looking on the most distinguished exponents of them, to have travelled steadily westward. The great strategic centre-cities of Christian illumination, as the faith spreads through the darkness of pagan night, throw out their bright comfortable rays across a world black with immoralities and wearied by the contentions of Christian Churches.† Antioch, Cæsarea, Neocæsarea, Constan-

* S. Gregory expresses this devotedness in the following lines:—

"Gravior, non sine premii spe, inter currendum membra protendens,
Christum habens pro aflatu, Christum pro robore pro opibus amplissimis:
Qui mihi et perspicaces oculos et prosperos cursus præstat.
Sine ipso omnes vana ludibria sunt mortales,
Et mortui viventes, foetidi peccatis.
Neque enim sine aëre vidisti volantem avem;
Neque sine aqua maris cursor natavit delphinus.
Sic nec sine Christo mortalis pedem attollit."

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., *Præf. General.*, p. 130;
Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)

† "The disorders of Christendom, and especially of the East, and still more of Asia Minor, were so great in Basil's day, that a heathen spectator might have foretold the total overthrow of the Church. So violent a convulsion never has been experienced in Christendom since, not even in the times of S. Gregory the Seventh, and S. Pius the Fifth; it would almost seem as if the powers of evil, foreseeing what the kingdom of the saints would be, when once heathen persecution ceased, were making a final effort to destroy it. In Asia Minor the Church was almost without form, and 'void and empty;' religious interests were reduced, as it were, to a

tinople, Athens—all these great *foci* of wickedness, of commerce, and of letters, were in turn blessed with the presence of men filled with the inebriating love of Christ, and bearing in their hearts yearnings and aspirations which so far transcended the dreams of the noblest of pagans, as the glory of heaven surpasses the shadow of the earth.

At present we are to consider the two Roman provinces of Pontus and Cappadocia. To the North-East, along the shores of the Black Sea, lies Pontus, stretching down to Colchis and Greater Armenia. Its inhabitants are formed of many different tribes, speaking many different tongues, Greek cities, busy marts of commerce, are dotted all along the coast. Neocæsarea, a large and beautiful city, is its capital.* To the South of Pontus is Cappadocia, an extensive province, but for the most part rough, wild, and sterile. Here the Romans came and settled, and eventually established great military towns; Cæsarea soon vied with Tyana and Comana.

In these two divisions the population was made up of a fusion of the Syrian and Armenian races. The country was steeped in the most brutalized idolatry. "Ma" was the ruling goddess. Her temple was at Comana, on the Iris. It is sufficient to hint that Strabo calls this town a small Corinth, on account of the thousands of infamous women who carried on the "sacred rites." As may be imagined, the men dwindled into effeminacy; and mental hallucination, fanaticism, and madness were the natural issue of immorality of life.† Sensual debauchery, slashing the body with knives, spilling human blood, and the worship of fire, were amongst the religious practices of the people.

Into the midst of all this crime and prostitution, the steady light of the New Covenant shone with its spotless splendour. Cappadocia and Pontus will ever be memorable, in the Christian mind, as the birthplaces respectively of S. Emmelia and

state of chaos, and Basil seems to have been the principle of truth and order, divinely formed, divinely raised up, for harmonizing the discordant elements, and bringing them to the unity of faith and love." (Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, Chap. III., p. 52.)

* "Asia Anterior remained one of the brightest jewels in the Roman territorial crown, being blessed above other lands with natural beauty, inexhaustible resources, and abundance of population, and was, moreover, the great industrial workshop of the empire. Here, in the countries of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, which together with a part of Phrygia formed the Roman province of Asia, five hundred cities arose, all richly endowed with works of art, public buildings, and monuments of various kinds. Later on, there were reckoned to be at least one thousand cities, if the smaller towns were thrown into the computation." (*The Gentile and the Jew*, by Dr. Döllinger, Vol. I., Book I., p. 12—13. Darnell's translation.)

† There were several other important temples besides the one at Comana. There was one dedicated to Zeus at Venasa, with its three thousand Hierodouli; another at Cabira, dedicated to a moon-god called Men-Pharnac. It was in his name that the sovereigns of Pontus swore their most important oaths. The god Junus was worshipped very extensively in Asia Anterior, as well as in Syria and Albania. The city of Zela, in Pontus, was a stronghold of Persian worship. Here was to be found the famous temple of Amitis and other Persian gods, with their attendant priests and temple-servants. (*Cf. Döllinger's Gentile and Jew*, Vol. I., Book VI., p. 377—378.)

her gifted husband,—the parents of S. Basil the Great. This columnal Father sprang from a race of Christian athletes, who had known how to brave hunger, cold, and exile out of love of the Crucified, and who, in reward of their high courage, had received miraculous protection from the hand of God.* Basil's father was distinguished for his eloquence and learning; his mother was a woman of extraordinary beauty; and both mother and father loved God with all that force and tenderness of heart which throw a glow of heroism over the whole character of men's lives.†

The influence of such parents was not without its effect. They had ten children; three were made bishops; four of them for certain, and most probably all of them, were saints; one died in infancy; Basil became Doctor of the universal Church; Macrina was a saint, possessing all her brother's energy of character, combined with a woman's gentleness of heart; Naucratiu, abandoning all things, buried himself in a thick wood on the banks of the Iris, and lost his life in the performance of an act of charity;‡ S. Peter became a monk, and then Abbot; and S. Gregory of Nyssa, the eloquent theologian,§ was famed for his simple love of God. This family, living in the very centre of Asiatic corruption, not only cast a pure and strong light into the darkness which surrounded it, but, even at this hour, through the writings of some, and the example of others, exerts a salutary influence over the minds of thinking men.

S. Basil the Great, as he not only possesses splendid natural endowments, but also the commanding and rigid self-control of a governing mind, naturally forms the centre of this glorious group of Christian saints.¶ He may not be gifted with the

* "Receperunt ac in quamdam Ponticorum montium silvam, paucis adhibitis fugæ consociis et victus ministris. In hoc exilio septem annos et aliquanto amplius sub dio vixerunt, pluvius, algoribus et frigoribus expositi, ab omnibus vitæ commodis, ab amicis et omni hominum societate remoti. Sed Christus in eorum solatium concessa oîm Israelitis miracula renovavit vel ex arboribus in aëre volitantibus, vel e feris, quas in montibus errabant. Vix locuti erant, cum eorum pedibus accidit obsonium sponte oblatum, cervi miræ magnitudinis. Ex his Gregorii Nazianzeni verbis perspicitur non unius diei cibum hoc miraculo provîsum eis fuisse; sed ad septem exilii annos minus commode miraculum extendit Papebrochius." (Vid. Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I., *Prolegomena in Vita*, § 3, p. 7; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXIX.)

† Marano says of S. Emmelia:—"Hæc libenter matrimonio virginitatem prætulisset. Sed ut vitaret pericula ob summam venustatem imminentia (plurimi enim illius nuptias ambibant, nonnulli etiam raptum meditari videbantur) ad matrimonii portum confugit." (Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I., *Prolegomena in Vita*, § 4, p. 7; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXIX.)

‡ He appears to have been the most gifted of all the family:—"Ia post Basilium natu maxima, mira quadam indole, et corporis venustate ac viribus et celeritate, et eximia ad omnia labilitate ceteris præstabat. Sed cum annum assecutus esset vicesimum secundum, ac publica eloquentia suo specimina dedisset . . . subiit illum divina gratia dono fastidium mundi, ac omnibus rebus suis projectis . . . ad solitariam ac pauperem vitam magno animi ardore accerxit." (Marano, in *Vita S. Basilii*, Opp. Tom. I., Cap. III., § 3, p. 14; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXIX.)

§ Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. IV., Chap. XXVI., p. 535; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. LXVII.)

¶ His character comes out in his writings:—"Ipse vero sese in scriptis ac præsertim in epistolis mirifice depingit. Illius gravitas et constantia nonnullis factis et superbia esse videbatur, sed demonstrat Gregorius neminem ab hoc vitio magis alienum fuisse, quam Basilium, qui ne leprosus quidem deosculari, dedignebatur. Erat illius severitas summa benignitate tem-

versatility and political finesse of Athanasius; but he has all that iron in his will which made S. Anthony so sublime a figure in the desert. He may not boast S. Anthony's toughness of constitution; but he is certainly endowed with all his heroism of soul. Basil had not only to contend against many foreign and domestic enemies, had not only to suffer countless disappointments, but he had also to bear up against the pressure of a foe more enervating and more wearing than most antagonists—a sickly body, worn to a shadow by penance, fever, and disease.* A man of robust health can endure a vast amount of punishment; but it is only a saint, one supported on Christ's Cross itself, who, when borne down by a flagging body, or oppressed by an unhealthy liver, is able to keep an even countenance, and fight on without shrinking in the battle. Basil's life was short, but full. He died at fifty; he was not made bishop till forty; at forty-six he had lost all his teeth; at forty-five he declared himself to be an old man. Forty years of preparation, ten of public service, death, and then a glorious name throughout the Church, as a firm and strong column, and as a steady and unswerving light—such was the career of the great S. Basil.

He was formed into the mighty saint he was, principally by two powerful influences. S. Anthony and S. Athanasius seem to meet in him and blend. True, he had never seen Athanasius,† but he had upon him the influence of the Alexandrian school. His tender soul had been carefully trained by his sainted grandmother Macrina. He himself declares that he never for a moment swerved in the faith which he had received from her; and that the light which she had so carefully kindled in his youthful mind, served him as a sure guide through all the fogs

perata, ita ut illius vel pertenuis risus laudatio esset, et silentium objurgatio. Non lepidus quidam erat, et facetus aut circumforaneus; sed fatetur Gregorius neminem in cœtibus iucundum et in narrando festiviorem extitisse; neminem in jocando argutiores et in obijurgando leniores." (Marano, in *Vita*, *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I.*, *Cap. XL.*, § 2, p. 161; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. *XXIX.*)

* His letters show how acutely he suffered all his life long:—"Quo in statu deprehenderit nos vir probus Isaaces, ipse tibi melius enarrabit, licet lingua illius par non sit, ut tragice exponat quæ majorem in modum patiebar: tanta erat morbi magnitudo. Sed tamen quid verisimile sit, quisquis me vel paululum novit, perspicere potest. Nam, si dum videbar valere, his, quorum desperatur salus, infirmior eram, qualis in morbo fuerim cognoscere liceat. Quanquam oportebat (da enim veniam febri ineptienti), cum mihi morbus secundum naturam esset, in hac habitus mutatione nunc me in præclarissima valetudine constitui." (*Epist.* CXXXVI. *Eusebio Episc. Samosat.* *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. IV.* *Epist. Clas. II.*, p. 574; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. *XXXII.* See also *Epist.* CXXXVII., p. 578; *Epist.* CXXXVIII., p. 578—582; *Epist.* CXL., p. 586—590; *Epist.* CXXI., 590—591.) In fact he is continually speaking of his weak condition of health.

† See how S. Gregory speaks of him! He addresses his audience at the end of his magnificent funeral oration on S. Basil, and says:—"Encomium mecum conficite, alius aliam quampiam illius virtutem exponentes, et conquirentes; qui thronis insidietis legislatores; qui rempublicam geritis, civitatis principem, ac velint conditorem; plebei, moderatorem; litterarum studiosi, præceptorem; virgines, proubum; conjugatos pudicitia magistrum; solitarii, cum qui vobis pennas addebat; conobiaci, iudicem; simplices, itineris ducem; speculationis amantes, theologum; hilares frenum; calanitosi, solatium; senes, baculum; iuvenes, pædagogum; pauperes, largitorem; locupletes, dispensatorem." (*In laudem Basilii Magni.* *Vid.* *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II.*, *Orat. XLIV.*, § 81, p. 603; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. *XXXVI.*) As the above extract shows how he resembled S. Athanasius, so § 61 (p. 576), of the same oration shows how he resembles S. Anthony.

and mists of heresy by which he was all his life long encompassed. Where was Macrina taught? Who was her master?—It was the great wonder-worker S. Gregory, who had studied under Origen for five years at Cæsarea.*

The parents of this Gregory were amongst the adorers of the impure goddess, "Ma." Whether they slashed themselves with knives, or partook of the uncleanness of their fellow-pagans, history does not tell. They died when the child was young. He was gifted with a quick, logical mind. He attended the schools of Alexandria, Athens, Berytus, and Cæsarea. He studied Greek letters with ardour. But the religion of the Greeks he found to be so unreasonable, and its teachings so full of contradictions, that, after casting about for truth, he found it at last in the Catholic Church. He studied law, rhetoric, and Latin, and proved that he could have created for himself, had he desired it, a brilliant position in the world. Origen, in 231, fled away from Alexandria to escape the persecution, and opened a school at Cæsarea.† Gregory hung charmed upon his lips, till the tyranny of Maximian broke up his classes and forced him to fly again. Gregory then betook himself to Alexandria, where he astonished the debauched young men of the period by his spotlessness of Christian life.‡ Even as a pagan, he does not appear ever to have committed a grievous sin. He was built by God upright; his heart was by nature pure.§

Having learnt all he could at Alexandria, and having surprised the city by a miracle, he returned to Cæsarea in 238, and studied for two more years under the Adamantine. He had received by this time a good eight years' course of education.||

* S. Basil appeals to his having received the true faith from Gregory through Macrina as the strongest testimony to his orthodoxy. Writing to the Presbyters of Neocesarea he says:—"Nostræ autem fidei quæ possit illustrior esse probatio, quam quod educti sumus sub avia beata muliere, ex vobis orta? Macrinam deo celeberrimam filiam, a qua edocti sumus beatissimi Gregorii verba, quæcumque usque ad ipsam memoriam continuatione conservata cum ipsa custodiebat, tum nos adhuc infantes fingeat et informabat pietatis dogmatibus Atque ad hanc usque horam, gratias illius, qui nos vocavit vocatione sancta ad sui cognitionem, nec sermonem illum scilicet sanæ doctrinæ inimicum in corda nostra intrasse; nec animas nostras infami Arianorum blasphemâ contaminatas unquam fuisse." (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. IV., Epist. CCIV., p. 754; Patrolog. Græc., Tom. XXXII.*)

† S. Gregory Thaumaturgus is said to have been a convert of Origen about A.D. 234. He made his conversions in spite of the Decian persecution, about A.D. 250, and the barbarian incursion, A.D. 260. He sat in the Council of Antioch in A.D. 265. Some say he lived to the year 270.

‡ "Ejus enim vitæ puritatis et integritatis laus impiorum probrum ac dedecus erat. Ut igitur aliquam excusationem intemperantes ac libidinosi haberent, si ipsi non soli tales esse videntur: insidias comminiscuntur, et vafrum quoddam consiliū excogitant, ut aliquam netam et maculam magni illius viri vitæ inurerent." (*Vid. Opp. S. Gregorii Episc. Nysseni, Tom. III. in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p. 903; Patrolog. Græc., Tom. XLVI.*)

§ See how S. Gregory speaks of his rare abandonment of all things which young men generally love:—"Sic etiam ille a primo germine forniit, electione vitæ instituti protinus perfectus et eminentibus frondibus consurgens et exerescens." (*Loco Citato, p. 899.*)

|| His enemies sent a bad woman to demand payment of him publicly, so that it might be thought that he had been in the habit of sin. Gregory caused money to be given her. This was the result:—"Simul enim atque manu pecuniâ accepit, spiritū infidelis atque malignæ correpta frenitūque immani atque ferali, diverso a voce humana sono ingemiscens, collabitur prona in medio cæti cum capillis quem suis manibus veliebat, dilaceratis atque disjectis et oculi inversi essent, et os spumam emitteret." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Nysseni, Tom. III., in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p. 903; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.*)

Now, an attempt was made to raise him to the episcopate. He fled, and by changing from one desert place to another, he eluded his pursuers for a time; but ultimately he had to give way, and was raised to the responsible position which he shrank from with so much fear.

Now began the wonder-working ministry, He entered the famous pagan temple, and cast out all its gods and devils; the pagan priest, who expressed himself shocked by the doctrine of the Incarnation, he converted by a miracle;* he filled his church with converts in the course of one day; he cured the halt, and the blind, and the diseased, who were brought in crowds for him to touch; he stayed a pestilence; the waters and the rocks moved at his command.†

Two Jews thought to practise on him. One lay down, as if dead, by the way-side, as Gregory was passing; whilst the other, with a most piteous expression of countenance, and in mournful tone, implored him to contribute something towards the burial of this destitute man, who had fallen dead in the public road. Gregory took off his cloak and threw it upon the prostrate form. When he had passed, the suppliant thought to join in a peal of laughter with his companion; but no response came from under the cloak—the Jew removed it: the impostor was dead.‡

The success of this wonder-working missionary may be imagined from a fact, stated by himself, that when he came to die he left only seventeen pagans in a city which, when he first entered it, contained only seventeen Christians.

Such was the instructor of Macrina, who exerted so powerful a sway over the great S. Basil. Thus we have the school of S. Mark,—Pantænus, Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and Gregory, bringing its influence to bear on Basil. The grand tradition of Catholic truth was working its way towards the West. The great strategic Church-positions are not only fortresses, strong in themselves, but they are greatly fortified through their network connection one with another.§

* *Ibidem*, p. 915—918.

† "Cum enim postularet antistes, ut saxum quoddam ingens, quod oculis eorum subjectum prospiceretur, et non moveretur, absque manu humana moveretur, ac per solam fidei virtutem, jussu Gregorii ad alterum locum transferretur." (*Ibidem*, p. 918; see also p. 927—934.)

‡ "Duo quidem Hebræi, sive Iacrum spectantes, sive vituperationem quandam adversus virum, ut qui fraudi ac deceptioni opportunus esset querentes ejus reditum observant. Atque horum unus quidem, qui mortuus esse videbatur, supino habitu extensus per transversam viam publicam projectus erat; alter vero jacentem scilicet deplorans, lamentantium voces imitabatur, ac prætereuntem magnum illum virum inclamabat dicens: Repente morte correptus hic miser nudus jacet, ei que deest apparatus ad sepulcrum . . . hic vero nihil cunctatus super jacentem injecta diploide . . . iter summi prosequebatur. Sed posteaquam digressio illo . . . impostor ille jacentem ut surgeret, hortabatur, mortuus erat . . . vera morte." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Nysseni, *Tom. III.*, in *Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, p. 939—942; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVI.)

§ "Cum . . . antequam excederet vitam, cuperet omnes a simulacris ad salutarem fidem videre conversos, ubi suum obitum præsensit, studiosè diligenterque totam urbem agrumque circa vicinum percurantem, scire volens equal adhuc essent extra fidem relictis. Ut igitur cognovit, non phires septemdecim esse, qui in antiquo errore permansissent: Acerbum

Not one amongst the Fathers received a more perfect training than S. Basil.* His father, who knew the full value of a liberal education, took special pains with the teaching of his son. He and S. Emmelia, after the boy had been imbued with Christian principles by Macrina, continued his instruction till he was fit to take advantage of the great centres of learning at Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Athens. At Cæsarea he soon gained the hearts, and, by his talents, won the admiration of all with whom he came in contact.† He was possessed of extraordinary personal beauty as a youth,‡ and it was only through penances and the ravages of disease that, comparatively in a few years, his bloom was gone, and he was reduced prematurely to the condition of a superannuated man. At Constantinople, he fell in with the celebrated rhetorician Libanius, and most probably studied under him in 346 or 347.§ He could not have found a more able master. Libanius was a native of Antioch, and was drawn, through his love of the classical writers of Greece, to settle for a time at Athens. During the period S. Basil was at Constantinople, Libanius, it appears, had simply a private school there; but so great was his brilliancy and his reputation as a sophist, that he emptied the public academies of the city; and in consequence, through the envy and spite of those he had surpassed, and through the influence of Limenius his private enemy, he was accused of being a magician, and driven from the town.|| He possessed, together with his high natural gifts, the vices of the pagan; and was vain, proud, querulous, and impure. Still, Basil learnt much from him,¶ and though hardly

quidam etiam hoc, inquit ad Deum aspiciens, deesse aliquid eorum plenitudini, qui servantur. Veruntamen magna gratiarum actione dignam rem esse aiebat, quod totidem simulacrorum cultores relinqueret ei, qui sibi successurus esset in Ecclesia, quot ipse christianos acceperat." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Nysseni, Tom. III., in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p. 934; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.*)

* Vid. *Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I., Vita S. Basilii Magni, Auctore, Marano, Cap. I.—IV., p. 1—14; Patrolog. Græc., Vol., XXIX.*

† "Libentius narrat [Gregorius Nazian.] illius in virtute ac litteris progressus. Cum esset Cæsarea, clarus erat aequalibus et magistris, ac brevi tempore magno in pretio apud plebeios et primores civitatis: rhetor inter rhetores etiam ante rhetoricos exhedram, philosophus ante philosophos etiam ante philosophiae decreta, et quod maximum est, Christianis sacerdos ante sacerdotum." (*Ibidem, Tom. I., Cap. II., § 1, p. 10.*)

‡ "Nemini cedebat Basilus corporis pulchritudine et robore ac proceritate, antequam illum poenitentie labores debilitassent; sed eum ab ejusmodi ornamentis laudare noluisset Gregorius." (*Ibidem, Tom. I., Cap. II., § 1, p. 10.*)

§ It is not quite certain whether Libanius was the companion or the master of S. Basil—most probably the latter. See this point argued in the *Prolegomena* of Marano's *Life of the Saint, Cap. II., § 1, p. 10.*

|| Libanius was probably born in A.D. 314, some say in 316. His teachers were Cleobulus, Didymus, and Zenobius. He was not only the teacher of S. Basil, but also of S. John Chrysostom. He died about 391, or a few years later, in the reign of Arcadius.

¶ And Libanius thought much of Basil, he writes to him in this strain:—"Ego enim, quem tui oblitum putas, etiam olim adolescentem reverebar; et temperantia cum senibus certantem videns, idque in illa urbe quoque voluptatibus scatet, et disciplinarum jam partem magnam consecutum." (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. IV., Epistoliarum Classis III., Epist. CCCXXXVI.—Libanius Basilio, p. 1079; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXII.* See S. Basil's letters to Libanius, *Epist. CCCXXXV., p. 1078; Epist. CCCXXXVII., p. 1082; Epist. CCCXXXIX., p. 1083—1086; Epist. CCCXLII., p. 1087; Epist. CCCXLIII., p. 1087; Epist. CCCXLVIII., p. 1091; Epist. CCCL., p. 1094; Epist. CCCLI., CCCLIII., CCCLVI., CCCLIX.—Pages 1094, 1095, 1098, 1099—Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. IV.*)

exhibiting the charming simplicity of the earlier Attic orators, he was, without dispute, the first amongst the countless rhetoricians of the fourth century.

From Constantinople, S. Basil betook himself to Athens. Here he met S. Gregory Nazianzen, whom he had known in Cappadocia, and who now became his bosom-friend.

Gregory's father, unlike Basil's, was a convert. He had belonged to the Hypsistarian sect, which, whilst holding some tenets of the Jews, professed many doctrines of the pagans.* His wife, S. Nonna, persuaded him to be a Christian; and he was baptized in the church of Nazianzus, which was not very far from Cæsarea.† He was finally elevated to the episcopate, and not having been as well instructed as he might have been, caused great trouble in the Church by signing the Armenian creed (360), and was only drawn out of his entanglements by the efforts of his son.‡

This son—afterwards called, like S. John, “the Theologian”—was born before his father became a bishop, but after he had become a Christian, either in 325 or 326. Before his birth, and after it, his pious mother had offered the boy to God. When he had just arrived at the use of reason, she held out the Sacred Books, and made him place his little hands upon them, as a token that Christ was to be his portion; and the boy at once, as if realizing the whole meaning of the action, gave his consent to this early dedication. Gregory was an extraordinary child.§ In many things his life resembled that of the Angelical. Both were offered to God in tender infancy. Both were forcibly attracted from the visible world into the Unseen Kingdom. Both at an early age shunned pleasure, followed serious pursuits, fled the company of the vain, and sought to associate with men of God who loved sacrifice and practised virtue; and both, finally, had a special attraction towards holy purity.||

It would seem as if our Lord purposely raised up, in the midst of the debaucheries and prostitutions of paganism, cer-

* “Hypsistariorum sectam profitebatur Gregorius pater; quæ secta ‘Ex gentili errore, inquit noster Gregorius, et legali vanitate conflata erat; quarum utriusque partes quasdam fugiens, ex quibusdam partibus conficta et constituta est.’” (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi, § 4, p. 150; Patrolog. Græc. Vol. XXXV.*)

† “Anno igitur 325 baptizatus est Gregorius, aut aliquanto post tempore.” (*Ibidem, § 6—7, p. 151.*)

‡ “Quod de Gregorio e lavacro ascendente prænuntiatus fuerat, contigit. Creatus est episcopus anno 329, vel 328, ut placet Gothofrido Hermant, annos natus ferme quinquaginta; cumque Nazianzenam Ecclesiam per quadraginta quinque annos sapientissime administrasset, exactis pene centum annis piens diem, sanctissime obiit anno exeunte 373 vel inenute 374.” (*Ibidem, § 8, p. 152.*)

§ “Ab ipsis inenarrabilis pie a piis parentibus eductus est, qui regendæ ipsius pueritiæ curam ipsi susceperunt. Cum eam ætatem, quam dicunt rationis expertem, pertransisset, cum mater, quem jam statim ab ortu Deo obtulerat, atque etiam priusquam nasceretur dicaverat, iterum obtulit et dicavit.” (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi, § 23, p. 161; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

|| “Divinus quidam incescit juvenis animum ardor servandæ pudicitie, quem visum celeste ipsi in somnis ostensum magis magisque firmavit.” (*Ibidem, § 24, p. 161.*)

tain chosen souls, who should be as lights in darkness, and witnesses at all events to the high vocation of the Christian calling.* The two crying sins of the world have ever been pride and sensuality, followed, as their shadow, by cruelty; and, therefore, the heroes of the Cross have ever shown forth in their careers, in a special manner, the three great gifts of a Christian life: Humility, Purity, and Charity—three virtues so sublime, requiring for their full and constant practice so high a grace, that they can only be found in the footsteps of the Cross, and only then thrive when fostered by the grace of God.†

Here again S. Gregory and the Angelical bring each the image of the other before the mind. For if in his prison the Angelical had a vision of angels, who descended after his great temptation and bound his loins with the girdle of chastity, S. Gregory also as a boy had a vision in his sleep. He tells us in one of his poems that he beheld two beautiful, modest, simply-attired virgins, and they came up to him, and kept on kissing him: when he asked whence and who these women were, one replied, "Purity:" the other, "Sobriety."

And they said (and here is seen how Christ was all in all) "We stand by Christ the King, and delight in the beauty of the celestial virgins."‡ They then invited him to join his light to theirs, and promised to carry him through the air into the radiance of the blessed Trinity. The influence of this dream or apparition left its impression on the child for life. It was one of those turning-points in a career, on which seems to revolve, not merely the destiny of one individual, but the fate, sometimes, of polities and states.

Whilst Basil was taught by Macrina to condemn the earth,

* See his poem on virginity:—

"Virginitatem coronis nostris redimere juvat,
Ex puro corde puris passientes in hymnis,
Hoc enim vitæ nostræ præclarum est donum,
Auro et electo splendidius et ebore.
His in quibus terrenam vitam humi sternit virgineus ardor,
Mentis alia ad Deum in cælo regnantem hinc evehens," etc.

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III. Sectio II., *Carmina Moralia*, § 1, p. 522; see also § 2, *Præcepta ad Virgines*; § 3, *Exhortatio ad Virgines*; § 4, *Ad Virginem*; § 6, *De Pudicitia*; § 7, *De Castitate*—p. 522—647, *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXXVII.)

† How much interior trial had he, with all his virtue, to go through! Christ supported him. He speaks thus:—

"Hei mihi! defatigatus sum, mi Christe, vita mortalium!
Hei mihi! quam luctum et tempestatem a compere perpersus sum!
O diurnam vitam et incolatam!
O interna et externa certamina
Quibus corrumpitur pulchritudo divinæ imaginis!"

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Sectio I., *Poemata de Scipio*, § 33, p. 1306.)

‡ "Virgines duas videre sibi videbatur propius stantes, candidisque vestibus collucentes, ambas formosas, æquidemque ætatis, quibus ornamento erat inornata forma. Quærenti Gregorio quænam essent, et unde venissent, altera se castitatem esse dixit, altera temperantiam; cumque ipsum hortatæ essent, ut mentibus mentem et faciem facibus iungeret, quo eum miro fulgore splendentes in cælum ferrent; protinus in cælum evolarunt. Cum igitur vis nocturno incensus esset Gregorius, amor castitatis, cuius fulgor intus animi recessibus contineri non poterat, in eo splenduit." (Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., in *Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, § 25, p. 162; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXXV.)

and whilst he, on account of the loftiness of his great mind, was never satisfied with clay, spurning it under foot, Gregory's better nature seemed to soar after high purity and contemplative love;—the first leaving the world because he saw its hollowness; the other, because the brightness of a pure attraction drew him away to nobler things.*

But the history of Gregory must briefly be traced up to his meeting with S. Basil at Athens. He continued some time with his parents, learning to love the Sacred Scriptures, and practising the austerities of a devoted life.† He had, as a boy, abandoned pleasure, and all those amusements which form the ambition of young men. God seemed to possess his heart. He was at length sent to Cæsarea, to acquire those elements of knowledge which would be of service to a Christian in days of conflict and of trial. Here it was that he, probably for the first time, met Basil.‡ Here they remained, knit by a close familiar tie, till they were sent to other seats of learning to complete their experience and education. Basil, as has been said already, went to Constantinople; Gregory hurried off to Palestine;§ and thither he journeyed, drawn by the reputation of the schools of rhetoric which Pamphilus the martyr, Eusebius, and other men of wide renown had rendered famous in the East.|| When Gregory arrived there, he put himself under Thesperius the rhetorician, and became familiar with Euzoius, who was placed later on by the Arians in the See of Cæsarea. From Palestine, Gregory betook himself to the celebrated school of the many-peopled city, and doubtless heard much of those mighty Christian teachers—of Clement, Origen, and Didymus.¶

* Christ it was who lifted him up: see his poems, in which his heart expresses itself—poems which, though published, were never intended by him for publication:—

"Ipse enim sol oculos illustrat et oculis illucet,
Dua quidem magni Dei ad bonos actus sunt partes,
Prima et ultima: una vero mea est.
Ille me capacem efficit boni et vires suppeditat.
Ego vir in medio, velut in stadio cursor non admodum levis
Gradior, non sine præmit spe, inter currendum membra protendens
Christum habens pro afflatu, Christum pro robore, pro opibus amplissimis"

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Lib. I., Sectio II., Poemata Moralia, De Virtute, p. 675; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.)

† "Postquam intra domum paternam sic primum instituta fuit Gregorii pueritia, sacrarum-que litterarum studiis et omni virtutum genere informata, extra lumen prolata sunt ejus studia." (Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi, § 27, p. 162; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)

‡ Vid. Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I. in Vita, § 29, p. 163; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.

§ "Idem litterarum amor, qui Basilium et Gregorium Cæsareæ Cappadocum conjunxerat, alterum ab altero distraxit. Basilium namque inde profectus est Constantinopolim, Gregorius vero in Palestinam navigabit: ob artis oratoriae amorem in Palestiniæ scholis, tum florentibus moratus." (Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I. in Vita, § 31, p. 165; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)

|| "Illustres enim erant scholæ illæ ac florentissimæ, in quibus ex Christianis olim, Pamphilus martyr, Eusebius, aliique doctissimi viri professi fuerant; his autem temporibus, Thesperius Gregorius, ut scribit Hieronymus, rhetoricam, eloquentiæ præceptorem habuit." (Ibidem.)

¶ "Aliquando commoratus in Palestina Gregorius Alexandriam se contulit, cujus urbis scholas olim illustrant Clemens, Origenes, alique viri pietate et scientia commendandi, et quas demum Didymus celebriora reddidit." (Ibidem, § 32, p. 165.)

But the great attraction for all young men who had a taste for letters seems to have been Athens. They might study in Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, but they did not appear to think that their education had been completed, until they had drunk from the fountain-head, and had resided for some time amidst the refining influences and classical atmosphere of the mistress of philosophy, poetry, and sculpture. Gregory seems to have been quite impatient to leave Alexandria, and to betake himself to this seat of pagan wisdom. He would not even wait for the spring of the year.* He had the courage to brave the probability of being overtaken in one of those terrific storms which swept across the Ægean during the winter solstice. And here again we are reminded of the Angelical. For twenty long days the boat was under stress of a terrible tempest. But Gregory does not seem to have possessed the courage of S. Thomas. Yet had the Angelical been in his position, very possibly he would have been equally overcome. Though Gregory from the first, with a full and lively faith, had given himself to the service of Christ, still he had not been baptized. He was not prepared for death.† He did not so much fear to leave this world as to meet the Judge in the other. So loud was his wailing, so demonstrative his fear, so vehemently, indeed, did he scream to our Lord—begging for more time as he himself assures us—that the passengers who were with him seemed to forget their own peril, so much were they concerned for him.‡ He offered himself to God again and again, as he lay during those twenty long days, weeping and terrified in the stern of the ship. He relates that he was saved, not through

* "Demum haustis utriusque Casareæ et Alexandriae scientiarum fontibus, majori animi ardore Athenarum flumina sitiens, moræque impatiens, conscensa navi Ægina circa medium Novembrem, quo tempore periculosissimæ tempestates exoriri solent, in Græciam per mare Partheniæm navigat." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I. in Vita, § 33, p. 165; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

† He thus throws his thoughts into poetry:—

Solvens navigabam versus Græciam,
Cypri latus legebam, tunque ventorum impetus
Navem æstuando impulit, ac omnia una nox erant,
Terra, pontus, æther, cælum tenebris suffusum;
Tonitrua resonabant fulgurum vibrationibus.
Stridebant rudentes velis timentibus.
Nutabat malus, nec clavi ulla firmitas;
Vi enim rapiebatur e manibus.
Navis implebatur aquis latera superantibus:
Ciamor promiscuus et lamentabilis exaudiebatur
Nautarum, hortatorum, magistrorum et vectorum
Christum una voce invocantium"

(*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Liber II., Sectio I. Poemata de Scipio, v. 130—141, p. 1038—1039; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

‡ "Quod autem credibile non est, sed tamen certissimum
Omnes omissa sua ipsorum calamitate,
In unum jungebant clamorosa precatious,
Pii in communibus malis navigatores:
Adco condelebant æruinis meis!"

(*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Liber II., Sectio I., Poemata de Scipio, v. 170—175, p. 1038—1039; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

his own prayers, but through those of S. Nonna, his holy mother. And so impressed were the ship's company by this visible interposition in their favour, that those amongst them who were not Christians already, joined the Church, and received the blessed Sacrament of Baptism.*

Gregory must have felt that a load was removed from his heart when the weather-beaten boat, white with brine, at length cast anchor with its wearied crew in the Piræus. It was a pleasant thing to exchange the wilds of Cappadocia for the cultivated schools of Alexandria. What must it not have been to enter into the bright and beautiful *Alma Mater* of all that was perfect in art and all that was refined in philosophy? Here, for hundreds of years, had existed, through the rise and the fall of states, through domestic wars and revolutions, one supremacy: and that was the sovereignty of culture and of taste. Situated on the blue Ægean, within easy reach by water of every sunny town on the Mediterranean coast, drawing into itself the many-tongued populations of the civilized and barbarian world,—Athens was the grand metropolis of the realm of mind; the *Sedes Sapientie* of East and West; the shrine of the beautiful, and the home of all that was most fascinating in the arts of life.† Attica may have been less fertile than Pontus, her streams and her wood may not have satisfied the half-savage nature of the Cappadocian,—the Egyptian may have longed for the unique beauty of the Nile, and Asiatic magnificence may have been unable to appreciate the simplicity of Grecian taste,—the world at large could boast of many things which Greece had not; but there was just one gift which Attica possessed, and with which no other region of the earth could vie: she alone knew how to inoculate the expanding mind with

* It is observable that the whole ship's company appear to have called upon Christ. He seems to have been known and loved in a personal manner—as one who could really help and save. Christ was the one hope of young Gregory in his terror. He says:—

Tu vero tunc etiam fuisi, Christe, magnus mihi salvator,
Qui et nunc liberās me a sæculi ductibus."

(*Ibidem*, v. 175—176, p. 1043.)

See how he cries to Christ, as if he really knew, and could make conditions with Him:

"Tuns sum,' aiebam, et antea et nunc quoque:
Tu bis me accipies, possessionem tibi pretiosissimam,
Terræ marisque donum, et matris
Prece, et gravissimis terroribus dedicatum.
Tibi vivam, si duplex effigero periculum.
Tu cultorem amittes, si me projicias.
Etiam nunc discipulus turbine agitur. Exeunte ergo
Somnum, aut gradere, et stet metus."

(*Ibidem*, v. 194—201, p. 1043.)

† The moral degradation, however, of the people was complete. Theory is one thing, and practice is another. So it has ever been with the best of pagans. Any fine mind may conceive a noble and pure ideal, but without supernal help no man can, for any length of time, realize it in himself. The treatment of slaves as animals had the effect of lowering respect for virtue and humanity. Plato looked upon it as a mark of education to despise slaves. Fear and sensuality were the two prime motives of action in the slaves. Debauchery and keeping slaves went bound hand in hand. Slaves were sold, let out to hire, lent for the most wicked purposes. Thus with Greece as with Rome: the degradation of one class of human beings, generated the corruption of the rest.

an appreciation of the Beautiful. She exhibited a refinement and a taste which seemed to belong exclusively to the magic of Athenian life.* If no honey could compare with that drawn from the thymy carpets of Hymettus, certainly no education could compete—speaking merely of human culture—with that bestowed upon the Athenian youth by this bright *Alma Mater* of the world. It was not the town itself, for that was miserable and dirty, with its houses huddled together, and narrow streets; nor was it the influence of books, or of secluded meditation in the closet,—but it was the free, elastic, inebriating air of Attica, and the presence of a tradition of philosophy and letters which hung about the place like an atmosphere, and could not be destroyed. The learning and mysticism of Egypt and Asia flowed in there and became refined.† The hundreds of merchant ships which traded along the coast, and amongst the Ionian islands, round the sea-board of Asia Minor, and amidst the bright cities of the inland sea, not only returned laden with iron and brass, with corn and wine, with coal and timber,—but also with eager youths who had heard of the reputation of some brilliant sophist in the great mother-city, and, abandoning all things, were bent upon becoming his disciples.‡ There was not a sailing ship which bounded out of the Piræus, and cut its way through the waves of the Ægean, which did not carry with it the fame and the fascination of the place which sent it forth.

Was it possible for Phidias to throw all that was divine in human form into the living marble without creating a sensation? Could the foreigner look into the temple of the Dioscuri without returning home and speaking in wondrous admiration

* A Greek boy was generally educated thus:—First, his mother and women-slaves watched over him; then, from boyhood till seventeen he was entrusted to some crippled slave, who had to look after him and keep him out of mischief. The principal elements of knowledge were grammar, which meant reading, writing, arithmetic, and music—and gymnastics, the last beginning very early; children of seven were taught to run, throw, and wrestle. At thirteen they were instructed in music—the lyre and singing were specially in favour at Athens. Homer and Hesiod were taught—the former being the real classic. The national mind was formed and coloured by that poet in a remarkable manner. Dramatic poetry was not forgotten. (Cf. Böllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, Vol. II., Book IX., § 1, p. 231—232.)

† How foreigners vied with each other in their munificence to Athens, is clear from the following dates:—B.C. 275, Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, built a gymnasium there; B.C. 240, Attalus of Pergamus ornamented the Acropolis with statues; B.C. 167, Antiochus Epiphanes commenced the temple of Jupiter Olympus; Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, repaired the music hall of Pericles; Julius Cæsar helped in building the Propylæum of the New Agora. A.D. 117—138, Hadrian, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Herod Atticus, were noble benefactors. In A.D. 258, the walls of the city were repaired by Valerian, and so on. A.D. 420, paganism was generally abolished in Greece and at Athens by Theodosius, and the Parthenon was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the Temple of Theseus to S. George.

‡ "If we would know what an University is, we must betake ourselves to Athens, whose schools drew to her bosom, and then sent back again to the business of life, the youth of the Western world for a long thousand years. Seated on the verge of the continent, the city seemed hardly suited for the duties of a central metropolis of knowledge; yet, what it lost in convenience of approach, it gained in its neighbourhood to the traditions of the mysterious East, and in the loveliness of the region in which it lay. Hither, then, as to a sort of ideal land, where all archetypes of the great and the fair were found in substantial being, and all departments of truth explored, and all diversities of intellectual power exhibited, where taste and philosophy were majestically enthroned as in a royal court. Hither flocked continually from the very corners of the *orbis terrarum*, the many-tongued generation, just rising, or just risen into manhood, to gain wisdom." (Newman, *Office and Work of Univer- sities*, Chap. III., p. 26—27.)

of the paintings of Polygnotus? * Who could walk on the banks of the Cephissus, and gaze on that temple, see those statues, and that spreading grove?—who could look upon the melancholy Plato amongst his plane-trees, or see Epicurus in his garden, or hear Aristotle pouring forth his learning, or watch Zeno with his disciples, or be present at the pleadings and haranguings of men with the loftiest abilities and of the highest cultivation?—who could listen to Demosthenes, or Lycias, or Theophrastus, or hear Pericles thundering from the *bema*, without being overpowered by the genius of the man, and departing with an image engraven for life upon the memory? † To listen to the pathetic drama of Sophocles and Euripides would have been an education in itself. To be brought under the influence of the splendid rhetoric of Isocrates; or to watch Diogenes, the “Dog,” growling at the whole world from his tub; or to see Scopas striking the exquisite forms of Niobe or Venus out of the shapeless marble; or even to mix with the keen, witty, brilliant talkers in the *Agora* and public places, must have been, to the hardy barbarians from Germany, France, and Asia Minor, very like living in a fairy dream.

Who would not, on returning home, excite his friends with all he had seen and heard? The Acropolis and the Areopagus; the temples, the theatres, and the porticos; the vestibules and arcades; the *Agora* still kept cool by the shade of Cimon’s trees; the gracefulness of the public buildings;—all this fostered the curiosity of the semi-barbarian, till he gave full play to that love of the noble and the fair which is the birthright of every nature which has not been utterly depraved. ‡

This tradition of learning and taste, of philosophy and poetry, which began with Cimon or Pericles,—and which, through the influence, first of brilliant students, and then of rich patrons, consolidated itself in Athens,—maintained a position as won-

* Polygnotus flourished at Athens, B.C. 463—426. He appears to have been a contemporary of Phidias. Polygnotus’s painting was in the *statuesque* style. He excelled in expression, colouring, and drawing. His colours were few; his forms and outlines exquisite.

† Demosthenes was born B.C. 381, in the Attic demos of Pænia. The most commonly received opinion is that he was born B.C. 385. He passed his youth in trouble and vexations. Some say Plato taught him philosophy, and Isocrates oratory. He became a public speaker B.C. 355, and began his public career as a leading statesman B.C. 356. He committed suicide by taking poison, and died in the temple of Poseidon B.C. 322. Pericles died B.C. 429; the date of his birth is unknown. He died like a pagan, hearing his own praises, and recounting what he thought his noblest deeds. Theophrastus, a native of Ereus in Lesbos, was a disciple of Plato, then of Aristotle. He had two thousand disciples—Menander amongst the number. He lived more than eighty-five years.

‡ Athens was about five miles from the sea-coast. It occupied part of the central plain of Attica, and also some eminences which run from the north frontier down into the plain. One of these heights was Mount Lycabettus; then came the Acropolis, on the north-east of the city; then the Areopagus, opposite the west-end of the Acropolis: the highest eminence on the south was the hill of the Museum. On the east side the little river Ilissus was found running in a south-westerly direction; while the Cephissus, about a mile-and-a-half from the walls, ran due south past the west side of the city. In its fully developed state, Athens consisted of the Acropolis, or city; and the *Asty*, or upper town. (For a full and interesting account of the city, with a good map, see *The English Cyclopædia, Geography, Vol. I, p. 620—640.*)

derful in its gift of attracting the world towards itself, as in the durability and extent of the empire which it founded. Athens, the Imperial Queen of Mind, achieved a conquest far more wide-spread than that of Alexander, and far more lasting than that of Rome.*

With regard to the students, they seem to have resembled those of Paris in the twelfth century. Their Professors appear to have had even less control than the Masters and Doctors of S. Geneviève or of Notre Dame.†

Amongst those who were attracted to Athens, about the period of which I write, were Proæresius and Hephæstion: they hurried thither almost as poor as Cleanthes. But they soon made their way. Proæresius, at all events, became nearly as rich as Marcus or Verus. He was born in Armenia (276), and studied rhetoric at Antioch under Ulpian. Here he speedily gained notoriety; but his eyes soon turned to the great *Alma Mater*, where he longed to hear the pleadings of Julian the celebrated rhetorician. Hither he came accompanied by Hephæstion. The two young men were poor almost to destitution; but their thirst to see Athenian life prevailed over all other considerations. A story illustrative of their condition is told by Eunapius.‡ They had but one change of clothes between them, and three thin, faded blankets. Whilst Hephæstion was attending the public school, his companion made the best of their bedding, and worked at his exercises amongst the blankets. When Hephæstion returned, they exchanged places, and Proæresius put on the clothes, and hurried off to the public school.§ A youth of such parts as Proæresius would soon draw upon himself the attention of his

* Of course it was not merely the attraction of material beauty and convenience that made Athens what she was; but it did its share. Beautiful houses, and marble courts and temples, art, and taste, drew great teachers from all parts of the world. Each race seems to have contributed its quota to the general mass of valuable and brilliant teaching. The monotony of one class of mind did not weary when there were professors from every climate holding forth in the environs of the city; Ionia, Africa, Cyprus, Thrace, Sicily, Syria, Armenia, Bithynia, Thessaly,—all these, and many others, gave to Athens teachers whose names did much towards maintaining her preëminence in the intellectual world.

† S. Gregory Theologus, in his *Oratio* on S. Basil, gives a very graphic account of the students. (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., *Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, p. 514—515; *Patrolog.* Græc., Vol. XXXVI.)

He shows how they treated a Freshman:—"Primum, apud eorum aliquem, qui priores ipsam arripuerunt, hospitio accipitur . . . Delude, a quolibet cavillis læcessitur; quod quidem, ni fallor, eo faciunt, ut eorum, qui nuper advenierunt, fastum reprimant. Læcessitur autem: ab aliis, audacius; ab aliis urbanis . . . Tum per forum ad balneum cum pompa deducitur . . . Qui deducendi juvenis munere funguntur, ordine collocant, atque aquis spatii distincti, bini eum ad balneum antecedunt. Cum autem propius accesserint, quasi fanatico furore correpti, clauorem ingentem cum saltitatione tollentes . . . simulque pulsatis jamis, cum per strepitum juveni metum incusserint, postea concessa ingressa, ita demum eum in libertatem asserunt." (*Ibidem*, p. 515—518.)

‡ Eunapius, born at Sardis, A.D. 347. His first master, Chrysanthius, taught him to hate Christianity. He went to Athens when sixteen years of age. He remained five years. His *Lives of the Sophists* contain twenty-three meagre biographies, miserably written, but of great historic value. Eunapius was an enthusiastic patron of Neo-Platonism.

§ Himerius appears also to have taught S. Gregory and S. Basil; he was of Prusa in Bithynia; he flourished A.D. 315—366; he was probably the pupil of Proæresius, and certainly afterwards, his rival; he taught privately in Athens at first, then he received a salary; Julian heard him, and admired his talent, and made him his secretary, A.D. 362; he was a pagan, but not bigoted like Eunapius; he modelled himself on Aristides.

master. Julian was not long in discovering the ability of his pupil. He learnt to love him tenderly; and when he died he left Proæresius his house. The Chair of Rhetoric, which heretofore had been confined to one, was now conferred on many rhetoricians. Amongst a crowd of competitors, the successful ones were Epiphanius, Diophantus, Sopolis, Parnasius, and Hephæstion. But Hephæstion quitted Athens, as he shrank from competition with his friend. Like Lycinius, Proæresius had to suffer for his talents through the bigotry of narrow minds. Envy drove him out of Athens.* But he was speedily recalled, and appointed head of all the Athenian rhetoricians. Then he went to Gaul, and next to Rome. Here, in reward of an eulogy which he had written upon the Imperial City, the citizens erected in his honour a bronze statue as large as life, and placed under it this inscription: "The Queen of Cities to the Prince of Eloquence."

Proæresius was a man of gigantic stature—some say nine feet high. He possessed an iron constitution. He would freely drink frozen water, and went about in the cold of a northern winter with naked feet, and in summer clothing.† He possessed an astounding memory, and had a singular gift of extemporary speaking. A flowing style, and a love of classic models, distinguished him as a rhetorician. He lived to nearly ninety.

Such was the man whose fame had drawn many promising men to Athens. No doubt Gregory had already heard of him while studying in the city of S. Mark; and it may have been his anxiety to hear him which made the Saint so impatient to embark in mid-winter, and imperil his life on the treacherous sea.‡

Gregory arrived at Athens, probably in 350. S. Basil joined

* That Proæresius and Himerius taught S. Gregory, can be gathered from the following:—"Præceptores, quibus usus est Athenis Gregorius, apud tot homines celebres erant apud quot Athenæ ipsæ. Hi fuerunt Himerius et Proæresius: primus gentilis erat, alter vero Christianus. Is, ob diceudi copiam, primum in Gallias, inde Romam a Constantio missus . . . Christianum hunc diximus, quidquid scripserit Eunapius, qui hunc ut gentilem sibi vindicat. Proæresius enim Christianæ religioni sic addictus fuit, ut cum Julianus, lege data ne Christiani liberalium artium doctores essent, ipsi Christianos docere permississet, scholam sponte deseruerit: quod ex Hieronymo discimus." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi, § 46, p. 170.*)

† The way Eunapius, when he first arrived at Athens as a lad, was introduced to Proæresius, shows how easy the discipline was in relation to professor and student. (See *The Office and Work of Universities, Chap. IV., p. 53-54.*)

‡ He says:—

"Sed quod semper experitur juvenum fervor,
Ut motibus inordinatis facile ventiletur,
Velut animosus in cursum saliens pullus,
Id mihi evenit. Nam omnino extra
Tempus, pacato nondum mari
Cum Tauri quendam periculo nondum carere caudam,
Dicunt periti harum rerum, ac navigare temerarii esse, non prudentia,
Tunc ego, Alexandria relicta
(Illic enim aliquid doctrine decerpseram),
Solvens navigabam versus Græciam."

(*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Liber II., Sectio I., Formata de Scipso, v. 121-130, p. 1038; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

him there about a year later, drawn by the same attraction.* Here these two great Doctors of the future were joined in the intimacy of the sweetest friendship. The ties which had made them one at Cæsarea were now knit closer than ever; and no type of pure affection could be imagined more perfect than that which Basil displayed for Gregory, and Gregory for Basil.

The lives of these two gifted youths, in the midst of fascinating, wicked Athens, offer one of the most expressive testimonies to the power of genuine Christianity to be found in the annals of the Church. The general run of students who sought the Attic seat of wisdom took with them natures without control; and, if they were not Christians, they had nothing to offer equal in any way to what they were hoping to receive.† They were pleased, attracted, melted, overpowered, and enslaved. Colour, form, and taste, the noble and the fair—these they had not known before, these they were introduced to now, and these they seized, and made their own; and they were satisfied with their newly-acquired gifts. And indeed Athens possessed all that exalted pride, all that subtle and spiritual nobility of fantasy, which led men to imagine that because they could intellectually conceive the noble and the fair,—*therefore*, fair and noble they themselves must be.

Athens did not undertake to form men by rule, or enforce, by penalties and imposts, the teaching of true taste and wisdom. All that was refined, elevated, and great in man—like the olives of her plains and hills—was supposed to grow up and expand, and beautify the world through its own inherent vitality and innate loveliness. The deep transparent shadow, the delicate shades, the pellucid air, the harmony of rich soft colour, which came and went with cloud and sun—all this sprang from the opulent life of nature. So with the soul: original nature by itself is great; mind supreme and simple; taste, propriety, and the grace of life were but the unfolding buds and blossoms of glorious human nature.‡

* *Opp. S. Basilii Magni, Tom. I., Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. II., § 1, p. 10; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXIX.*

† S. Gregory says:—"Insano quodam erga sophistas studio Athenis tenentur quam plurimi et stolidissimi adolescentes; non inodo ignobiles et obscuri sed nobiles etiam et illustres, ut qui miscellanea quedam multitudo sint, et juvenes, et ita effecti, ut eorum impetus vix reprimi possint. Quod igitur in equestribus certaminibus his accidere videmus, qui equis et spectaculis oblectantur; exsiliunt enim, clamant, pulverem in colum mittunt, sedentes habenas moderantur, aërem verberant, equos digitis, quasi sentias, in alterum atque alterum latus subinde jungunt, cum nihil horum in ipsorum potestate situm sit . . . Pauperes pierumque atque inopia laborantes, et quibus ne in unum quidem diem victus suppetit . . . Atque ea res vehementer absurda et prodigiosa est. Præoccupantur urbes, viae, portus, montium cacumina, campi, solitudines, omnes denique Atticæ ac reliquæ Græciæ partes, atque adeo incolarum maxima pars, nam et illos in partes ac studia distractos habent." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni, § 15, p. 514-515; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXIX.*)

‡ The Athenians "professed to do right, not from servile feeling, not because they were obliged, nor from fear of command, not from belief of the unseen, but because it was so truly pleasant, because it was such a luxury to do it. Their political bond was good-will and gener-

What could be more enthralling than such a tone as this to any pagan youth of generous mind? It appears to fit in with such exquisite nicety to his large capacity for virtue, and the wild craving of his heart. Many a young man from Syria, or Cyprus, or Ionia; many a youth from Thessaly, Sicily, or Africa; the Moor, the Spaniard, and the Gaul, as well as the haughty Roman, had left home, there is little doubt, thirsty enough, and had drunk to inebriation of the genius of the place.*

But not so Basil and Gregory. The severe, self-contained Basil carried in his heart an Image far transcending any of those created by the fascinations of Hellenic life. Gregory, too, though he travelled sea and land, and spent long years in studying eloquence,† ever bore in mind the teachings of his mother Nonna.‡

Thus, though neither Basil nor Gregory had been baptized, still they had been "spoiled" for Athens.§ They lived, conversed, and worked together. Their only emulation was, who should love Christ the best; their only walks—to the schools, that they might acquire human eloquence and wisdom, the better to defend His cause; and to the house of God, where they might pray to him. They avoided the theatres and public places. They shunned young men of evil life, and associated with the virtuous only. They walked their straight and loving road to God, with that simplicity which alone could issue out of the intense purpose of their lives.¶

ons sentiment. They were loyal citizens, active, hardy, brave, munificent, and because the virtuous was the enjoyable, and the enjoyable was the virtuous. They regulated themselves by music, and so danced through life." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II. Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 15, p. 125—136; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

* Though most ensnaring and delusive, there is little doubt that the love of the Beautiful, which the Athenian education encouraged so much, was a great help towards preparing the way for Christianity. Thus many of the most distinguished Christians had been Greek professors. Serious men must have perceived where the concrete beauty lay. The Athenian or pagan life, compared with pagan aspirations; and the Christian life, when drawn into contact with both these, must have gone far to shake the belief of honest men in their own religious theories and religions. Christ, whenever brought fairly into relation with any work of man's creation, throws the light of His countenance upon it, and reveals all its hollowness and imperfection, not so much by the logic of reasoning, as by the logic of contrast.

† *Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso*, v. 96—102, p. 573; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*

‡ *Ibidem* v. 211—219, p. 1043.

§ He shows clearly what his mind was about Christ. It was to follow him that he abandoned the world, and all it offered. Here are the words of S. Anthony and S. Benedict again:—"Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, quis unquam inter hos degens expleto poterit [vitæ hujus negotia]? Nos enim oportet, si nosmetipsos abnegemus, et crucem Christi tollamus, sic ipsam sequi. Abnegare autem semetipsum est præteritorum prorsus oblivisci, atque a voluntatibus suis secedere. . . . Nam preparare se ad mortem pro Christo perferendam, mortificare membra quæ sunt super terram, accingi quasi in instructa acie ad periculum omne subendum, quod nobis pro Christi nomine impendunt, vitæque presentis non allici, hoc est crucem suam tollere." (*Vid. Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. III., Reg. Fusius Tractatus, Interrogat. VI.*, n. 1, p. 926—927; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXI.*) Again:—"Unum corpus sumus ac caput Christum habemus." (*Ibidem, Interrogat. VII.*, n. 2, p. 930. See p. 934, 935, 938.)

¶ "Duc nobis viæ notæ erant: altera prima et præstantior; secunda altera, et inferioris pretii: illa quidem ad sacras ades nostras, et ad doctores, qui illic erant, ferebat; hæc autem ad externos præceptores. Cæteras omnes, quæ ad festa, spectacula, celebres conventus, epulas, dicebant, equo ac libenti animo reliqueramus. Nihil enim, mea quidem sententia, magni faciendum est, quod ad recte honesteque vivendum nihil affert, nec sui studiosos meliores reddit. Jam cum aliis aliæ quedam cognomenta sint, vel a parentibus accepta, vel ex seipsis, hoc est, ex propriis vitæ studiis institutisque comparata: nobis contra, magna res et magnum nomen erat Christianos et esse et nominari." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 21, p. 523; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

It cannot be doubted that it was the strangeness and beauty of their Christian purity which drew around them so many hearts in Athens. If the Greeks loved the fair, how could they help being struck by Basil and by Gregory—by those two hearts in one, whose brilliant gifts and ardent friendship were talked of beyond the Greek peninsula and the islands of the neighbouring seas?

These youths were known to hold the gods of the Greeks in great contempt, and to place their pride, not in the high-sounding name of rhetoricians, but in the glorious title of followers of Christ.*

This establishment of Christian principle in the midst of pagan Athens was not without its effect. Basil and Gregory became the centre-figures in a chosen group. Amongst their friends might be mentioned Sophronius, who became a statesman; Eusebius, who afterwards was bishop; and Celsus, who was made, by Julian, Governor of Cilicia.

Basil speedily grew tired of Athens. He called its joys a "hollow blessedness." He came with high anticipations, and was disappointed.† Gregory and Basil made up their minds to leave. But their friends pressed around them, and so rude was their importunity, that they succeeded in persuading Gregory to remain. But Basil, with that firmness which was the secret of much of his success, broke through them all, and journeyed to Cæsarea; and Gregory was not long in following him.

Now we may consider the education of the twain complete. Basil, "the Christian Plato," and Gregory, "the Theologian," are now to sink their roots deep into the field of ecclesiastical politics and religion. Basil, the strong, stubborn oak, standing rigid against the storm, ready to break rather than to bend; Gregory, more like the elm, umbrageous, beautiful, graceful; naturally giving to fierce pressure of the elements, though never to be moved withal.‡

* S. Gregory tells us how wide-spread and how honourable a reputation was acquired by himself and his friend Basil. Vid. *Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII., in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 22, p. 526; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

† He shows in his *Rule* what it was that made him look with such indifference on earth: he saw beyond; his eyes fixed themselves on the "everlasting hills":—"Ineffabiles omnino sunt et inenarrabiles divinarum pulchritudinum fulgures: non eas deſegit oratio, non exſcipit auris. Ad luciferi ſplendores dixeris, et lumen claritatem, et ſola lumen, omnia præ illius gloria vilia ſunt et obſcura, atque cum vera luce comparata, magis diſtant ab illa, quam profunda triſtiſque ac illius nox a clariffima meridie diſſidet. Pulchritudo hæc carnis quidem oculis conſpici non poteſt, ſed a ſola anima ac mente apprehenditur. Ea ſi quando quempiam ſanctorum illuſtravit, ſtatim intolerandum in ipſis reliquit deſiderii ſtimulum: quippe qui præſentis vitæ pertas dicebant: *Hæc mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt. Quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem Dei?* Item illud: *Diſceſti et eſſe cum Chriſto multo longius melius. Illud quoque: Sitiit anima mea ad Deum fortem vitæ. Et: Nunc dimittis ſervum tuum, Domine.*" (Vid. *Opp. S. P. N. Basilii, Tom. III., Regulae Fusiſ Tractata, n. 4, p. 910—911; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXI.*)

‡ And their very friendship made them famous in Athens, and far beyond:—"Nec vero quidquam ejusmodi apud eos erant Orestes et Pylades, nec Molonida illi, Homerico versu celebrati, quos calanitatibus societas, atque ars egregie mirrigandi nobilitavit, eodem tempore habenas et flagrum inter se partientes." (Vid. *Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 22, p. 526; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

Basil and Gregory, when at Athens, had often talked over their future life. They spoke of how they would retire, when they had finished their *curriculum*, to serve God in solitude in the wilds of Pontus. The voice of Christ seems ever to have been speaking in their ears. But domestic difficulties prevented Gregory from carrying out his project,* so Basil, full of fiery zeal, took this opportunity of seeing the East. He had made up his mind to go to the fountain-head of monastic life, and to return home, and establish those principles in Asia Minor which had already filled the wilderness with saints. He visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He made a point of coming in contact with the great characters of the East.† He saw and marvelled at the lives of the Solitaries, who had utterly trampled on the flesh. He wondered at their patient endurance of so many labours, and at their constancy in prayer; he was struck dumb by the manner in which they battled with sleep; at the way they bore cold, hunger, and nakedness, with even minds.‡

In them Basil saw more than the realization of his own lofty aspirations. He tells Eustathius that these Eastern heroes lived as if in flesh not their own. "Admiring and extolling the life of these men who could so indeed carry about with them the dying of the Lord Jesus, I desired that I myself," he says, "as far as I could attain, might be an imitator of them."§

The example of these Solitaries made a life-impression upon Basil. He returned to Pontus. And now his great vocation opened upon its course. He established a monastery on the banks of the Iris. Here he fixed himself in a beautiful and wild spot, amid streams, mountains, and woods. Here he dwelt six or seven years, and ennobled his intelligence with the lofty principles of monastic life.||

* S. Basil complained that Gregory did not keep his word. (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., Vita S. Gregorii, § 58, p. 175; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

† S. Basil had been baptized, on his return home from Athens, by Bishop Dianius. He appears, also, before making for the East, to have given public evidence of his great oratorical powers at Cæsarea. But his sister Macrina was too fond of him to allow him to remain in the world if she could help it. "Qua in re plurimum illum adiuvit Macrina soror, quæ cum illum vidisset nimis magnifice de eloquentia sentire, ac dignitates omnes floccifacere, et fastu quodam supra homines potestate claros efferri, celeriter ad asceticam vitam, quam ipsa profitebatur, attraxit." (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I. Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. III., § 1, p. 13; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

‡ See the influence of the Gospel!—"Cum legissem Evangelium, ibique perspexissem plurimum ad perfectionem valere, bona sua dividere, et cum egenis fratribus communicare, ac nulla prorsus hujus vitæ sollicitudine distringi, nec ulla affectione ad res terrenas animo converti; cupiebam invenire aliquem ex fratribus qui hanc vitæ viam elegerisset, ut una cum ipso brevem hujus vitæ finem transirem." (*Opp. S. Basilii Magni, Tom. IV., Epistolarum Classis II., Epist. CCXXIII. Adversus Eustathium Sebastenum, § 2, p. 323; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXII.*)

§ *Ibidem.*

|| Nor did he live in what is called selfish ways of thinking of his own Salvation. He changed by his preaching, example, and munificence, the entire province of Pontus. "Basilus Ponti urbem," says Rufinus, "et rura circumiens, desideris gentis illius animos et parum de spe futura sollicitos stimulare verbis et predicatione succedere, callumque ab his longæ negligentia caput abolere, subegitque, abjectis inanum rerum et sæcularium curis, animet notitiam recipere, in munus coire, monasteria construere, psalmis, et hymnis et orationibus docuit vacare, pauperum curam gerere, eisque habitacula honesta et quæ ad victum necessaria sunt, præbere, virgines instituire, pudicam castamque vitam omnibus pene desiderabilem facere. Ita brevi

And he broke down a body naturally sickly with the terrible severity of his penances. He took but one meal a day, and that consisting of bread, herbs, and water. "Cookery with us is idle," he says, "no knife is familiar with blood; our daintiest meal is vegetables, with coarsest bread and vapid wine."* S. Gregory says of him: "he had but one inner and one outer garment: his bed was the ground; little sleep, no bath; his food bread and salt; his drink the running stream; he slept in a hair shirt, or other rough garment; the sun was his fire; and he braved the severest frost in the severe climate of Cappadocia."†

And all this satisfied his lofty spirit far beyond the splendour and refinements of Athens the beautiful. Thus he became a firm column, the greatest monastic law-giver of the East, the fearless reprover of the arrogance of princes and of the blasphemies of heretics.‡

His conduct before Modestus brings out the full character of the man. On the Saint refusing to communicate with the Arians, Modestus asks him whether he does not fear the consequences.

Basil.—"Fear what consequences?—what sufferings?"

Modestus.—"One of those many pains which a prefect can inflict."

Basil.—"Let me know them?"

Modestus.—"Confiscation, exile, torture, death."

Basil.—"Think of some other threat. These have no influence upon me. He runs no risk of confiscation, who has nothing to lose, except these mean garments and a few books. Nor does he care for exile, who is not circumscribed by place, who does not make a home of the spot he dwells in, but everywhere a home whithersoever he be cast, or rather everywhere God's home, whose pilgrim he is and wanderer. Nor can tortures harm a frame so frail as to break under the first blow. You could but strike once and death would be gain. It would

permutata est totius provincie facies, ut in arido et squalenti campo videretur seges fecunda, ac ieta vinea surrexisse." (*Lih. XI., Cap. IX. Cf. Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I. Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. VI., § 4, p. 25; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

* *Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. IV., Epist. XLI., p. 340; Patrolog. Græc. Vol. XXXII.* I use Dr. Newman's translation, as unapproachable, when the words of the Saint are quoted.

† (*See Church of the Fathers, Chap. II., p. 22.*) S. Gregory says of Basil:—"Necessarius tantum cibis, quamdiu licuit, vitam tolerabat, atque hunc solum luxum norat, nempe a luxu abstinere; sed illa et aves, quibus simplex atque artificii expers pulchritudo est, et victus facili atque ex tempore quesitus ob oculos habere, quemadmodum Christus meus monet. Hinc illi tunica una, et pallium unum, et status humi lectulus, et vigilia, et illuvies (illa ejus decora et ornamenta), et suavissima cona et obsonium, panis et sal, novum, inquam, illud condimentum, et potio sobria et uberrima, quam nobis nihil laborantibus fontes profundunt." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni, § 61, p. 575; Patrolog., Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

‡ See his splendid letter developing this idea:—"Oportet Christianum ea quæ vocatione celesti digna sunt, sentire, ac dignum Evangelio Christi vitam degere." (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. IV., Epist. Class. I., Epist. XXII., p. 287-294; Patrolog. Græc., Vol., XXXII.*)

§ *Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII., in Laudem Basilii Magni, § 49, p. 559; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

send me the sooner to Him for Whom I live and labour, for Whom I am dead rather than alive, to Whom I have long been journeying.”*

This was the man who, whilst he would resist the proud, was ever ready to spend and be spent among the sick and poor. He would not only tend the lepers, but kiss their miserable sores and wounds. Of his bounty, the vast hospitals which he established are sufficient evidence. It was Christ who made him all to all. Had he not been a Christian, he might have been a disdainful, scornful man; unapproachable for his gifts; feared, and indeed admired, but hardly loved. As it was, the tenderness of the Cross, joined to the grandeur of a mind little in nothing, elevated in everything, made Basil as deeply esteemed by the wise, as he was feared by the arrogant and froward.†

Mark his appearance! In person he is considerably above the middle height; he is thin, erect, and withered with the terrific austerities of his devoted life; his complexion is dark, and his countenance pale; his eyebrows large, and almost meeting above the nose; his face is oval, and his head closely shaved, and a long greyish beard flows down upon his breast;‡ his expression speaks of deep thought; whilst, added to the stern majesty of his appearance, there is a grace about him which recalls to mind the careful and exquisite training of his early life.

To go further into S. Basil's life would take up too much space. Of his separation from Dianius, his ordination at Cæsarea, his reconciliation with Eusebius, his episcopal labours,§

* “Exsiliū autem haud cognosco, qui nullo loco circumscriptus sum: ac neque terram hanc, quam nunc incolō, meam habeo, et eam omnem, in quam projectus fuero pro mea dno: Imo, ut rectius loquar, universam terram Dei esse scio, cuius advēna ego sum et peregrinus. Jam tormenta quid accipere queant, cum corpus desit, nisi forte primam plagam dixeris? Huius enim solius pene a arbitrium et potestas est. Mors porro beneficii mihi loco erit; citius enim me ad Deum transmittet, cui vivo et servio, maxinaque ex parte mortem obit, et ad quem jampridem propero. Quo sermone obstupescit praefectus: Nemo inquit, me (nomenque suum adiungit), ad hunc usque diem, ita, nec pari verborum libertate est allocutus.” (*Ibidem*, § 49—50, p. 359.)

† S. Gregory defends him against the imputation of being high-minded, thus:—“Quid ad hæc vobis dicturi sunt, qui hominū fastum superciliumque objiciunt? Inquit saue et acerbi rerum huiusmodi iudices, eosque, qui regulæ non sunt, ad regulam admoveantes. An vero fieri potest, ut qui leprosus deosculetur, et huc usque se demittat, adversus sanos et valentes supercilium attolat? Qui carnes continentia et luedia conficiat inani animi fastu iudicetur?” (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 64, p. 575—582; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

‡ “Sancti Basilii effigiem sic descriptam reperit Baronius [Ad an. 378] in anonymo Vaticano: ‘Magnus Basilius procero fuit habitu corporis et recto, siccus, gracilis; color ejus fuscus, vultus temperatus pallore, justus nasus, supercilia in orbem inflexa et adducta; cogitabundo similis fuit, paucæ in vultu rugæ, eæque residentes, genæ oblongæ, tempora aliquantulum cava, promissa barba et medioeris canities.’” (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I., Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. XL., § 2, p. 161; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*) Here again is a picture:—“Magnus Basilius habitu corporis, in multam proceritatem erectæ figuræ excurrebat. Erat siccus et macilentus, niger colore, pallore temperatis faciem, præditus decoro naso et circumflexis ad hircinum, superciliis; in vertice contractior; similis cogitabundo, pauculis in fronte rugis asperatus; malis oblongis, cavis temporibus, rarus fere ad cutem, barbam nutriens, canique satis promissam ac semicanam.” (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I., Historia Institutionis [Trip. Fest.] Ex Menseis impressis, p. 391; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

§ Here he fell in with Origen's influence again. See an account of the Adamantine's Scripture teaching there. *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. II., III., Lib. de Viris Illustribus, Cap. LIV., p. 665; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

his help to Gregory, his letters to Athanasius, his dispute with Anthimius, his illness, his patience under reproach, his journey to Pisidia and Pontus, and of his many writings, and incessant troubles of mind and body,—this is not the place to speak. Enough has been said of him for the present purpose. Stern, severe, self-contained, lofty and heroic in thought and word, measured in speech, noble in manner, a patriarchal man—Basil the Great stands out boldly amongst the great names of the fourth century;* and if not so diplomatic in his dealings as Athanasius, quite as uncompromising; if not so solitary as Anthony, quite as fond of retirement; and if not so gentle as Gregory, equally as full of ardent charity and noble thoughts.

The extraordinary grief created by his death is an evidence of the immense influence he exerted over thousands, many of whom most probably had never looked upon his face.

When he came near his end, he summoned up his strength and spoke with more than ordinary clearness on the saving doctrines of Redemption. And when at length his hour approached, he seemed to be looking forward to joining that heavenly choir on which his eyes were fixed.† The news of his condition drew the whole country into Cæsarea. Men, weeping like children, pressed around him, crying out in despair against the tyranny of death, and by violence they would have retained his soul. “Grief,” says S. Gregory, “had driven them mad.” There was not one in that concourse who would not willingly have sacrificed a portion of his life if he could have added it to that of Basil. The Saint was the only one at peace. Looking calmly on heaven, whilst uttering the words: “Into Thy hands I commend my spirit,” he gave his soul into the hands of God.

When that emaciated body, which had served its master with such stern fidelity, was being borne by faithful men to the family tomb, the excitement of the populace became indescribable; many thousands, utter strangers, who had never been seen before, crowded into the city.‡ Heathens, and Jews, and

* “Voilà Basile tout entier: une science contenue par le dogme et qui pourtant s’y déploie à l’aise: une éloquence toujours tournée au bien des âmes, mais ornée de toutes les grâces et nourrie de toute la science antiques; dans le gouvernement d’une seule église, toutes les facultés qui font l’homme d’Etat, tout le génie du siècle, en un mot, exclusivement consacré au service de la foi. Basile ne fonde ni une politique, ni une philosophie, ni même une littérature chrétienne, car il ne franchit pas le seuil du sanctuaire, n’affecte aucune magistrature, et ne distribue d’autre enseignement que l’Evangile . . . une Eglise qui produit des hommes tels que Basile est déjà prête à recueillir le gouvernement du monde.” (De Broglie, *L’Eglise et l’Empire Romain au IV^e Siècle. Troisième Partie, Vol. I., Chap. II., p. 233. Troisième Edition.*)

† Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni, § 79, p. 599—602; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

‡ “Tum vero miraculum omnium, quæ unquam fuerunt, celeberrimum designatur. Efferebatur vir sanctus, sanctorum virorum manibus elatus; unusquisque autem operam dabat, alius ut sinistram, alius ut umbram, alius ut sacrificium lectulum arriperet, ac vel solum attingeret; (quid enim illo corpore sanctius et purius!) alius ut propius ad eos, qui corpus ferebant, acce-

aliens, sobbed and wept, and wrung their hands round the bier. Hymns and psalms gave way to bursts of universal lamentation. Some pushed forward, aiming to get at the hem of Basil's garment; others to place themselves where his shadow would pass over them; others to secure some portion of his furniture, or to touch it with their fingers, or if they could not succeed in that, to see his blessed body with their eyes.* So great was the pressure in that swaying crowd, that many persons in it were crushed to death; and these were looked upon with envy as the happy victims of his funeral (*funebres victimæ*). It was with great difficulty that the body was borne through the city. But at length the sepulchre of the family was reached, and all that was mortal of Basil the Great was placed in the silent resting place of martyrs and of priests.

His life was spent in defending the orthodox teachings of Nicæa; in resisting the despotism of the civil powers; in maintaining episcopal rights; in renewing the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline; and in giving a new and permanent form to the methods of monastic life.†

His five books against Eunomius, his Treatise on the Holy Ghost, his "*Hexæmeron*," and his Principles of Monastic Rule,—as well as the example of his life,—have made their lasting mark upon the intellects of Catholic thinkers.

And if the gentle Gregory‡ was not gifted with the strong character of Basil, still he bequeathed to posterity a charming

deret; alius ut aspectu solo fruereetur, tanquam eo quoque utilitatis aliquid afferente. Plena erant fora, porticus, duplicia et triplicia tabulata, hominum deducentium, præcentium, prosequentium, assectantium, sese invicem prementium; multa millia omnis generis et ætatis ante eum diem incognita. Psalmodia genitibus cedebant, et animi constantia doloris magnitudine frangebatur." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni, § 80, p. 662; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

* *Ibidem.*

† The funeral oration of S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Basil's brother, is well worth reading. He says:—"Magnus a Deo Basilus, quemadmodum tempore Achaabi Elias, exhibetur, ac sacerdotio, quod jam quodammodo collapsum atque neglectum erat, suscepto, tanquam lucernam, quæ defecisset, rationem fidei per inhabitantem in se gratiam relucere demum fecit. Et cum veluti fax noctu errantibus per mare, Ecclesiæ bono apparuisset, omnes ad rectam viam convertit, cum præfectis et præsidibus conflixens, cum doctores copiarum congregiens, apud imperatores libere loquens, in concionibus et Ecclesiis clamans, eos, qui procul abessent, exemplo Pauli per epistolas concilians atque adiungens, effugiens et evitans confingentium prehensiones, cum nihil in se haberet, quo teneretur et vinceretur ab adversariis." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Nysseni, Tom. III., in Laudem Fratris Basilii, p. 795-798; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.* See this Gregory's beautiful treatise, *De Virginitate, Opp. Tom. III., Cap. I.-XXIV., p. 318-410.*)

‡ See how he speaks of his friendship with Basil:—

"Namque et hoc beneficium a Deo accepti;
Duxit me et conjunxit cum viro sapientissimo,
Qui viris et vita et eloquio supereminet omnes.
Quis ille? certe per facile cognoscetis.
Basilus erat, avi nostri magnum adiumentum.
Hunc et litterarum, et tacti, et consiliorum
Socium habebam, ac si quid gloriari deceat,
Par quoddam eramus, non obscurum in Græcia.
Communia erant omnia: meus una
Dnorum colligans corporum discrepantiam.
Quod autem nos in unum præcipue conjunxit,
Illud erat: Deus, et rerum præstantiarum amor."

(*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Scipio, v. 221-232, p. 1043-1046; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

picture of ascetic life ; whilst his writings, from their genuine orthodoxy, have earned for him the distinguished title of "The Theologian." He seems to have hung on Basil's love, and to have found his one delight in that supernatural friendship.* He too had abandoned all for Christ. But his delicate and timid nature shrank, more even than Basil's, from being placed in position, and having to contend with men. One thing alone he retained—his love of eloquence. He was ever ready with his pen, ever prompt to pour out his flowing periods in the pulpit. His Athenian training, his plastic mind, his fund of gentle sympathy, his personal devotedness to the Cross, tended to render him a master of the highest powers of persuasion. He was the *vir bonus*, out of the rich treasure of whose heart flowed the full stream of all that was truly eloquent.

He would willingly have joined his friend in Pontus, according to his promise made at Athens ; but it was impossible. Home duties detained him. At last he contrived to escape, and passed some of the sweetest days of his life, praying, meditating, and copying Origen on the quiet banks of the Iris. Now he is drawn out of his retreat. Against his will he is made presbyter. He flies away once more to Pontus ; but his conscience will not suffer him to rest.† He returns to Nazianzus. Then come the Arian disturbances, the sickness of his parents, and the death of his brother Cæsarius, to whom he was so devoted. Now Basil, through Gregory's influence, is raised to the bishopric of Cæsarea. Basil has had his battles of fight : jealousies and misunderstandings at home, heresy and schisms abroad, afflict his mind and try his strength. He has one single aim in life—to advance Christ's glory. For this end, even Gregory must be sacrificed. To keep Anthimius in check, Basil has him consecrated bishop, and places him in Sasima, a village within the

* The principal dates of S. Basil's career are as follows:—Born, 329 ; went to Athens, 351—355 ; returns to Cæsarea, 355 ; goes to the East, about 357 ; returns, 358 ; retires to his monastery, 360 ; ordained presbyter at Cæsarea, 362 ; deposed by Eusebius, 364 ; recalled to Cæsarea, 365 ; relieves the starving, 367, 368 ; chosen bishop of Cæsarea, 370 ; dies, 379.

† The great Elias, the real father of monks, the master of S. Anthony, had his influence on Gregory too. The following gentle lines breathe the placid spirit of the Saint, and reveal his mind:—

" Magni faciebam Elian Thesbitem,
Ac luclytum Carmelum, et cibum insolitum,
Desertum Præcursoris possessionem,
Fillorum Jonadab vitam sine apparatu ;
Sed me rursus tenebat sacrorum Librorum amor,
Ac Spiritus lumen in consideranda Scriptura,
Res cum deserto et quiete non conveniens :
Donec in utramque partem sepe delatus,
Tandem inter desideria mea sic litem dirimo . . .
Videns enim quos actiuosa delectat vita,
Eos aliis quidem utiles esse, his nempe qui in sæculo vivunt . . .
Eos autem qui vale sæculo dixerunt, stabiliiores quidem esse . . .
At sibi solis prodasse angusta claritate . . .
Mediam inter utrosque viam inco,
Meditari ut hi, prodesset, ut illi, statuerem."

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v. 292—311, p. 1050—1051 ; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.,

disputed jurisdiction. This is more than Gregory can patiently endure; a coolness springs up between the friends.* Gregory flies from Sasima into his beloved solitude. Thence he comes forth again, to assist his aged father, on the condition that his official duties at Nazianzus are to cease with his father's death. His father and mother, each fully a hundred years of age, die about 374. Fearing the responsibility of the bishopric, Gregory hurries to Seleucia, and during his retirement hears the news of Basil's death (379), which plunges him into the deepest grief. Father and mother, brother and sister, and now Basil, dead; he seems almost left solitary in the world.

With these sorrows the public life of Gregory begins. The state of ecclesiastical politics is now more cheering than it has been for some time. Theodosius becomes emperor. The Church in Constantinople is freed from her bonds. The emperor embraces the creed of Nicæa. The Second General Council acts with pacific influence in East and West. Such was the gleam of light which shot across the Eastern heavens. But Gregory was drawn into a place of storms. He felt himself bound to answer a call to go to Constantinople, and to do his best to reconstruct the Church of God.† He was now fifty years old—just Basil's age when he was called to his reward.

The cruelty of the Arians in Constantinople defies description. Baronius says that the gates of hell seemed to have been opened upon the city. This was during the reign of Valens. The churches were "filled with furious devils and legions of unclean spirits." Priests were burnt alive. Churches were converted into sepulchres, and their walls were sprinkled with the blood of saints; whilst the Catholics were outraged, and driven into exile.‡ The city swarmed with various sects, Novatians, Macedonians, Photians, Marcellians, Sabellians, Eunomians, and Apollinarists,—all sunk their mutual detesta-

* Basil was using his friend Gregory as a tool. Basil used his friends to push his one life's cause. Gregory seems to resent this. See *Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Epist. XLVIII., p. 99; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*

† "Luctuosa tunc omnium Ecclesiarum facies, sed nullius luctuosior quam Constantiopolitana, in qua jam ab annis quadraginta grassata fuerat Ariana lues, sub pontificibus hæreticorum antesignanis atque etiam ipsis novorum dogmatum conditoribus; sub principibus, quales fuere Constantinus et Valens, qui hæreticorum partes tuebantur, Catholicos vexabant, et pro errore contra veritatem toto, ut ita dicam, imperii corpore certabant." The state of the Church of Constantinople can be realized, when it is remembered that Paul, the orthodox bishop of that See, was murdered by the Arians in 339:—"Hanc [sedem], relicta sede Nicomedienſi, Arianæ dux agminis confestim, eo anno invasit Eusebius, post quem in Macedoniam manus infelix hæc Ecclesia devenit. Expulso ab ipsismet Arianis Eudoxius rex hæreticorum Aetii Ariarum longe implissimi discipulus successit est." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I. in Vita S. Gregorii, Cap. CXXII., p. 211; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

‡ "Ariani summa rerum Ecclesiæ potiti, vix pietatis 'reliquias,' et excitando a Gregorio fidei 'semina' relinquant. Templorum alia ab hæreticis occupata, atque in primis amplissimum illud 'Sophia cognominatum,' tunc 'diaboli propugnaculum' magis quam ecclesiæ, ubi snos ille milites collocarat [Valens]; imo ubi 'dæmonum exercitus, furiarumque ac spirituum legiones aderant innumerosum.' Alia 'ex templis in sepulchra commutata, alia cruore sanctorum aspersa profanataque,'" &c. (*Ibidem, Cap. CXXXIII., p. 212—213.*)

tion in their common hatred of the Catholic Church. How great a wrench it was for Gregory to leave his quiet wilderness for such a post as this, can only be realized by those who have read his letters and pondered on his life.*

He speaks of himself, when going thither, as coming from an obscure corner of the earth, with his limbs drawn together by old age; his body bent to the ground; his countenance furrowed with wrinkles, and wasting away with fasting and tears; with a harsh and uncultivated voice, and coarse raiment;—poverty-stricken as the poorest of the poor.

He commenced his mission in an obscure room, which afterwards grew into the stately church of S. Anastasia.† In spite of what he says of himself, his mission was almost a miraculous success. His cultivated eloquence, and his gentleness, drew men of all persuasions to his little chapel.‡ His great charity towards his enemies, his high Christian spirit, produced a deep impression. True he was slandered, he was scoffed at, he was dragged before the tribunal, he was stoned,—but it was of no avail; all he said of his bitterest enemies was: “Lord lay not this sin to their charge.”§

The fame of Gregory as an eloquent defender of the faith was soon carried throughout the East. S. Jerome in Syria heard of him, and undertook a wearisome journey to Constantinople, in order to become his disciple: “I exult and glory,” says S. Jerome, “in his being my master.”||

* See how glad he was to depart; and how Christ was the prime-mover of his life:—

“Cunctis simul, aula et urbis et sacerdotibus
Sponte relictis, ut olim optabam
Cum me Deus et nocturnis vocavit somnis,
Et maria horrendi molestis terroribus.
Idcirco lætitia exultans invidiam fugi, atque ex magna
Tempestate in stabili portu rudentem fixi.
Ubi puris mentis cogitationibus animum evehens,
Etiam silentium, instar victimæ, ut antea sermonem, offeram.
Gregorii hæc verba sunt, quem aluit terra
Cappadocum, quique pro Christo omnibus se abdicavit.”

(*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v. 26—36, p. 1030; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

† “Anastasia, templorum maxime venerabile,
Quæ jacentem humi fidem exsuscitasti,
Arca Noe, quæ diluvium mundi
Sola effugisti, et alterum portasti
In seminibus mundum orthodoxum.”
(*Ibidem, v. 1079—1083, p. 1103.*)

‡ Nothing was more marked than his moderation in controversy. See his Oration, *De Moderatione in Disputando, Tom. II., Oratio XXXII., p. 174—211; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

§ *Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I. in Vita, Cap. CXXXVI., p. 217—218; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*

|| “Res plane admiratione digna est ut cum Baronio loquar, hominem, quem ob insignem eruditionem consulerent Occidentales episcopi, qui orbem doceret, tam longa et difficilia itinera peragrasse, ut Gregorii mereretur esse auditor ac sub tanto magistro posset profiteri discipulum; inde sibi summum gloriæ decus conciliaturum existimans cum accessione doctrinæ. Imo eo nomine . . . gloriari consuevit: ‘Ego eo magistro glorior et exulto.’” (*Ibidem, Cap. CXXXVII., p. 218.* See also *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epist. L., p. 513; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.* Also *Tom. II., Adver. Jovin., Lib. I., p. 230; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*) “Numquid in illa Epistola Gregorium virum eloquentissimum non potui non laudare? Quis apud Latinos par est? quo ego magistro glorior et exulto.” (*Tom. II., Adv. Lib. Rufini, p. 407; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*)

Gregory was not made for the excitements of ecclesiastical politics.* He threw up his episcopal position on the first opportunity, and retired once more into his beloved solitude, to die to self, to live to Christ, to conquer his passions, to write his pious Iambics, and his letters, and then to die. His life at Arianus was nearly as hard a one as S. Basil's had been. It "was spent in fasting, tears, and watchings; his knees were worn and wounded with kneeling; his bed was of straw, his coverlet a coarse sackcloth, his habit a single tunic; he went barefoot, lived without the use of fire, and had no company but wild beasts. But notwithstanding his austerities, his continual sickness, and his great age, he still felt violent struggles of the flesh against the spirit."†

And though his career had been one course of rigid penance, he had his trial even at the last hour, when more than ninety years of age. He seemed to see as he was dying, "the horrid darkness of hell, the flame of fire, and the blackest night." Then, stretching his hand to heaven, and calling upon the choirs of the blessed, with his whole heart yearning towards God, he earnestly besought Christ to receive him, and not to abandon His own image;—and thus he found rest at last, and delivered his pure spirit into the hands of his Creator.‡

Gregory was of middle height; his complexion was pale; his nose inclined to be flat; his right eye, on account of a wound, had a melancholy cast; his expression was sweet; he was in part bald, his hair was white; his beard short and dense, and of a dusky hue close to the face.§

* "Ego Jonas propheta ero.

Trado me ipse ad salutem navis,

Quamvis procella nulla in me causa residet

Sublatum me sortis exitu projicite.

Cetus hospitalis me ex profundo excipiet.

Gloria hæc erit mea

Siu ad me usque perstetis, id unum

Muletam esse, et pugnam pro thronis existimo

Abscedo; ita affectum suadet.

Unam mortem deo; hæc in Dei manu sita est."

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. III., Carminum, Lib. II., Sectio I.,

Poemata de Seipso, v. 1838—1851, p. 1158—1159; Patrolog. Græc., Vol.

XXXVII. See also his Oratio XXVI., in Seipsum, § 4, p. 1231,

where he calls himself "Ille timidus pastor et circumspectus."—

Opp., Tom. I., Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)

† Fleury's Eccles. History (Oxford), Book XLX., § 11, p. 156.

‡ "Quamvis autem asperam semper, victuque horridam duxisset vitam, æviens in corpus, carum vigiliis, jejuniis aliisque penitentibus laboribus afflictus, extreme vite certamen imminere sentiens, jamjam 'tartarum caligine horrendum' videre sibi videbatur, et 'ignis flammam, altissimamque noctem.' Tum supplex ad sidera palmas tendebat, totoque corde ad Deum aspirans, Christum enixe rogabat ut se exciperet, et imaginem suam non desereret. Ita beatissimus senex 'proxime mortuus, cyaneo cantu Domino cantans purissimum Deo spiritum' reddidit, ac optatam quietem cum agnibus beatorum adeptus est. Mortuum hunc esse anno undecimo Theodosii imperatoris, sive anno 389, ex Hieronymo discimus." (Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I., in Vita, § 173, p. 236—237; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)

§ "Corpore robusto fuit Gregorius, sed assiduis morbis viteque molestis, prætereaque jejuniis, vigiliis, chameuniis ita fracto ac debilitato, ut sibi senectutem, quod ipsemet testatur, acceleraverit. Anonymus Græcus, a Baronio laudatus, qua statura fuerit his verbis exprimit in codice 540 Bibl. Vat.: 'Statura mediocri erat, pallidus aliquantulum, non tamen citra venustatem: depressio naso, superciliis in rectum protensis, aspectu blando et suavi, altero oculo nempe dextro subtristis, quem cicatrix quedam contrahabat, barba non promissa sed densa tamen. Qua parte calvus non erat nam subcalvus erat, albos crines habebat, summas item

With all his amiability, this Father was a firm column in his defence of the teachings of Nicæa. His forty-five discourses, or dogmatic and polemical treatises, have ever been held in high esteem. Those directed against the Eunomians and the Macedonians are called *theological*, and are looked upon as the most important of his works. How greatly his teachings on the responsibilities of the pastoral office were prized by such men as S. John Chrysostom and S. Gregory the Great, is evident from the fact that the former, in his treatise on *The Priesthood*, and the latter, in his four books on *Pastoral Solitude*, have taken S. Gregory Nazianzen as a model. Eloquence, fidelity, and a love of truth—all subservient to an intense personal love of Christ—characterize the taste of this beautiful and gentle light of the Eastern Church.*

Well may he have gained the heart of a man of a nature sterner than his own—of the Origen of the West, the great S. Jerome. For three years did that great Dalmatian live in intimate familiarity with S. Gregory the Theologian, charmed by the eloquent flow of his cultivated oratory, and subdued by his mastery over theologic truth. Whatever bore upon it the stamp of genius, or of earnest Christian love, took instant possession of Jerome's impressionable heart. There is no Father of the Church whose character is so hard to seize as that of the Solitary of Bethlehem. The very voluminousness of his correspondence with saintly and heroic ladies, with popes, literary men, and monastic friends, makes it all the more difficult to do justice to the vigour, fire, and passion of his character.† By means of his iron will, he tamed his fierce and imperious nature, and curbed himself down with the violence of a heroic love to the foot of the Cross.‡ The huge strength of his rebellious heart, and its fierce contest with grace, bear about them elements of the sublime. To see the strong man writhing with the supremest effort of his being, grasped in the coils of a monster serpent: to watch the breathless exertion of

barbas partes velut fumo obseitas ostendebat." (*Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, Tom. I. in Vita*, § 175, p. 237; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXXV. See also *Opp. S. Basilli, Tom. I. Historia Institutionis [Trip. Fest.] Ex Menia Impressa, Prolegomena*, p. 392; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXIX.)

* The principal dates connected with the life of S. Gregory *Theologus* are the following:—Born shortly before 329; arrives at Athens about 350; Basil leaves Athens 355; Gregory leaves 356; joins Basil in retirement 358 or 359; leaves to help his father 360 or 361; made Presbyter 361; collision with Julian 361; leaves, and returns home 362; fall of Julian 363; retires to Pontus again 364; Cæsarlina dies 368 or 369; Gregory made Bishop of Sasima 372; his father dies 374; Gorgonia dies 374; flies to Seleucia 375; called to Constantinople 379; Theodosius supports him 380; Council of Constantinople 381; retires to Arianzus 383; dies 389 or 390. (*Vid. Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tomi II., III., Lib. de Viris Illustribus, Cap. CXVII.*, p. 707–709; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXIII.)

† For a token of his retentive memory of trifling incidents in his early life, see *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tomi II., III., Apologia Adversus Libros Rufini*, n. 30, p. 422; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXIII.

‡ See how he lays down the principle which dominated his whole career. *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tomi II., III., Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, p. 1030; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXIII.

the one, and the silent, remorseless, ever-increasing pressure of the other, to see two mighty powers fairly matched, wrestling in a death-struggle, cannot but frighten and fascinate the mind.*

Jerome had been ordained presbyter at Antioch. He had gone through his great trial before he came to Constantinople; he had conquered; and his life was now dedicated to unwearied work in the service of the Church. Most lofty souls, men who are eventually called by God to defend His cause, have themselves to suffer trial and temptation; and often in proportion to the greatness of the test, is the largeness of the service which they are destined to perform. Jerome was no exception to this general rule. A rapid review, up to the date at which the great crisis of his life began, will throw a light upon his subsequent career.

He was born at Strido, and is believed to have been of Dalmatian parents.† Of his father and mother nothing is known, except that they were Christians. But it is most probable that from his earliest years the boy's heart was fostered in the love of Christ, and that the high principles of orthodox Christianity were deeply engraved upon his mind.‡ There is no doubt that, when he set out for Rome, at the age of seventeen, he carried with him such a store of principle as enabled him, if not altogether to lead a spotless life, at all events to appreciate Christian virtue.

Though Rome could not rival Alexandria—with its museum and its ornamental buildings, with its theatre and *gymnasia*, with its royal palace and famous *serapeum*, with its amphi theatre and library, and *stadium*; though it could not boast of such world-wide names as Athens, or of so many gifts of costly taste,—still none could excel it in instilling the elements of knowledge into the mind of youth. The Capitol seems to have been the seat of education. Teaching was placed under the protection of the State. Grammar (including language, metre, criticism, and history), rhetoric, philosophy, and jurisprudence, had each a certain number of Chairs assigned to them.

Had S. Jerome followed the usual *curriculum*, he would already have had his course of geography and grammar. It is certain that he studied classics under Donatus; that he excelled all his companions in his knowledge of Greek antiquity; and

* See how he speaks as one knowing infirmity. *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epist. CXXV., ad Rusticum Monachum, n. 17, p. 1076; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII. See also Epist. CXXIX., n. 5, p. 964; Epist. XIV., n. 4—5, p. 349, &c.*

† *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. I., p. 4—5. Deuxième Edition.*

‡ *Ibidem, Chap. I., p. 13.*

learnt to speak Latin with an astonishing fluency and elegance. Then he applied himself to oratory and dialectics, and very possibly acquired a tincture of law, mathematics, and philosophy.* The impress of the Roman mind seems to have remained on him for life. That strength, vigour, and directness of intellect, which belong to a conquering and governing class, show themselves repeatedly in the various vicissitudes of his career.

Of the wickedness of Rome at the period of its decline, mention has been made. How many temptations its streets, and shows, and teeming population would offer to one in the fresh heat of youth, full of energy, impressionable, curious, imaginative, and but lately come from his wild woodlands of Dalmatia, need not be described. Perhaps they were greater than those at Athens. Gregory and Basil may have had less to undergo than Jerome and Bonosus.† Anyhow, it appears that the young Dalmatian stained his imagination with dangerous sights, and fell into the sins of youth during his academical career. It is not so surprising that he did not remain immaculate, as that he was able, with his passionate temperament, to keep on the narrow path at all; but he bore the Image of the Crucified within him.‡ His mind was naturally noble and devoted, though his animal man was strong, and the grace of God at length subdued him with its impressive influence, and tamed him into one of the most indefatigable servants of the Cross.

At Rome he was baptized.§ Thence, he went with Bonosus to Aquileia, and to Treves on the Moselle. Here he transcribed S. Hilary's Commentaries on the Psalms, and on the Synods. Here that mighty principle, which has fashioned so many men into saints, took possession of his mind. The great S. Athanasius had dwelt, during one of his banishments, in Treves; and had left a tradition concerning Eastern monastic life, which had not died away.¶ What Jerome had heard at Treves, was

* *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. I., p. 23. Deuxième Edition.

† *Opp. S. Hieronymi*, Tom. I., *Epist. III.*, n. 4, p. 334; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXII.

‡ See Alzog's *Manuel de Patrologie*, § 67, p. 365.

§ Like S. Basil and S. Gregory, the most dangerous time of youth was allowed to pass before S. Jerome received the Sacrament of Baptism—that is to say, the period when the powers have begun to show their force, and are new and strange, and not yet mastered. The following is instructive:—"Non alius forsitan e catholicis Patribus absolutam accipiendi baptismatis necessitatem magis asseruit quam Ambrosius variis locis, ad potissimum *Lib. II. de Abraham*, Cap. II., num. 84, *Serm. 3*, in *Psalm. CXVIII.*, num. 14, et *Lib. de Mysteriorum*, Cap. 4, num. 20. Verum omnia illa testimonia sic accipi debent, ut baptismus, quem dicunt in voto, cum baptismus in aqua haberi nequit, ad salutem sufficere minime negetur . . . Innocentius tertius Pont. Max. epistola Cremonensi Episcopo scripta sincerum ejusdem sacramenti desiderium, cum ipsum in re accipere non licet, salutem afferre Doctoris nostri testimonio confirmat: quam opinionem tum ejusdem Ambrosii, tum Augustini auctoritate amplecti se dicit Bernardus Tractatu ad Hugonem Victorinum . . . Denique citant Hugo Viet, de *Sacram. Baptism.*, Cap. 5., *Beatus Thomas II.*, p. 968, a. 2. Magist. Sent. in IV. Dist. 4, § *mundi et alii*, et post eos vulgus scholasticorum." (Vid *Opp. S. Ambrosii*, Tomi *Secundi et Ultimi*, Pars Prior, *De obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*, n. 30, note f, p. 1368; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.)

¶ *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. II., p. 51–52.

confirmed at Aquileia, by Evagrius, who had come hither on an embassy from the Syrian Church. With him Jerome soon struck up a friendship. His ardent nature was roused by the accounts, given by the ambassador, of the lives of the Eastern monks, and of the penances of the Solitaries. That cord of heroism, which seems to be strung across the heart of every man of lofty mind, was struck, and vibrated throughout his soul. It is the old story of the constraining power of sacrifice and of holocaustic charity. It is simply Anthony, Anthanasius, Basil, and Gregory over again; heaven opened in a moment of grace, and Jerome, like the rest, beheld the cardinal truth, that heaven is purchased cheaply, at the sacrifice of all the earth can offer.*

Jerome and his friends started for the East, and after a long pilgrimage reached Cæsarea, and there became acquainted with the great S. Basil. From him, Jerome would have learnt many a tradition of the Oriental Church. But he did not bide long at Cæsarea. He set out again on his voyage, and after a fatiguing journey, arrived, with Evagrius, at Antioch.†

And now it was that the great trial of his life came upon him; now it was that that huge piece of precious ore, so rough, shapeless, and full of dross, was cast into the heated furnace,—till he who had lived too familiarly with earth, stood up, bright and purified, with all the love of clay burnt out of him.

Jerome had not undertaken this long journey without a motive: it was not merely to see the hermits, and to hear of the wondrous deeds of Anthony, and Hilarion, and Paul; but it was to give himself wholly to God, in imitation of their lives.

When at Antioch, his friends left him, and he fell grievously ill.‡ He abandoned the gay city, and betook himself into the wide-spread and burning desert of Chalcis, on the confines of Arabia. Here he dwelt, he tells us, “in a vast solitude, burnt up by the rays of the sun.” Well may his young heart have become as sad as death, under the trial which now cast its shadow over him. He had, with all the fierce earnestness of his soul, determined to give his life to Christ alone. But he carried his nature with him into the wilderness. Forms of human beauty, and the joys of youth, assaulted his excited imagination. His great heart had to be quelled, conquered, and

* *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola CXVIII. ad Julianum, n. 5, p. 964; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.* S. Jerome puts out his whole thought in his *Life of S. Paul the Hermit*. See *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. II., Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ, n. 17, p. 28; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

† The death of many of his friends, about this time, turned his mind to serious thoughts. See *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. III., p. 83. Deuxième Edition.*

‡ The example of S. Malchus was not without its influence on S. Jerome. See *Les Voyages de Jérôme, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. III., p. 98. Deuxième Edition.*

purified.* He clothed his body, withered and blackened by the sun, with the prickly sackcloth of a penitent. Day and night went and came, and found Jerome's eyes streaming with tears. Cold water and raw food were his only nourishment. Yet, whilst kneeling in the midst of scorpions and poisonous reptiles, in spite of his terrific self-inflictions, his mind seemed to be wrenched out of his power, and to be carried away amidst those choirs of graceful maidens who had so deeply impressed his imagination when studying in Rome.† Still he persevered in the mighty struggle. His face grew livid through the severity of his fasts; his body was brought to the edge of the grave. Still the tempter battled in his heart. O, how forlorn he felt in that great wilderness of sand, under the scorching glare of the sun, abandoned by all, except by that one enemy which he was struggling to expel! "Therefore," he says, "deprived of all succour, I lay at the feet of Jesus, I washed them with my tears, and wiped them with my hair."

And there was another weakness which he did not seem able to overcome—his passionate love of pagan classics. He alternated his abstinence and watchings with reading from Cicero, and he became disgusted with the language of the Prophets, because he had loved to revel in the jests and comedies of Plautus.‡ He could not endure the "*sermo incultus*" of the inspired writers, after the pure diction and graceful turns of that disedifying poet.

"When I could not see the light with my blind eyes," he says, "I did not blame my eyes, but I blamed the sun."§ In the midst of this struggle, a terrific fever, probably brought on by excitement, bad food, and the blinding sun, seized upon his emaciated frame, already broken by penitential rigour. It appears to have struck into all his joints, and to have loosened all his bones. He lay on the sand motionless. Those about him taking him to be dead, made preparations to bury him. A mere flickering of life, too faint for them to perceive, hardly retained his soul in its frail tenement. There as he lay prone, partly on earth and yet as it were half in eternity, suddenly he was rapt in spirit and swiftly borne before the tribunal of the Almighty Judge.

So glaring was the light in heaven, and so fierce a flame

* Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola CXXV., ad Rusticum Monachum, n. 7, p. 1075—1076; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.

† Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium, Paula Filiam, n. 4, p. 396; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.

‡ Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium, Paula Filiam, n. 7, p. 338—339; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.

§ Ibidem, n. 30, p. 416.

flashed from those who stood around the throne, that Jerome cast himself upon the ground and did not dare to lift his head. A fierce voice asked: "What art thou?" "A Christian," replied the trembling youth. "Thou liest," exclaimed the Judge, "thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian, for where thy treasure is, there also is thy heart!" Struck dumb, Jerome said within himself: "Who shall confess to thee in hell?"* The ministers then smote him with their staves, whilst he cried out under their blows: "Have mercy on me O Lord, have mercy on me!" Then those at the throne falling on their knees, besought the Judge to have pity on the young man's youth, and to give him a season for repentance, if he promised to abandon the writings of the pagans. Jerome swore the oath, and thus the vision ended.† Nor was this a mere imagination. He says that his shoulders were livid with bruises, and that his body ached with pain, after the scene had passed away. Thus the dross was melted out and the gold remained. The grand principle of Jerome's subsequent life is summed up in his own pregnant words: "The perfect servant of Christ possesses Christ alone."‡ Jerome now was free. His solitude became sweet to him as honey in the honeycomb. He had drunk of the torrent on the way, wherefore he now lifted up his head.

He remained four years in the wilderness of Chalcis. Here he worked at Hebrew, annotated portions of the Scripture, and corresponded on the joys of a solitary life and on other subjects with his many friends. But he was not suffered to bide in peace. To escape the unpleasantness of theologic strife, he betook himself to Antioch (379). Here he was ordained a presbyter. Thence he went to Constantinople, as has been said, drawn by the eloquence and fame of S. Gregory *Theologus*.§

Rome, Aquileia, Treves, Antioch, Chalcis, Constantinople,—Jerome had been well prepared for carrying out a work worthy of an Œcumenical Doctor of the Church. Though Meletius had died, his schism had not expired with him. S. Jerome, to extinguish it, accompanied S. Epiphanius and Paulinus to Rome. Here he became intimate with Pope Damasus, was nominated secretary to the Council, and then secretary to the Pontiff.

* *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium, Paula Filiam, n. 30, p. 416; Patrolog. Lat. Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, n. 30, p. 417.*

‡ See his whole tone of mind, how it concentrates on and lives in Christ; and how Christ is his one lever and argument to move his friend to follow his example. *Ibidem, Epist. XIV., ad Heliodorum, n. 6, p. 351; n. 10, p. 354; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

§ *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. 11^r, p. 180—181.*

Now began his career of influence. Two master-passions, intimately connected with one another, possessed his mind :—love of the Holy Scriptures, and love of the monastic state. His entire course, from this time forth, was absorbed in commenting on, translating, and spreading abroad the Word of God ; and in drawing men and women away from the luxuries and hollowness of the world, into a life of entire self-dedication to the Cross.*

He became chief councillor of Pope Damasus, and translated the New Testament into Latin at his request. Nor was he idle in pushing forward the principles of monastic life. He took up the work which S. Athanasius had begun. Marcella, who dwelt with her mother Albina and her sister Asella in a great palace on the Aventine,—a hill afterwards known so well to the Angelical—put herself under his direction ; and the elegant Albina welcomed the *élite* of Christian society which was drawn to hear the austere Solitary of Chalcis expound the deep meaning of the Sacred Word.† Great, nay overpowering, was the influence of the earnest-hearted Jerome. His noble mien, his rigid ascetic face, the light in his eye when he spoke of the Crucified, his force of character, and the simplicity of his aim, fascinated the intelligences of the most beautiful and most accomplished ladies of Imperial Rome. He knew, as no other, how to display before their imaginations a scheme of life far more seductive to a really generous mind than all the charms the world is capable of offering.‡

Having gained a permanent hold on the intellect of high society in Rome, Jerome's mission was accomplished. Damasus had died. Envy and calumny went hand in hand to slander him who fearlessly condemned the loose lives of many of the Roman clergy.§ S. Jerome bade adieu to the Eternal City, and betook himself once more to Antioch. Hither Paula and Eustochium, two of the Roman penitents, came to meet him. They then travelled into Palestine and Egypt. They visited Alexandria, and explored the wilderness of Nitria, when Isidore the Confessor came forth with "a countless multitude of monks" to meet them. Paula and Eustochium now saw with their very eyes those men of whom they had heard so

* His letters are full of the grand principle of throwing up all, and gaining Christ. Our Lord is the solution and response to all difficulties and complaints. *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium Paulæ Filiam, n. 39—40, p. 423—424; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. V., p. 252—253. Deuxième Edition.*

‡ *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tomi II, III., Commentarius in Ecclesiasten ad Paulam et Eustochium, Præfatio, p. 1009; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

§ What S. Jerome said of clerks in his day, resembles what Ellinand said of some priests in his time. See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. IV., p. —; see Fleury, Eccles. Hist., Book XVIII., § 36, p. 81. Oxford.*

much. They visited the most celebrated Solitaries, and prostrated themselves at their feet; and had it not been for their yearning after Palestine, these highborn, fastidious Roman ladies would have spent the rest of their lives amidst the burning sand of this inhospitable wilderness.*

But Christ drew Jerome and Paula both to Bethlehem.† After a chequered career, Jerome settled down, at forty years of age, to realize that life of study and retirement which he had conceived to be the highest vocation of a Christian man. He chose a spot close to the cave of Christ. It was Chalcis over again. Bread and roots were his only food; he would possess nothing; he lived on the charity of Paula. His fasts were long; his sleep short; he reposed on the bare earth; the time not dedicated to prayer and penance was spent in teaching; he passed the night studying the Word of God.‡

A little colony soon gathered around him. In course of time, four monasteries were erected within easy distance of his cave. The principles of Anthony and S. Pachomius lived in the hearts of many a holy monk and nun who found a retreat near the Solitary's cell. Hundreds of strangers from every quarter of the world were attracted to Bethlehem. Paula constructed a hospice to receive them. And thus an active centre of Catholic energy was fixed in the most hallowed spot of the Christian world.§

Here S. Jerome began and completed his life's work. What he had done for the New Testament, at Rome, that he was now going to spend five laborious years in accomplishing for the Old. Here it was that in his rugged cave, with indomitable courage he finished another translation from the Hebrew. Here he wrote upon S. Paul and the Prophets; here he passed portions of the night listening to the instructions of Bar-anina; here he taught grammar and theology, translated Origen, and wrote his voluminous Commentaries on almost every portion of the Sacred Scripture. Of his disagreement with Rufinus and its cause; of his misunderstanding with John of Jerusalem; of his writings against Vigilantius, Helvidius, Jovinian, and the Pelagians; of his correspondence with S. Augustine;|| of his opinion on S. Chrysostom—this is not the place to speak. A man of huge power of work, of an unwearied industry, of

* See Fleury, *Eccles. Hist.*, § 37, p. 85. *Oxford.*

† *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. VIII., p. 361. *Deuxième Edition.*

‡ *Opp. S. Hieronymi*, Tom. I. in *Vita*, Chap. VIII., n. 1, p. 63; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXII.

§ *Ibidem*, Chap. XXXII., § 3, p. 143.

|| *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, Chap. VIII., p. 429—430. *Deuxième Edition.*

dauntless courage, large heart, and sharp, direct, incisive tongue, he carried through his giant task, held his own, maintained and spread abroad the monastic principle, and ruled supreme over hearts of the most exquisite sensibility, and minds of the highest culture. He was a firm uncompromising stay of the Holy See; he loathed heresy and all its blighted offspring; and his vigour is never more powerfully displayed than when he is either castigating the arrogance of subtle sensuality, or unmasking the hypocritical scrupulosity of ecclesiastical reformers.* He was too honest, straight, logical himself to be taken in by smoothness, or to be overawed by power.

So he fulfilled his destiny. Hard penance, ceaseless work, and the pressure of time, at length enfeebled his strength and impaired his sight. His beloved ones were taken one by one from him to their reward. S. Paula had died, Marcella and Pammachius appear to have perished. Rome had been besieged and sacked. And at length Eustochium, the last of all friends, was snatched away by the hand of death.† His body became stricken by the palsy of old age.‡ His pen fell from his hand wearied with years of toil, and the Commentary on Jeremias remains unfinished to this day. Finally, the man of God felt his hour approaching;§ he had reached his ninety-sixth year;

* *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola CXXIII., ad Ageruchium, n. 12, p. 1053; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII. See also Epist. CXXX. ad Demetriadem, n. 16, p. 1120; Epist. XCVIII., n. 19, p. 807; Epist. CXXXIII. ad Ctesiphontem, n. 2, p. 1148; Epist. LXXXV. ad Theodorum Viduam, n. 3, p. 687.*

† *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Epistola CXLIII. ad Alypium et Augustinum, n. 2, p. 1181; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII. See also in Vita, Cap. XXXVI., § 10, p. 171.*

‡ The principal works of S. Jerome are:—

Tom. I.—Epistolicæ, Prima Classis, p. 326—376 (an. 370—380); Secunda Classis, p. 376—484 (an. 382—385); Tertia Classis, p. 484—774 (an. 386—400); Quarta Classis, p. 774—1192 (an. 401—420). *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

Tom. II.—Vitæ S. Pauli, S. Hilariis et Malchi, p. 18—61; Libb. II., adv. Jovinianum, p. 211—337; Lib. cont. Vigilantium, p. 337—355; Apologia adv. Libros Rufini, p. 397—495; Lib. de Viris Illustribus, 602—719. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

Tom. III.—Lib. de Nominibus Hebraicis, p. 771—935; Lib. Hebraicæ. Quæst. in Gen., p. 935—1009; Comment. in Ecclesiasten, p. 1009—1117. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

Tom. IV.—Comment. in Isaiam, Libb. XVIII., p. 9—679; Comment. in Jeremiam, Libb. VI., p. 679—901. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXI.*

Tom. V.—Comment. in Ezechielem, p. 15—491; in Daniele, p. 491—584; in Lament. Jeremie, p. 787—809. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXV.*

Tom. VI.—Comment. in Osee, 809—947; in Joëlem, 947—989; in Amos, 989—1097; in Abdiam, 1097—1117; in Joëlam, 1117—1151; in Michæam, 1151—1231; in Naum, 1231—1273; in Abacuc, 1273—1337; in Sophoniam, 1337—1387; in Aggæum, 1387—1415; in Zachariam, 1415—1541; in Malachiam, 1541—1577. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXV.*

Tom. VII.—Comment. in Mattheum, p. 15—219; Translat. Homil. Origenis in Lucam, p. 219—307; Comment. ad Galatas, p. 307—439; ad Ephesios, p. 439—555; ad Titum, p. 555—599; ad Philimonem, p. 599—619; in Job, p. 619—821. *Patrolog. Lat. Vol. XXVI.*

Tom. VIII.—Interpret. Chron. Eusebii, p. 34—675; S. Hieronymi Chronicon, p. 675—703. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXVII.*

Tom. IX.—S. Hieron. Divinæ Bibliothecæ Pars I., p. 163—1435. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXVII.*

Tom. X.—Div. Bibliothecæ Pars II., p. 25—469; Pars III., p. 541—879. *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIX.*

§ Out of the many legends of S. Jerome's death I have been bold enough to select the most beautiful one. It may be found in Migne's *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I.*, entitled *Eusebius de Morte Hieronymi ad Damasum*, p. 239—282. Yet, it must plainly be said that, though it is too beautiful, and too much in keeping with the character and life of the Saint to be omitted, still it appears hardly to be sufficiently authentic to warrant for it an accurate historic value. At least, the writer of the Life of the Saint given by Migne dismisses it with these summary words:—"Præter pseudo-Eusebii ad Damasum Portensem fabulas, quarum rationem nullam haberi velim." (*Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I. in Vita, Cap. XXXVI., § 11, p. 176; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*) The generally received account is that of those who "narrant ita eum vires defecisse, ut nisi fuisset apprehensus, quod ad hoc ei de trabe pendebat, surgere de lecto non posset. Tum in levem incidisse febriculam, quæ illum, jam in carne premortuum diabol-

he was seized by a burning fever ; and he called his spiritual children around him that he might speak to them before he died. When he perceived how deeply they were touched, his face grew sad, and lifting up his eyes a little, he said with a distinct voice : “ Son of Eusebius, why dost thou shed these useless tears ? Is it not a vain thing to weep over a dead man ? Dost thou dare to contradict what God once hath said, and what thou hast heard ? Know that none can resist his will. O my son, walk not according to the flesh : cease weeping. Our weapons surely are not carnal arms.” Then with a joyful expression, he said brightly to the rest : “ Let sorrow cease ; let grief depart ; let one and all rejoice. For behold the acceptable time, behold the day of jubilation beyond all the days of my life ; in which the Lord, faithful in His words and holy in all His deeds, has opened His hand to recall to the supernal country my exiled soul, redeemed by the precious blood of his Son.* Do not—most beloved children, whom in the bowels of charity I have ever loved—do not stand in the way of my happiness, and prohibit that to be consigned to the earth which belongs to it.”

Then the man of God begged the monks to unclthe him and place him on the bare ground. And in obedience to his command, the brethren, whilst the tears flowed down their cheeks, began to remove the coarse sackcloth from his body ; and as they were doing so they were amazed to see how starved and shrunk it was,—so emaciated had it become, that the bones could be counted by the joints ; and so wounded with stripes, that it appeared like the remains of one who had been a leper. They placed him on the ground, as he had asked them, and threw a coverlet over him.†

And when the man of God felt the roughness of the earth, greatly rejoicing he turned to the brethren, who were weeping round him, and said to them : “ O most dear and beloved children, whom I have begotten in the bowels of Jesus Christ, I exhort you through the tender charity by which I love you, to cease your weeping, and to be at peace. . . . O what a gain it is to me to die ! for henceforth Christ will be my life ! Come, O my sister, my spouse, my friend, my beloved, show me where He is Whom my soul loveth ! Show me where my Lord feedeth, where my Christ reposeth ! Stretch forth Thy

vit. Adfuisse juxta eum monachos, et Christo dicatas virgines, atque alios undique de sanctis Locis, quos ipse alacri vultu et leto conspicebat : allaque his similia, quæ ut probabilitate non carent, nullo tamen certo Auctore adseruntur.” (*Ibidem*, p. 176.)

* *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I. Eusebius de Morie Hieronymi, Cap. XII., p. 245; Patrolog. Lat. Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Tom. I. in Vita, p. 264; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

Hand, and draw me to Thee. Show Thy Light to him who sitteth in darkness, to him who dwelleth in the region of the shadow of death—enlighten me now, that I may never more sleep in death ? ”*

These burning words simply made them cry the more. “O father,” they exclaimed, “what shall we do without thee? Whither shall we go? We have walked in the light of thy countenance; thou hast been the glory of our strength; O that we could die together with thee!”†

Moved by these words, the old man wept, and turning to his disconsolate children, said: “Now, O brave soldiers of Christ, trust in the Lord, and in the power of his strength. Fear not; you shall receive mercy from the Lord, and shall hope in Him.” Then, with a cheerful voice, “Come hither, that I may touch you, O my children, before I depart.” And as they approached him, he took each of them in his arms, as well as he could, and embracing them one by one, sealed each with a kiss of peace. Then, raising his voice a little, with a joyful and serene countenance, with his face turned towards the Lord, his hands extended towards the heavens, and his eyes flooded with tears, he said: “Sweet Jesus, my Strength, my Refuge, my Receiver and my Liberator, my Praise, in Whom I have hoped, in Whom I have believed, and Whom I have loved, . . . extend unto me the right hand of Thy clemency.‡ Tarry not, O Lord; for it is time that dust return to dust, and the spirit return to Thee, the Saviour, who sent it hither. Open the gates of life. . . . Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me, and illuminate me with the light of Thy everlasting vision!”

Whilst he was speaking in this strain, one of the brethren brought to him the Body of our Lord.§ When the man of God saw it in the distance, with the help of those around him he lay flat upon the earth and cried: “O Lord, who am I that I am worthy that Thou shouldst enter under my roof? Does a sinful man merit this? Indeed, O Lord, I am not worthy! Am I better than all my fathers? Thou wouldst not show Thyself to Moses, even in the twinkling of an eye. Why, therefore, dost thou so far humble Thyself as to suffer Thyself to come to a publican and sinner? and desirest, not only to eat with him, but commandest him to partake of Thee.”||

Then when the priest approached, “the glorious man,” assis-

* *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Cap. XXXVI., p. 264; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Cap. XXXVIII., p. 265.*

‡ *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Cap. XLIII., p. 267—268; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

§ *Ibidem, Cap. XXXIX., p. 265.*

|| *Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I., Cap. XLV., p. 269—270; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

ted by the rest, rose on his knees, and whilst they held him lest he should fall, with many sighs and tears, and continually smiting his breast, he said: "Art Thou my God and my Lord who didst suffer for me, or some other? Truly thou art God and man. Look, O Lord, upon my humility, nor shut me up in the hands of the enemy. This day will I enter into the place of Thy undefiled tabernacle, to live in Thy house for length of days for evermore."*

Having thus spoken, the man of God received the "Glorious Sacred Body of the Lord," and prostrated himself again upon the earth. Then placing his hands over his breast in the form of a cross, he sang the Prophecy of Simeon.† When he had ended, suddenly a great light filled the place—so bright that the brethren could with difficulty look upon the form of the dying Solitary. And in the midst of the light, swift angels were seen flying hither and thither, "like sparks among the reeds." Some did not see the angels, but only heard a heavenly voice, saying: "Come, my beloved, it is time that thou receive the reward of those labours which thou hast manfully sustained out of love of me." Some neither saw the angels nor heard the voice, but only, with the rest, heard blessed Jerome saying, when the voice had made an end: "Behold I come to Thee, merciful Jesus; receive the soul which Thou hast redeemed with Thy blood."‡

The coruscations then faded out, and like a bright star radiating the light of every virtue, the soul of Jerome, leaving its mortal coil, ascended gloriously to the Heavenly Kingdom.§

For days afterwards that emaciated body, which looked like the remains of a leper, gave forth an exquisite perfume; prodigious miracles were worked upon the blind, and the deaf, and the dumb; and three corpses on touching it were restored to life.

Such is a brief account of the life and death of the great ascetical Scripture Father of the Church. Like S. Basil and

* *Ibidem*, Tom. I., Cap. XLVI.—LI., p. 270—274

† *Ibidem*, Tom. I., Cap. LII., p. 274—275.

‡ M. Amédée Thierry speaks thus of the Saint's death:—"Il passa les deux dernières années de sa vie dans une morne tristesse, n'écrivant plus que pour féliciter Augustine de ses triomphes contre les pélagiens. Sa voix était devenue si faible qu'on l'entendait à peine parler, et sa maigreur excessive avait rendu son corps comme transparent. Bientôt il lui fut impossible de se lever sur son grabat sans l'aide d'une corde fixée à la voûte de sa cellule; dans cette position, il récitait ses prières ou donnait ses instructions aux moines pour la conduite du monastère. Il expira enfin le 30 septembre de l'année 420, âgé d'environ soixante-douze ans après trente-quatre ans, de séjour à Bethléem." (*Saint Jérôme la Société Chrétienne à Rome et l'Émigration Romaine en Terre Sainte, Tome Deuxième Livre XII., § 4, p. 241.*) Some say the Saint lived more than a hundred years. (*Cf. Opp. S. Hieronymi, Tom. I. in Vita, Cap. XXXVI., p. 176; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*)

§ These are the principal dates of S. Jerome's life. Born, 331—some, e.g. Du Pin, say 345; at Aquileia, 370; set out for the East, 373; retired to Chalcis, 374; went to Antioch, 379; Pope Damasus died, 384; Jerome quitted Rome 385; visited Egypt with Paula, &c., then returned to Palestine, 386; Paula died, 404; Jerome died, 420.

S. Gregory, his name continually appears in the treatises of the Angelical; and the impress of his exegetical writings is distinctly discernible in the various Expositions and *Opuscula*, of S. Thomas. Even if his influence were less than it is, any student of the *Summa Theologica*, and the *Catena Aurea*, would be glad to possess, in a handy form, the general outline of his career. To become personally acquainted with the great Church Fathers, whose names continually recur in the pages of S. Thomas, gives an additional stimulus to the study of his works,—indeed, without such knowledge, some portions of them would lose the greater part of their charm, and others would not be intelligible at all. Besides, the note of difference and the bond of union between the Fathers and the Angelical, should ever be insisted on.*

If S. Basil and S. Athanasius were preëminently men of iron will, and great Church rulers, the Angelical was surpassingly gifted in intellectual power. The same activity which the former displayed in the interest of ecclesiastical politics was manifested by S. Thomas in the wider, higher, and more spiritual order of speculative truth. Like the Apocalyptic angel, with his right foot upon the sea and his left foot upon the earth, he was never in the full freedom of his element save when he was unravelling the secrets of some "power divine"; or contemplating with his mind, and grasping with his mighty charity, the high principles of—

"Supremest wisdom, and primeval love."

The bond of unity between the Angelical, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory, and S. Jerome, was their devotedness in the worship of one Image; the note of difference seems to have been this: that whereas the great Church Fathers were glorious *human* saints, the Prince of the Scholastics was an *Angelical* one. Those who are destined to control men, and carry measures, require keen human sympathies, ready sensibilities, and highly nervous temperaments; those who are called to dwell in the vast world of ideas, require calmness, steadiness, spirituality of mind, and a habit of abstraction, such as enable them to breathe freely on the loftiest heights, and to take in,

* Touron fully appreciates the influence of the Church Fathers upon the Angelical, and the power they exerted over him:—"On ne sera point étonné, qu'il ait acquis une connoissance si profonde, de tout ce que la tradition peut nous apprendre, si on fait attention avec quelle assiduité il lisoit les Ecrits des Pères, et avec quelle docilité il s'étoit rendu comme le Disciple de tous. Il nous enseigne lui-même quels sont les avantages qu'on peut retirer de la lecture de leurs Ouvrages, lorsqu'à une étude sérieuse, on ajoute cette docilité, et ce respect, qui nous empêche ou de les négliger par paresse, ou de les mépriser par orgueil: *Plurimum valet humanum studium, dum scilicet homo solitè, frequenter et reverenter applicat animum suum documentis majorum, non negligens ea propter ignaviam, nec contemnens propter superbiam.*" (*Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., § 7, p. 388.*)

without being made dizzy, the length as well as the breadth of theologic truth. The Fathers lived in time of war, and were battlers; the Angelical lived in comparative days of peace, and was a builder.

CHAPTER V.

S. THOMAS AND S. CHRYSOSTOM.

PART III.

THE strategical centres of Alexandria, Cæsarea, Constantino-ple, and Bethlehem, and the great Christian leaders Athanasius, Basil, Gregory *Theologus*, and Jerome, if no others were mentioned, would be sufficient to indicate what kind of hold the Christian Church had upon the population of the East.* Whilst in the first two or three centuries the great Pontiffs of Christianity had to apologize, and to explain their doctrine; in the fourth, they rather took the offensive, and, with the power of the Word, held up to detestation the impurities of paganism and the deadly effects of heresy and schism.

Amongst those who, more earnestly and more powerfully than any others, "in season and out of season," proclaimed God's truth and swayed the minds of vast populations was that greatest of orators, S. John Chrysostom, the Commentator *par excellence*, and the most voluminous writer of homilies amongst the Fathers.†

Of no other author of antiquity has the Angelical spoken with such eulogistic admiration, as of this great light of the Eastern Church.‡

If S. Basil and S. Gregory belonged to the school of Alexandria, and represented what was best in the mind of the Adamantine, S. John Chrysostom belonged to the school of Antioch, typifying quite another class of Christian thought, more stern, real, and practical than the first, sometimes even

* De Broglie sums up well the results of the action of the Church on the world. See *L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. IX.—Résumé et Conclusion*, p. 441. *Troisième Edition*.

† "De tous les Pères grecs, Chrysostome est celui qui a laissé le plus d'ouvrages. Ce sont: des explications de l'Écriture sainte; des sermons, des traités de dogme et de controverse, de morale et d'ascétisme, des lettres." (Alzog's *Manuel de l'apologétique*, § 55, p. 310.)

‡ See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VII., p. .

crossing it, and always holding its own independent views respecting the inspiration and interpretation of the Scriptures, the place which philosophy should occupy in theological exposition, and the dogmatic terms which ought to be used in expressing the teachings of the Church upon the relation of the divine and human nature in our Lord.*

If S. Basil and S. Gregory were founded in great part upon Origen, S. Chrysostom was founded upon Origen's antagonist, the intrepid Didymus of Tarsus (390).† If there are unmistakable indications of Origen's teaching and method in the writings of his two principal disciples, there is no less clear and direct an evidence of the mind of Didymus in the homilies of the great orator of the East.

And thus it will be seen that the Angelical came under the influence of those two leading schools. If his imagination and poetic genius were fed by the Platonic beauties of the Alexandrian teaching, his strong, common, practical sense was invigorated by the more literal and concrete method of the school founded at Antioch by Lucian and Dorotheus. But of this later.‡

The great commentator was born at Antioch—called by the Emperor Constans “the Queen of the East.”§ Antioch was surpassed by no city in the world in the teeming luxuriance of its soil, and in the activity of its commerce; and only by Constantinople and Rome in the magnificence of its galleries, palaces, and public buildings. One portion of the city lay like an amphitheatre at the foot of a rising ground, whilst the other followed the course of the Orontes, which, running through the little burgh of Daphne, fell into the Sea of Seleucia at some twelve leagues distance from the city. Antioch was nine miles in circumference, was greatly privileged by emperors, and counted two hundred thousand souls.

This was the city of the Acts of the Apostles. Here S. Peter established his See; here S. Paul preached the Gospel; here the followers of Christ were first known by the name of

* Alzog shows S. Chrysostom's bias very clearly. See *Manuel de Patrologie*, § 55, p. 321.

† Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsueste were the first great men of the school of Antioch. They gave the school its celebrity. Diodorus was of a good family of the city. He was of the severest school of asceticism. S. Chrysostom says (*Orat. in Diod.*) that his emaciated body presented merely the shadow of a human form. He was a valiant champion of orthodoxy, amidst the theological confusions of his native town. Chrysostom calls him a “living martyr.” He died in 390.

‡ Compare the Commentaries on the Sermon on the Mount, as given by S. John Chrysostom, and by the Angelical; bear in mind the influence on the latter of the real and ideal schools, of Antioch and Alexandria, and the impression, unless it be a fancy, which they respectively produced, appears to show itself in his method and mind. (See S. Chrysostom, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. VII., *Par. Prior*, *Homil.* XV.—XXVI., p. 223—334; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. LVII. And S. Thome Aquinat. *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. X., *Cap. V.—VIII.*, p. 47—81. *Ed. Parm.*) The reader will anyhow perceive the influence of S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, and S. Augustine, over the Angelical.

§ *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par L'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. I.*, § 7, p. 10.

Christians; here S. Babylas, S. Stephen, S. Romanus, S. Barlaam, S. Pelagia, S. Domnine, and many more besides, shed their blood in testimony to the truth.

S. John was born probably in the year 341.* His father was a brave and experienced soldier; his mother a woman of great courage, character, and virtue. The one was called Secundus, the other Anthusa. Secundus died, and left his widow, a girl of only twenty years of age, with two children, one quite a tender child, the other a babe in arms. The blow of this bereavement weaned Anthusa's heart of the world; and she spent the rest of her life in the service of God, and in the education of her children.

Little John was a boy of a very vivacious disposition; and the earnestness with which, at an early age, he devoted himself to prayer, reading, and practices of piety, was an indication of the future glories of his life.† He was looked upon by some as arrogant and passionate, but these traits were simply the expression of that force and determination of character which, in days of trial, raised him into a confessor of the faith.

After he had been imbued by his mother with the principles of Christian sacrifice, he was sent to learn rhetoric under the famous sophist Libanius. As with the other Fathers, so with this one, oratory was the great study to which he dedicated his early years.‡

His extraordinary abilities soon created a sensation, not amongst his companions only, but also amongst experienced pleaders of the schools. Libanius, in order to show his fellow sophists how richly his young pupil was endowed, read to them an oration composed by him in eulogy of the emperor. The assembled rhetoricians were filled with admiration as he proceeded; and Libanius turned round to them and said, when he had finished: "Happy the panegyrist to have such an emperor to eulogize; and happy the emperor to have such an orator to praise him!"§ Being asked on his death-bed whom he desired as his successor in the chair of rhetoric, Libanius said: "I should have appointed John, had not the Christians snatched him from me."||

* S. Joannis Chrysostomi, *Opera Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in *Vita*, p. 83; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

† Socrates is rather severe:—"Fuit autem, ut ferunt, ob nimium temperantiæ studium acerbior et, sicut aiebant quidam qui cum illo ab iuvenute ætate familiariter vixerant, ira magis deditus quam verecundiæ, et ob vitæ quidem sanctimoniam incantans adversus futura, ob simplicitatem vero apertus et facillis. Immodica etiam loquendi libertate erga omnes utebatur. Et in docendo quidem id præcipue spectabat ut mores audientium emendaret. In congressibus vero arrogantior videbatur iis qui mores ipsius ignorabant." (Socrates' *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. VI., Cap. III., p. 670.)

‡ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in *Vita*, p. 85; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

§ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in *Vita*, p. 85; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

|| *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Lib. I.*, § 8, p. 12—13.

Having finished his course of eloquence, Chrysostom now applied himself, under the direction of Andragantius the Platonist, to philosophy. Here he also excelled. And his habits were quite in keeping with the dictates of true wisdom. Whilst his companions came to school mounted on richly-caparisoned horses, or reclining in splendid carriages, or followed by crowds of menials and swarms of slaves, John, when he did not go alone, was attended by a single servant. The enlightened principles of Christianity taught him to despise pomp, and when blamed for the simplicity of his life, he gave this reply to the astonished pagans: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

Like the other saints, he formed, during his youth, intimacies with young men whose minds turned in the same direction as his own. Theodore, Maximus, and, especially, a certain Basil, were his constant associates. These young men, in the midst of a corrupt city, did their best to live to God and to imitate the life of Christ.*

Before John was twenty years of age, he had finished his studies (357), and he devoted himself with much earnestness to pleading at the bar. A life of public excitement drew his mind from serious thoughts. One strong temptation molested him, and that was his passionate love of going to the theatre. Whilst Basil resisted, John was completely overcome. No doubt his own great gift of oratory, his warm imagination, his love of the graceful, the fair, and the refined, were too much for his powers of resistance; and he was borne, with hundreds of companions, towards worldly pastimes and emotional excitements.†

But he was recalled by Basil's voice. He trembled at the peril to which he had been exposed, and, "considering the wearisomeness and unfair subtlety of the forensic life," he made a firm resolve to dedicate himself, without reserve, to the service of the Cross.

He shut himself up in his mother's house; he put on sack-cloth; he fasted rigorously; he scourged his body; the little sleep he allowed himself he took on the ground; nor could all the murmurs of his friends withdraw him from his life of solitude and penance.‡ To prepare for baptism, he went to

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Posterior, De Sacerdotio, Lib. I., § 1, p. 623; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVIII.

† He was also somewhat carried away by his successes at the Bar:—"Les liaisons nécessaires par son genre de vie, les soucis et les préoccupations qui en sont inséparables, dissipèrent cette âme jusqu'alors si calme, si recueillie: le fils d'Anthuse perdit bientôt le goût de la lecture des livres saints; . . . la piété et ses pratiques ne sourirent plus tant à son âme, et il chercha ailleurs sa joie et son plaisir." (Bergier, *Histoire de S. Jean Chrysostome*, Liv. I., § 9, p. 15-16.)

‡ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p. 86; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

the palace of the Bishop; and after three years' probation he received the regenerating waters, and was made Lector by S. Meletius, who foresaw the future greatness of this earnest penitent (365).

Now John returned to his mother's house and practised a still more rigid observance than before, when finally he and Basil made up their minds to fly the haunts of men and serve God alone in the distant wilderness. But John found that to follow his own inclination would be to break his mother's heart. Out of dutifulness to her, he consented to let the city be his desert, and he passed his time instructing the ignorant and consoling the sorrowful.*

At this period Basil was nominated bishop. The friends had promised in such an emergency to follow each the example of the other. Both had been named. Basil consulted John. John put Basil off, and then hid himself. Basil was seized, and when he declined the proffered dignity he was assured that John had already accepted it. Upon this, Basil suffered himself to be consecrated. When he discovered how John had played upon him, he was excessively angry and hurt. But Chrysostom excused himself, alleging that, whilst he felt himself unequal to the post, he could not stand in the way of one who was so singularly fitted for the office. At this period the friends were not more than seven-and-twenty years of age (368).

The conversation which passed between John and Basil respecting this occurrence, in which John enlarged upon the dignity, the powers, and the duties of the priest, and in which Basil expressed his confusion at having been drawn into so awful a position, forms the basis of the most celebrated of Chrysostom's writings—his treatise on the priesthood.† It is divided into six books. Scripture, reason, history, and nature are brought to bear upon the *status* of the priest. He is a father, a judge, a doctor, a king, a monk, an apostle, a representative of the Divinity. The art of war, and the science of navigation, are made use of to illustrate the combats of the priest and the dangers which lie hidden in the ocean of the world.‡ The priest is shown to be a divine man, a mediator between earth and heaven. His character, his powers, his prerogatives, his duties, his responsibilities—all are clearly brought out; and whilst he is taught to love his office, he is

* See how he speaks of his mother:—*Ibidem*, Tom. I., *Part Posterior*, *De Sacerdotio*, Lib. I., § 5, p. 623—625; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVIII.

† S. Chrysostom, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Part Posterior*, *De Sacerdotio Libri Sex*, Lib. I., p. 623—632; Lib. II., p. 632—640; Lib. III., p. 640—660; Lib. IV., p. 660—672; Lib. V., p. 672—678; Lib. VI., p. 678—692; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVIII.

‡ The work finishes very beautifully. *Ibidem*, Lib. VI., § 13, p. 692.

shown how grave are his obligations in the face of God and man.

About this time an event took place which made a deep impression upon S. Chrysostom's mind. The Emperor Valens—having discovered that Hilarius and Patricius, two celebrated magicians, had, in their incantations, spoken of his overthrow and predicted a successor—ordered any one found with books of magic in his possession to be put to death. On hearing this, a rich citizen threw his volume into the Orontes. Now John, who was returning along the river's bank from a pilgrimage to the Church of the Martyrs with a friend, happened to spy this very book floating on the stream.* The friend essayed to secure it, and Chrysostom cried out to him in jest: "What you find there belongs to me; bring it here; let me see what it is." A band of the emperor's soldiers was passing at that very moment, and on opening the book, Chrysostom and his companion, to their horror, discovered it to be a treatise on the art. John cast it back instantly into the water. The soldiers had not perceived him, and he was saved.†

This occurrence, together with the death of his mother, urged Chrysostom to carry out his design of abandoning the world. But here he had great struggles to endure. Instead of pleasure, he now experienced horror at the notion of passing his life in penance; he felt it would be a torture, a martyrdom worse than death itself. The frightful solitude, the maddening silence, the nauseous food—he could not bear to think on them. He turned sick at the idea of being forced to drink lamp-oil, and to eat nothing but legumes; and he shrank from the thought of being subject to some harsh master who would make him till the land, cut wood, carry water, and live the life of a slave.‡

Grace, however, conquered. Chrysostom sank self, embraced Jesus crucified, and followed Theodore and Maximus into the solitude of the distant mountains (374).§

These mountains made up a range running northwards, increasing in elevation as they fell into Cæle-Syria. Their heights stretching away into the distance were, in those days, clothed with aboriginal forests—above, black masses of wood;

* *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. I.*, § 25, p. 49.

† The Saint no doubt refers to this escape in his Homily on the Seventeenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. IX., in *Acta Apostolorum*, *Homil. XXXVIII.*, p. 276; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. LX.)

‡ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Pars Prior*, *De Compunctione ad Demetrium*, *Lib. I.*, § 6, p. 403; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

§ He shows how the greatest sufferings of this life are nothing to the reward:—"Etiam si omnia, que hominibus contingere possunt, mala occurrant, sive convicia, sive contumelie, sive ignominie et sycophantiæ; sive gladius, ignis, ferrum, fere, demeriones; sive fames, morbus . . . annon, queso, hæc irridobis et despicias?" (*Ibidem*, p. 404.)

below, gorges and ravines, the haunts of wild animals and birds of prey. From the first ages they had been peopled by Solitaries. Here was shown, in the days of S. Chrysostom, the grotto of S. Paul. The mountains of Syria and Antioch numbered, in the fourth century, over three hundred monasteries.* Our saint dedicated himself with ardour to his new vocation. Meditation on the Scriptures, and practices of penance, occupied his time. Diodorus and Carterius—who is praised by S. Gregory *Theologus*—were his masters in spiritual life. The austere Esychius taught him how to forget self, to scourge nature, and to adore God.† To overcome sleep, Chrysostom had a cord fastened to the wall of his cell. When drowsiness overtook him he lifted himself up with both hands till he had shaken off the enemy. He was attacked by sensuality; here again he bravely fought and victoriously conquered, and learnt the weakness of man as well as the strength of God.‡

After he had been two years in the mountain-monasteries, he began, at the request of the monks, to write. “Blessed John, help me,” said the holy Demetrius to him, his cheeks being suffused with tears, “help me, I conjure you, to soften my hard heart, and to do penance.” In compliance with these entreaties, S. Chrysostom wrote his celebrated paper, “On Compunction.”§ He then composed a second at the request of Stelechius.|| His ardent charity for souls, and his intense appreciation of monastic discipline, are exhibited in his beautiful letters to Theodore, who had been unfaithful to his early call;¶ as well as in a great treatise, which vividly recalls the *brochures* of the Angelical, on “The Enemies of Monastic Life.”

Our Lord at this period accorded great favours to the Saint. At his prayers the eyes of Eucleus were opened, the sick were cured, and a woman with a disease of seven years’ standing was restored to health.**

Having thus spent four years in penance, John hid himself

* *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l’Abbé Bergier, *Liv. I.* § 29, p. 54.

† S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Pars Prior*, in *Vita*, p. 93; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

‡ See his thoroughly monastic spirit in his *Adversum Oppugnatores eorum qui ad Monasticam vitam inducunt*, *Lib. I.*, p. 319—332. *Ad Infidelem Patrem*, *Libb. II.*, p. 332—350. *Ad Patrem Fidelem*, *Libb. III.*, p. 350—392. (*Ibidem*.)

§ *Ad Demetrium Monachum*, *De Compunctione*, *Lib. I.*, p. 394—410. These are some of the subjects treated of:—*Maledici a regno celorum exclusi; Evangelice vite perfectio; Vana gloria bona opera inutilia reddit; Levia per segnitatem gravia, et gravia per alacritatem levia efficiuntur; Chrysostomus ad monachorum tabernacula secedit; Coelestis desiderii vis ingens; Pauli amor vehemens; In baptismo gratiam et Spiritum sanctum recipimus; Gratia operam nostram requirit.* (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Pars Prior*, *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.)

|| *Ad Stelechiem*, et *De Compunctione*, *Liber Secundus*, p. 412—422. *Pauli erga Christum amor celos omnes transcendit; David Christum ardentem amabat; Inscriptio psalmi, Pro octava, quod significat; Dei providentia erga hominem.* (*Ibidem*.)

¶ *Parænesis sive adhortatio ad Theodorum Lapsum*, *Lib. I.*, p. 273—308; *Ejusdem ad Eundem*, *Lib. II.*, p. 310—316; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

** His Homilies on S. Matthew are full of earnest words on the beauty of monastic life. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. VII., *Pars Posterior In Mattheum*, *Homil. LXXI.*, at *LXXII.*, p. 662; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. LVIII.)

still further in the recesses of the mountain. He discovered a cave in a fissure of the rock, far from monastic habitations, difficult of access, and known only to God and to his holy angels; and here he buried himself, surrounded by mountain peaks and waving forest trees, with nought to be heard but the moaning of the wind, and the cries of wild beasts and wild birds. Here he remained two years without bed, chair, table, or light; with nothing to drink but water, and nothing to eat but bread. During all this time, says Palladius, he never once lay down,* and when forced to sleep at all, he satisfied the cravings of nature by leaning against one of the spars jutting out from his cavern wall.

Here again is the old tale. The pillars of God's Church formed in the wilderness; the strength of man's heart built up in the desert; the marvels of the active life growing out of a stability acquired in penance, solitude, and prayer; and the charity of God achieving its great work far from the busy haunts of men. How striking a harmony is there not in the lives of the great athletes of the Cross, and yet how charming a variety.† Their natural gifts and their supernatural graces, like the variegated flowers of their own wildernesses, are many, each different from each, and yet each and all combining in an exquisite embroidery—in one inimitable picture representing all the various forms of heroism, purity, and faith, which belong to the religion of holocaustic love.

The severity of Chrysostom's life in the mountain told with terrible effect upon his health. The damp and cold of the cave, joined to his rigid fasts, emaciated his body and paralyzed some of his limbs. But his probation now was over. He returned to Antioch (380); and, though unable to practise his former penances, he lived like a veritable monk. Now it was that S. Meletius ordained him deacon, and he gave himself up to the service of the Church, and to the composition of his most important works. His six books on the Priesthood, the Life of S. Babylas,‡ treatises on matters concerning ecclesiastical discipline,§ as well as his three books on Providence, addressed

* "Illic annos moratus est duos, quibus insonnis ut plurimum perstitit, Christi testamentum, quo ignorantiam expelleret, addiscens. Cum toto illo biennio nec interdiu, nec noctu decubisset proxima ventri ei sunt emortua, lumborumque vires præ frigore prodigatæ." (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp.*, Tom. I., *Par. Prior*, Palladii *Dialogus*, de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi, Cap. V., p. 18; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.)

† How splendidly S. Chrysostom speaks! See S. Chrysostomi, *Opp.*, *Omnia*, Tom. I., *Par. Prior*, *Ad Stelechium*, et de *Conjunctiōe*, *Liber Secundus*, § 1—2, p. 412; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

‡ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp.*, *Omnia*, Tom. II., *Par. Posterior*, De Sancto Hieromartyre Babyla, p. 523—534. Then, *Liber in Sanctum Babylam Contra Julianum et Contra Gentiles*, p. 534—572.

§ *Ibidem*, Tom. I., *Par. Prior*, *Adversus eos qui apud se habent Virgines Subintroductas*, p. 495—514; *Quod Regulares femine viris cohabitare non debeant*, p. 514—532.

to the unfortunate Stagyrius, come within this period.* Chrysostom remained a deacon five years, and, after great resistance on his part, was ordained priest in 386 by Flavian, who had succeeded S. Meletius in the See of Antioch. It is related that at the moment when the bishop was imposing his hands in the act of consecration, a snow-white dove descended from heaven, in the sight of the astonished people, and settled on the head of Chrysostom,—a sign of the purity of his soul and of the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in his heart.†

With Chrysostom's priesthood, began his career as a Christian orator. The vast city was filled with pagans, Jews, and heretical sects. The Saint preached magnificently in the great mother-church of the capital, on the divinity of Christianity, on the turpitudes of paganism, against the obstinacy of the Jews, and on the triumphs of the Church. He combated, with his incomparable vigour of polemic and power of illustration, with his flowing periods and warmth of exposition, the heresies of the Arians, the Sabellians, the Tritheists, the Eunomians, and the Marcionites.‡ He warned the breathless crowds which filled his church against schism, infidelity, intemperance, luxury, blasphemy, avarice, and lies. He treated the rich with severity, and was the earnest and continued advocate of the poor. Then with the boldness of a true apostle he condemned the vanity of women, the immoralities of the circus and the theatre, and the evil tendencies of the lives of many Christians.§

To convey an idea of his extraordinary activity, it may be said that in a few years he had delivered at Antioch eight discourses, sixty-seven homilies on Genesis, fifty-eight homilies on the Psalms, ninety homilies on the Gospel of S. Matthew, eighty-eight on that of S. John, thirty-two on the Epistle to the Romans, forty-four on the First and thirty on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, twenty-four homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and twenty-eight homilies on the two Epistles to Timothy and to the Thessalonians.¶ He had already preached his discourses

* *Ad Stagyrium a Dæmone Vexatum, Libb. III., p. 424—494; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† "L'Empereur Léon assure qu'au moment où Flavian, revêtu des habits pontificaux, imposait les mains au nouveau prêtre, une blanche colombe vint en présence de tout le peuple assemblé dans la basilique se reposer sur la tête de Chrysostome." (*Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome, par l'Abbé Bergier, Liv. II., § 13, p. 115.*)

‡ Montalembert, *Les Moines d'Occident, Tom. I., Liv. II., p. 117.*

§ See *Histoire de S. Jean Chrysostome, par l'Abbé Bergier*, where the character of the Saint as "orateur éloquent, évêque, docteur, défenseur et apologiste, moraliste et ascète," is given. (*Liv. III., § 23, p. 199—200.*)

¶ "In his concionibus, etiamsi inter primas quas Chrysostomus habuit numerentur, non modo eloquentiam, ubertatem in dicendo, nitidum genus verborum, et inventionis felicitatem admireris, que in cæteris omnibus ejus operibus elucet, ubi stylum semper videmus populari assentioni accommodatum; sed etiam animadvertas quantum ad extemporaneam declamationem semper comparatus fuerit tantus artifex, et quam ad res quantumvis inopuitas stylo persequendus præsto fuerit." (*S. Chrysostomi, Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p. 101; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

on Lazarus, his homilies on Penance, twenty-two sermons on Sedition, homilies against the Jews and the Eunomians, discourses to catechumens, as well as many panegyrics on the Martyrs, and sermons which have not come down to us.

His master-pieces are considered to be his homilies on the Epistle to the Corinthians and on the Gospel of S. Matthew.* The depth, richness, and exquisite arrangement of the latter, place it in the first rank amongst the best exegetical works of ancient and modern times. There is a profoundness of thought and a clearness of exposition in these homilies, which no doubt captivated the logical and lucid intellect of the Angel of the schools.†

Chrysostom possessed many gifts of nature as well as of grace, favourable to oratory. Like the great S. Paul, whom he so ardently admired, he was short in stature; his head was high and fully developed, his forehead large, bold, and covered with wrinkles, his eyes somewhat protruded, his features were regular, his cheeks sunken and emaciated, his beard scant and gray, and his complexion was as pale as death.‡ His voice was sonorous and clear, his gesture graceful, his imagination brilliant and prolific, and, what is more than all, his soul was fired with the flame of charity, and his heart was full of the generosity of the Cross.

His preaching was wholly based upon the Scriptures.§ These he knew by heart. These he explained, not so much with erudition, as with clearness, precision, and according to the letter. His elasticity was extraordinary; he was now a torrent, tumbling from the mountain heights; now a majestic river, sailing slowly and evenly and overwhelmingly along. He knew how to remove prejudice, to insinuate truth, to touch the heart;

* The Homilies on S. Matthew are contained in *Tom. VII. of the Opp. Omnia of the Saint*. This *Tom. VII.* is divided into *Pars Prior* and *Pars Posterior*. The first, *Homil. I.—XLV.*, p. 1—472; the second, *Homil. XLVI.—XCI.*, p. 473—794. In considering the length of these writings of the Greek Fathers, as measured by the pages in Migne, it must not be forgotten that the Latin translation occupies one half the space; so that, when comparing them with the *Latin Patrology*, the figures should be halved.

† In his treatment of S. Matthew, his method is given in a most interesting way in the *Præfatio Montefalconii. Quo interpretandi et explanandi genere Chrysostomus has homilias concinnavit*, § 2, p. 4, *Tom. VII., Pars Prior; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LVII.* No study is more interesting than that of comparing the Angelical's treatment of the same subject with the labours of S. Chrysostom. (*Opp. Omnia, S. Thomæ Aquinat., Tom. X., p. 1—278. Ed. Parm.*)

‡ "Divinus Chrysostomus, quoad speciem corporis, erat admodum brevi statura, magno elatoque capite, annua gracillitate, justo naso, diductus non indecore naribus, pallidissimo alboque vultu, oculis cavis et bulbosis. Hinc fiebat, ut ejus aspectus reniteret gratiosior, etiam si triste aliquid reliqua forma præ se ferret. Erat nuda magnaue fronte et multis perarata ngis: amplis item auribus, sed barba tenui et rarissima cauisque pilis veneranda. Maxillas habebat introrsum depressas, præ rigidissima, qua se macerabat, inedia. Hoc vero necesse est de eo dicere, quod omnibus etiam Græcæ sapientibus antecellere, tum scientia, tum maxime cogitandi acuminis, floridoque genere dicendi; quodque ita studuerit promulgare Evangelium, ut nisi fuisset hic sanctus (licet hoc dictum videatur confidentius), opus fuisset altero Christi in terras adventu." (*Basilii, Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Historia Institutionis, Trip. Fest., p. 391—392; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

§ He says:—"Vera sapientia, veraque eruditio nihili aliud est, quam Dei timor." (*S. Chrysostomi, Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Advers. Oppug. Fidei Monastica, Lib. III., § 12, p. 368; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

then to launch his bolts, and, with a crushing power of rhetoric and logic, to annihilate error and to display the beauty and sublimity of truth.* His style is clear, elevated, and easy, rich with figure and comparison, vivid with images which photograph themselves upon the mind.

The effects of his oratory are a testimony to his remarkable endowments. He appears to have held his audience completely in his power. Tears, terror, joy, admiration,—he could excite whichever cord he chose to touch, with the tip, as it were, of his little finger. Often in the midst of his vehement eloquence he was interrupted by the thousand-times repeated cries which resounded through the church: “Chrysostom! mouth of gold, mouth of gold!” and his earnest appeal to his people to desist, simply made them cry out the louder and the more.† “You come to praise the truth which I announce,” he said to them on one occasion, “you have applauded it; but I demand of you neither this tumult nor these boisterous testimonies of your approbation; my sole desire is that you meditate on the truth and follow it.”‡

It was this extraordinary eloquence, heightened by a modesty of demeanour and a tender charity, which secured to S. John Chrysostom the love and respect of the inhabitants of the city. When through indisposition he had to discontinue his sermons, the people were thrown into great sadness and disappointment; when he appeared again amongst them, the church clamoured to the echo of their exclamations of delight.§

But a change was now about to happen, of which neither priest nor flock had any foreknowledge. Nectarius, who had succeeded S. Gregory *Theologus* in the See of Constantinople, after a career of sixteen years, died (397). His administration had not been successful. At his death the city had fallen back into the same state of anarchy in which S. Gregory found it.¶ Through the influence of Eutropius, S. John Chrysostom was carried off to Constantinople by force, and was at length induced to accept the bishopric. Trembling all over, he presented himself before Theophilus, and received the sacred unction, in 398.

* *Histoire De Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. III.*, § 33, p. 218.

† “Souvent ils l'interrompaient tout à coup et l'église retentissait d'applaudissements et des cris mille fois répétés: ‘Chrysostome! Bouche d'Or, Bouche d'Or!’ L'humilité du saint prêtre s'en affligeait; il les suppliait d'écouter en silence et de lui épargner ces acclamations,” &c. (Bergier, *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, *Liv. III.*, § 40, p. 227.)

‡ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. VII.*, *Par. Prior*, in *Mattheum*, *Homil. XVII.*, n. 7, p. 264; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. LVII.*

§ For example:—“Propterea vos in corde meo assidue gero, propterea non sentio docendi laborem auditorum lucro revelatus,” &c. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. II.*, *Par. Prior*, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, *Homil. IX.*, § 1, p. 103; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XLIX.*) Here he speaks of his health, which often failed:—*Tom. II.*, *Homilia post Terræ Motum*, p. 713.)

¶ S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, *Par. Prior*, in *Vita*, p. 164; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XLVII.*

As the wilderness and the cave had been a preparation for active work in Antioch, so the experience acquired at Antioch prepared S. John for his difficult post at Constantinople.

When the Saint began his new mission, a whole galaxy of Church luminaries had risen and had set in the ecclesiastical firmament. Pope Damasus, Eusebius of Cæsarea, S. James of Nisibis, S. Hilary, S. Athanasius, S. Ephrem, as well as Gregory of Nazianzus and of Nyssa, had done their work, and had been called to their reward.* The renowned and learned Didymus of Alexandria, S. Ambrose of Milan, and S. Martin of Tours, had passed away. But the voice of the great Augustine still could be heard; and S. Jerome still studied and wrote on the Sacred Word, amidst his penances and prayers in the cave of Bethlehem.

The reputation and eloquence of S. John soon attracted immense crowds round his pulpit. The same marvellous power which he exhibited at Antioch, manifested itself here. Sometimes the whole Church broke into an uproar of admiration: "Chrysostom, Chrysostom! Golden mouth, golden mouth!" rose above his own sonorous voice, and forced him to be silent till the excitement had subsided.†

Here he continued his explanation of the Scriptures. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of S. Paul, furnished him with ample matter for his discourses.

He was not only a mighty preacher, but a powerful ecclesiastical reformer. His palace was a pattern of all that was simple, orderly, and becoming. He inveighed with great earnestness against scandals amongst the clergy. He reformed the Orders of virgins and widows. He was the father of the poor. He developed the Sacred Liturgy, and improved and augmented the Services of the Church. Thrace, Asia, and Pontus felt the influence of his controlling mind. He extinguished schisms, he defended the rights of the Church against Arcadius; and through his fearless zeal brought upon himself the anger of Eudoxia. He had but one idea, and that was to maintain intact and pure the religion of Salvation. He loved only One, and that was Christ; only one thing he feared, and that was sin.‡

To give a detailed account of his career at Constantinople would occupy too much space. We must be content to hurry to the end. It is but natural, indeed inevitable, that such a man

* Upon one point all the great saints seem to have been unanimous in doing their best to escape being placed high in responsibility. (See S. Chrysostom, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Paras Prior*, in *Vita*, p. 164; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.)

† Bergier, *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, Liv. IV., § 16, p. 253.

‡ He, if any man, appreciated the force and beauty of "true philosophy," as he loved to call the monastic state. (*Cf.*, *Les Moines d'Occident*, Tom. I., Liv. II., p. 119—120.)

as Chrysostom, living in such a city as Constantinople, should make a host of enemies. Heretics, schismatics, Jews, pagans, indifferent Catholics, jealous bishops, the court, the throne itself,—he had spared none of them. He had boldly spoken out, and he had to suffer.*

He was tried and condemned by the *Conciliabulum* of the Oak, and forced into exile, to the extreme indignation of the people.† A fearful earthquake, which shocked and jarred every house in the city, brought the empress to her senses, and Chrysostom was recalled. But his assailants would not leave him alone. A golden statue was set on a column of porphyry in honour of Eudoxia, near the entrance of the church. It was inaugurated with dances, farces, and semi-pagan rites. Chrysostom launched out against this. His conduct was reported to the empress, and she was persuaded that the bishop had offered a personal insult to herself. Another Council was summoned. Chrysostom was deposed, and driven once more into banishment. Much might be written of the firmness of the prelate, of the fidelity of the people, of the violence of their enemies, of the dangers to which the Saint was exposed, and of the ill-treatment suffered by his friends; much might be written regarding the turmoil into which the city fell at his departure, of the blood which flowed in its streets, of the conflagrations which reduced the senate-house to ashes and the church to ruins, and of the triumph of disorder, debauchery, and crime;‡ much, finally, might be advanced to show how great a pillar Chrysostom had been, and how natural it was that, when such a stay had been removed, the fabric which it had supported should tumble to the ground;—but we must follow the sainted bishop into his exile.

It was in the month of June, 404, that he left Constantinople never to return.§ He was first conducted to Nicæa in Bithynia; then it was decreed that Cucusus was to be his place of banishment. This little village was situated in one of the wild valleys of Mount Taurus in Armenia. It was a stagnant place, without commerce or activity of any kind. The neighbourhood was rugged and uncultivated, the climate was inclement, and

* "En effet, ses sermons n'étaient guère qu'une suite de satires et de réprimandes tombant comme des traits enflammés sur tous les points faibles ou sensibles de la grand cité. . . . Jean dépeignait tout, dénonçait tout, gourmandait tout, en termes d'une sévérité biblique, mais en même temps d'une telle perfection, d'une élégance si attique et d'un tel éclat, qu'il arrachait des cris d'admiration à ceux qui pouvaient le mieux se reconnaître dans ses portraits." (De Broglie, *L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. VI.*, p. 137. *Troisième Edition.*)

† Twenty-nine heads of accusation were brought against him by John the Deacon. (S. Chrysostom, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita*, p. 197—198; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

‡ Bergier, *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome, Liv. VI.*, § 30, p. 388—389.

§ "Profectus est antem 20 Junii anni 404: et Nicam in Bithynia adductus est, ubi usque ad quartam Julii mansit." (S. Chrysostom, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita*, p. 216; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

everlasting winter seemed to freeze all life out of man and beast. The only excitement which broke this wearisome monotony consisted in periodical raids of ferocious Isaurians, who, when least expected, poured through the passes of Mount Taurus, and with fire and sword ruthlessly destroyed whatever came within their reach.*

S. Chrysostom was conducted by a troop of rough pretorian soldiers from Nicæa to his destination: A terrible tertian fever seized upon him; and though suffering, as he says, more than if he were in the mines, they dragged him along to Cæsarea. Here he was abused by crowds of brutal monks, who, instigated by the bishop of the place, drove him from the city. Seleucia, a noble lady, took compassion on him, and harboured him for a time in her country house. But, dreading the violence of the bishop, she pretended that the barbarians were coming upon him; and, at midnight, the Saint, without light or guide, had to escape as best he could. As he was hurrying away, his mule slipped, and he was cast to the ground. "I was thrown with such violence," he says, "that I thought I should have died."† But his courage and cheerfulness never abandoned him. Having wearily travelled through Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and a part of Cilicia, he finally arrived at Cucusus, after a journey of seventy days.

Here his fever left him. His case was taken to Rome. He occupied himself in good works, in saving souls, and with his pen. Pope Innocent sympathized with him; and so great a name did he acquire, that he became a centre of attraction. This raised the suspicion of his enemies, who banished him to Pityus, an obscure town at the very outskirts of the Roman empire, on the north shore of the Euxine Sea. Any one looking on the map may imagine what sort of voyage this must have been. The Saint was forced to set out, accompanied by a band of soldiers, who treated him with great barbarity;‡ though ill and faint, they would not suffer him to repose. After three months' travelling and persecution, he arrived at Comana, a town in Pontus; here his physical strength gave way; his guards still forced him on; but they were obliged at length to stop at the oratory of S. Basilisk, who was martyred under Maximin.

* The Saint's three letters, written at this time from Cucusus, to S. Olympias, are full of courage and high Christian feeling, and yet touching on sad and thoughtful subjects. He consoles her as well as offers her instruction. (See S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Paras Posterior*, *Epistola*, p. 549; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. LII.)

† S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Paras Posterior*, *Epistola ad Eandem*, *Epistola XIV.*, § 3, p. 615; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. LII.

‡ *Ibidem*, Tom. I., *Paras Prior*, in *Vita*, p. 263; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

Here S. Chrysostom passed the night; and whilst offering his sufferings to our Lord, suddenly the holy martyr appeared to him and said: "Take courage, brother John, to-morrow we shall be together."* These words consoled and rejoiced him greatly. He implored his guards to allow him to remain; but they hurried him away, though finally, softened possibly by his gentleness, they returned, and permitted him to rest once more in the little oratory.†

The Saint now felt that his end was drawing nigh. He divided his few effects amongst the soldiers and his attendants; and changing his ordinary dress, clothed himself, as if for some high festival, in a tunic and sandals of shining white, and received the Holy Eucharist. He made his thanksgiving in the sight of all, and ended with these words, which ever lived upon his lips: "May God be glorified in all things!" Then saying "Amen," he blessed himself with the sign of the Cross, and gently extending his feet, calmly gave forth his soul into the hands of its Maker, on the fourteenth day of September, 407, being over sixty years of age.

Once again we are reminded, by the very contrast, of the distinctive notes of the Angelical's character as compared with that of S. Chrysostom and the great Church Fathers. They were ever on the alert, taking advantage of all opportunities, and, like skilful captains, guiding their forces, with far-seeing prudence, against the enemy; he was ever living away from the active fight, occupied, not with the movements of flesh and blood, or the diplomacies of ecclesiastical affairs, but with deep questions of theology, with ruling principles of human thought, and the prime-movers of speculative science.‡

Nor is the Angelical's an ordinary case of the recluse, in contradistinction to the ready battler in the world. He was unique amongst all students, the deepest and the most abstracted, in his extraordinary absence from all things of sense.§ His very recreation is a proof of this. It consisted in pacing up

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Paras Prior*, in *Vita*, p. 262; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XLVII.

† *Ibidem*, p. 263.

‡ So abstracted did he become that it was not safe to leave him alone; he might have forgotten the necessities of life:—"Or perchè egli era sì frequentemente alle cose celesti rapito havea di bisogno d'un fedele ed accorto compagno, che n'avesse diligente cura acciòchè niente di male corporalmente gli avvenisse; fu perciò degualmente eletto il molte volte mentovato fra Reginaldo, gran servo di Dio, che sino alla morte gli prestò esquisito e fidelissimo servizio, e fu il suo confessore, che però consapevole de' suoi gran doni, de' segreti, e dell'alte sue virtù ne fu poi testimonio d'ogni eccezione maggiore." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. II.*, n. 6, p. 132—133.)

§ "Sua vera consolazione e delizia era lo stare sempre in ispirito unito al suo Dio, Lui adorare con plenissimo ossequio, a Lui sospirare in dolcezza d'amore. Nè rado incontrava ch'egli era così rapito a suoi celestiali affetti che non si avvedeva delle persone che a lui si appressavano o che a lui favellavano; molti fatti, che acquisterebbero fede a quello che dico, potrei recare in mezzo, i quali però a studio di brevità lascio addietro." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Capo XXVIII., p. 108. *Secunda Edizione.*)

and down the convent corridor, with his face looking up towards the heavens, still engrossed by those mighty problems which ever seemed to occupy his mind.* Occasionally the brethren would persuade him to accompany them into the garden, and his gentleness would not deny them; but he was speedily carried away in reverie again, and would be found sitting alone in some solitary place, rapt in the contemplation of that world in which he found all his freedom and delight. To such an extent indeed did he at length become unconscious of earthly things, that, unless he had been under some kind of *surveillance*, he would have forgotten to eat his one solitary meal.

Once, whilst engaged upon the *Summa*, King S. Louis invited him to the royal table. The Angelical respectfully declined the invitation, on the plea that his mind was wholly occupied with the great task he had in hand.† The King then applied to the Prior of S. James's, and requested him to order the Angelical to accept the invitation. In obedience to his superior, the Saint, in company with the Prior, presented himself at court. But his mind was still living amidst the principles, authorities, and traditions of theologic science. He set silently down to dinner, forgetful of the king; when suddenly, to the amazement of the whole company, he gave the table a violent blow with his fist, and exclaimed: "Now the heresy of Manes is at an end!"‡ The Prior, greatly embarrassed, pulled him by the habit, and whispered: "Master Thomas, remember, you are at the table of the King of France!" but the Angelical neither heard him nor felt him; the Prior then seized the Saint's *cappa*, and shook him till he came to himself; then recalling where he was, S. Thomas made many humble apologies to the king for his

* "Era a questo effetto molto amico della solitudine che fu da esso chiamata nel suo opuscolo sessantaquattro: *Via primaria ad cordis munditiam, et tutela ad custodiam*. Onde una delle sue principali recreationi era il passeggiar solo pel chiostro col capo levato: e se i frati per sollevarlo qualche fiata il conducevano al giardino, egli dalle mondane cose alienato, e tutto in Dio rapito, in un angolo di esso si ritirava; siccome quando qualche soggetto prendeva nuovamente l'habito della Religione, non era solito di trattenersi in Chiesa o nel Capitolo a fare al novito corteggio o corona, ma finita la funzione in cella si riserrava." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. III., n. 4, p. 80.*)

† "Fuit præterea predictus Doctor miro modo contemplativus, et cælestibus deditus, majori enim sui parte a sensibus aberat, qui totus cælestibus inhiabat, ut crederetur verius esse, ubi mente intenderet, quam ubi carne maneret. Erat enim mirabile, videre hominem, uti sensibus, et conversari cum sensibilibus in cibo vel aliquorum consortio, quantumque nobilium personarum, in quibus sensus conducerunt distrahi, subito cælestibus elevari: quasi non esset, ubi corporaliter sisteret, sed ubi mentaliter inlueret. De ejus miranda et inaudita distractione mentis et contemplatione dicitur, quod cum semel S. Ludovicus Rex Francie ipsum ad mensam suam invitasset, et ipse se humiliter excusasset propter opus *Summæ in Theologia*, quod dictaret tunc temporis." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n. 44, p. 671.*)

‡ "Obtinente autem mandato Regis et Prioris Parisiensis, ut magistrum humilem inclinaret, sublimem contemplatione, ad expressum mandatum Regis et Prioris, dimisso suo studio, cum illa imaginatione, quam manens in cella conceperat, accessit ad Regem; juxta quem existens in mensa, subito veritate fidei inspirata mensam percussit et dixit: modo conclusum est contra hæresim Maichæi. Quem Prior tetigit, et dixit: Advertatis magister, quia nunc estis in mensa Regis Francie, et traxit eum per cappam fortiter, ut abstractum a sensibus excitaret. Qui quasi ad seipsum rediens, inclinans se ad sanctum Regem, rogavit, ut ei parceret qui distractus in mensa Regia sic fuisset." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n. 44, p. 671*; see also Gibelli, *Capo XX., p. 78-79, Seconda edizione*; Vita, p. 27; Barelle, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XIX., p. 227*; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IX., n. 8, p. 54*; Touron, *Lib. II., Chap. XVI., p. 163.*)

forgetfulness. S. Louis was simply filled with admiration of him, and sent at once for his own amanuensis, who took down the dictated wisdom of this Angelical divine.*

Once more: the Papal Legate in the Italian kingdom heard of this scence at the royal table, and expressed a strong desire to become acquainted with S. Thomas. He begged the Archbishop of Capua (who had been a disciple of the Angelical) to arrange a meeting. His Grace accompanied the Legate to the convent. The Angelical was summoned. He descended from his cell, and stood before his guests, totally unconscious of their existence, when suddenly a smile broke across his face, and he exclaimed with a loud voice: "Now I have found what I was in search of!"† The Cardinal was tempted to regard him as a simpleton. But the Archbishop turned round and said: "Lord Cardinal, be not astonished; he is often carried away like this." Then, pulling the Saint sharply by the *cappa*, he awoke him, as if from sleep; on which, perceiving a prince of the Church before him, the Angelical made many apologies for his seeming want of courtesy. Being asked why he suddenly broke into that joyful smile, he said that he had that moment discovered the solution of a problem which had been a long time puzzling his thoughts.‡ How different is all this from the classic Fathers! Yet how intensely active was not the great Angelical! They energized in the visible world; he in the Unseen.

But we must hurry on to other examples of activity in ecclesiastical order.

Equal to, if not surpassing S. Athanasius, in his hold upon the political world, the great western luminary, S. Ambrose, seems to combine the determination of S. Basil with the tenderness of S. Gregory *Theologus*; and though not gifted with the glowing imagination of S. Chrysostom, with his literary grace and poetic temperament, yet he rivalled him in a severer and

* "De quo Rex plurimum admiratus est, et edificatus a Magistro, quod, cum esset nobilis, et posset ipsum tanti Regis invitatio delectare, et a contemplatione distrahere, prebuit in eo mentis abstractio, ut elevatum in spiritu, sensus eum non deprimeret in convictu. Fuit autem sanctus Rex provlus: ut meditatio illa, que potuit mentem Doctoris distrahere, contingeret non perire. Unde vocatus Scriptore suo, voluit quod coram eo redigeret in scripto quod Doctor conservaverat in secreto: quamvis apud Doctoris memoriam nil penitus deperiret, quod infuebat divinus Spiritus, ut servaret." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, n. 44, p. 671; see Gibelli, *Capo XX.*, p. 78-79; Vita, p. 27; Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, *Chap. XIX.*, p. 227; Frigerio, *Lib. I.*, *Cap. IX.*, n. 8, p. 45; Tournon, *Lib. II.*, *Chap. XVI.*, p. 163.)

† "Simile per omnia retulit Frater Raymundus Stephani, qui audivit ab Archiepiscopo Capuano, qui fuit discipulus prædicti Doctoris. Quod cum quidam Cardinalis, qui tunc erat Legatus in regno, audisset de eo predicta et alia admiranda, dixit prædicto Archiepiscopo: Ordinatis, quod cum prædicto Magistro habeamus familiare colloquium. Qui cum vocatus de suo studio descendisset, et tamen in sua abstractione maueret, cum expectassent ipsum diutius sic abstractum, subito Doctor ostendit faciem hilarem, indicantem mentis lætitiā, et dixit: Modo habeo quod quærebam. Qui cum nullum signum ad eos reverentia ostenderet, Cardinalis cepit ipsum despiciere, quem aspiceret sic manere. Cui dixit Dominus Archiepiscopus: Domine, non mirendum, quia frequenter sic abstrahitur, ut cum quibuscunque personis fuerit, non loquatur." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, n. 44, p. 671.)

‡ Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, n. 44, p. 671.

more incisive style of eloquence, and held a still more despotic sway over the popular mind.*

His father was a man whose jurisdiction as Prefect extended beyond Europe into Africa. This powerful governor had three children:—Marcellina, the eldest, who vowed herself to God, Satyrus, and then S. Ambrose. This youngest boy, who was destined to play so conspicuous a part in the history of the empire and the Church, was born in Gaul, possibly at Treves, about the year 340. When an infant, his nurse left him asleep in one of the courts of his father's palace; a swarm of bees gathered round his head, and crept freely in and out of his mouth; then, collecting together, all at once they rose over him, and ascended straight into the heavens, till they became wholly lost to sight.†

His father died when the boy was a tender child, and his mother returned to Rome, her native place, and devoted herself to the education of her children. Ambrose, from his earliest years, was surrounded by holy virgins, whose one thought in life was to offer their pure hearts to God.‡

At Rome the Saint soon distinguished himself as a poet, as a rhetorician, and, by his proficiency in Greek. His abilities attracted the notice of Probus and Symmachus; and with such oclat did the young orator plead in the court of the former, who was Pretorian Prefect, that he made him his assessor, and then appointed him governor of Liguria and Æmilia. "Go thy way," said Probus to him, "and govern rather as a bishop than as a judge."§

In 374, the Arian Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, died. Violent was the commotion which ensued. The orthodox, wearied and angered by a tyranny of twenty years, were straining every nerve to secure a Catholic successor; the Arians were equally determined to elect a creature of their own. The elections had to take place in the church, and Ambrose considered it a duty to be present at the meeting.¶ Whilst addressing an oration to

* "The eloquence of S. Ambrose," says Lecky, "is said to have been so seductive, that mothers were accustomed to shut up their daughters to guard them against his fascinations." (*European Morals*, Vol. II., p. 140.)

† S. Ambrosii, *Opera Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Prior, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi a Paulino ejus Notario ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta*, n. 3, p. 28; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

‡ Here is an interesting trait:—"Postea vero cum adolevisset, et esset in urbe Roma constitutus cum matre vidua et sorore, quæ virginitatem jam fuerat professa, comite alla virgine, cujus virginis soror Candida, et ipsa ejusdem professionis, quæ nunc Carthagine degit jam annis; cum videret sacerdotibus a domestica, sorore, vel matre manus osculari, ipse ludens offerebat dexteram, dicens et sibi id ab ea fieri oportere, siquidem episcopatum se futurum esse memorabat; loquebatur enim in illo Spiritus Domini, qui illum ad sacerdotium nutrebat: illa vero ut adolescentem et nescientem quid diceret, respuebat." (*Ibidem*, in *Vita*, a Paulino ejus Notario, n. 4, p. 28.)

§ S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*, n. 5—8, p. 28—29; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

¶ "Per idem tempus, mortuo Auxentio Ariana perfidia episcopo . . . cum populus ad seditionem surgeret in petendo episcopo, essetque illi cura sedandæ seditionis, ne populus civitatis in periculum sui verteretur, perrexit ad ecclesiam." (*Ibidem*, n. 6, p. 28.)

the noisy multitude, imploring them to use moderation in the serious duty in which they were engaged, suddenly the silver notes of a child's voice were heard chanting above all: "Ambrose, bishop! Ambrose, bishop!" With that strange inconsistency which belongs to crowds, the whole multitude, Arian and Catholic, as if those words had come direct from heaven, took up the cry, and forgetting all at once their mutual animosity, with one deafening enthusiastic shout—such as a crowd alone can give—insisted that Ambrose should be made their bishop.*

Ambrose was thunderstruck. He, like the other great ecclesiastical rulers, shrank from spiritual responsibility. So intensely did he dread this office, that to escape his inevitable lot he had recourse to means such as most men would hardly find courage to adopt.

Finding his efforts useless, he fled from the city by night, hoping to make his way to Pavia, but, missing the road, when the morning broke he found himself, to his astonishment, still close to the city gates.† He was captured forthwith. But he effected his escape once more, and concealed himself in the house of a senator, named Leontius; and it was only when he felt he was compromising his friend, that, finding further opposition useless, he finally gave himself up, and suffered himself to be baptized and consecrated. This happened a twelvemonth before the death of Valentinian I. (who died in 375), when Ambrose was four-and-thirty years of age.‡ Thus in spite of himself he was placed in a position to render all-important service to the cause of Truth.

After he had been baptized, and had received the sacred unction of the episcopate, he seemed changed into another man.§ Before, he had served the emperor; now, he served the Cross; before, he was a great political ruler; now, he was the champion of the Church. His mother had taught him what sacrifice was. Marcellina had shown him what it was to love

* "Ibi cum alloqueretur plebem, subito vox fertur infantis in populo sonuisse Ambrosium Episcopum. Ad cuius vocis sonum totius populi ora conversa sunt, acclamantis Ambrosium Episcopum; ita qui antea turbulentissime dissidebant, quia et Ariani sibi et Catholici sibi Episcopum cupiebant, superatis alterutris, ordinari, repente in hunc unum mirabili et incredibili concordia consenserunt." (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Pars Prior*, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*, n. 6, p. 29; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.)

† Here is an example of how he tried to escape his bishopric:—"Quo ille cognito, egressus ecclesiam, tribunal sibi parari fecit; quippe mox futurus episcopus, altiora conscendit: tunc contra consuetudinem suam tormenta iussit personis adhiberi. Quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus acclamabat: Peccatum tuum super nos. Sed non similiter is populus tunc clamavit, sicut populus Judeorum; illi enim vocibus suis sanguinem Dominicum effuderunt, dicentes: Sanguis huius super nos (Matt., XXVII., 25): isti vero catechumenum scientes, fidei voce remissionem illi peccatorum omnium per baptismatis gratiam promittebant." (*Ibidem*, n. 7, p. 29.) See also the words beginning "Quod ubi ne faceret," &c. (*Ibidem*.)

‡ S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Pars Prior*, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario* n. 8, p. 30; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

§ "Ceterum Ambrosius noster statim atque ad tantam dignitatem assumptus fuit omnem aliam curam præterquam implendi muneris sui a se removit," &c. (*Ibidem*, in *Vita S. Ambrosii ex ejus potissimum Scriptis collecta*, n. 14, p. 71-72.)

God without reserve. To free himself entirely from worldly entanglements, he made over to the Church and the poor all the gold and silver in his possession ;* he despoiled himself of his estates, and dedicated them to the uses of religion, reserving simply what was necessary for the support of Satyrus and Marcellina ; and thus naked and free he devoted all the powers of his being to the exclusive service of his Maker.†

One simple aim now animated his spirit—to serve the Church and to save souls. Political interests and ambitions faded out of his mind, and ceased to have any existence there.

His training as a statesman and a governor, as a judge and as a man of the world, was complete. But he had received no education as a priest. He was suddenly lifted out of the courts of law, and placed on the bishop's throne, to rule, guide, and teach others.‡ But in a short space he fulfilled much time. He dedicated all his leisure to studying the Sacred Scriptures and the writings of Hippolytus and Origen. He formed his character and mind upon the great S. Basil as a model ; and with that sublime humility which can only spring out of a noble heart, he placed himself under the tuition of the Roman priest, Simplicianus, who eventually succeeded him at Milan, and who is worshipped as a saint.§

Nor did his studies interfere with his duty to the people. His room was ever open. Anyone could approach him unaccompanied by an attendant, and without the formality of giving notice. He was never idle ;|| his only recreation consisted in the variety of his labours. His private life spoke of the mortifications of the Cross ; he never dined abroad ; he fasted five days during the week ; he prayed most part of the night ; and

* *Ibidem.*

† Paulinus puts it thus, giving the true principle of the Saint's life in the concluding words:—"Sollicitus etiam nihilum pro pauperibus et captivis; nam in tempore quo episcopus ordinatus est, aurum omne atque argentum quod habere poterat, Ecclesie, vel pauperibus contulit. Prædia etiam quæ habebat, reservato usufructuario germanæ suæ, donavit Ecclesie, nihil sibi quod hic suum diceret, derelinquens: ut nudus atque expeditus miles Christum Dominum sequeretur: qui cum dives esset, propter nos pauper factus est, ut nos qui inopia ditamur II. Cor., VIII. 9." (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Paræ Prior in Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*, n. 38, p. 40; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.)

‡ How eloquently De Broglie speaks:—"Non qu'Ambroise . . . fut tenté à négliger les devoirs de sa vocation nouvelle pour reprendre les prétentions de sa première profession; de jour, au contraire, où il avait franchi le seuil de l'Eglise, il semblait n'avoir plus gardé une pensée pour le siècle, pour ses soucis et pour ses pompes. Jamais transformation ne fut plus complète. Sa vie n'était pas seulement celle d'un prêtre, mais celle d'un anachorète. . . . La merveilleuse facilité d'un esprit rompu au travail comme au commerce des hommes, et qui pouvait à volonté se répandre ou se concentrer, lui permettait de mener de front les soins du ministère sacré et de fortes études destinées à combler les lacunes de son éducation théologique." (*L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. V.*, p. 9-10. *Troisième Ed.*)

§ Still, some hold that the story of the Saint being taught by Simplicianus does not rest on a solid foundation:—See S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Paræ Prior*, in *Vita S. Ambrosii*, ex ejus potissimum scriptis collecta, n. 15, p. 73-74; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

|| "Sa porte restait ouverte: entrant qui voulait, sans même avoir besoin de se faire annoncer. Avait-on affaire à lui pour quelque annone du corps ou de l'âme, il interrompait sa lecture, répondait au solliciteur avec une attention toujours prête, et toujours bienveillante. Puis, la consultation finie, il reprenait son livre, ne s'inquiétant même pas si des visiteurs importuns demeureraient pour le suivre du regard avec une indiscrete curiosité." (*De Broglie, L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. V.*, p. 10. *Troisième Edition.*)

when not engaged in prayer, he was writing sermons, or composing portions of his larger works.* Thus he drew into the chamber of his mind that which he poured out in the warm eloquence of his oratory ; thus he curbed the flesh that the spirit might be free, and built himself up into a "Tower of David," against the face of the formidable enemies of orthodox religion.†

S. Ambrose appears to have been raised up to perform two special works : to support the authority and independence of the Church, and to introduce a high regard for holy purity amongst the people. He took special interest in directing consecrated virgins in the charity of God. Besides maintaining Marcellina, he supported a convent at Bologna. Many young ladies of high degree were drawn by his eloquence to give up the vanities of life, and to seek the changeless love of the Incarnate Word.‡ Many from Bologna, Placentia, and other parts of Italy, and even from Mauritania, placed themselves under his control and joyfully abandoned the polished slaveries of the world. His three books upon "Virginity" clearly indicate how completely the mind of S. Ambrose was possessed by the monastic principle of holocaustic sacrifice. They were written for the instruction of his sister, and were highly commended by S. Augustine and S. Jerome. They are instinct with divine fire, and speak of a heart which is overflowing with admiration of anything like complete devotedness to God. The first book treats of S. Agnes ; the second of our Blessed Lady (the model of every virgin), of S. Thecla, and of the martyr-maidens of Antioch ; whilst the third dwells on the duties of those who have dedicated themselves to God.§ His tracts "On Widows,"|| and "On Virginity,"¶ breathe the same ardent spirit, and manifest that divine prudence for which the Saint was justly famed. It was by thus introducing into every family an interest in one of the highest of Christian virtues, that S. Ambrose aimed at stemming the course of corruption in the world, and at binding the clean of heart all the closer to the Cross.** There is little doubt that his intense sympathy with every form of misery and sor-

* S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Paras Prior*, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*. n. 38, p. 40; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

† He would burst into tears if he heard of the death of any holy priest ; he felt how difficult it was to find a truly devoted minister, and he also envied the lot of those who had been taken before himself. (*Ibidem*, n. 40, p. 41.)

‡ See with what depth and poetry he speaks of this beautiful service of God :—S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Paras Prior*, *Hexæmeron*, Lib. III., Cap. V., n. 23, p. 165: *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

§ S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tomi Secundi et Ultimi *Paras Prior*, *De Virginitate ad Marcellinam Sororem suam*, Libri Tres, Lib. I., Cap. I—XI., p. 187—208; Lib. II., Cap. I—VI., p. 208—220; Lib. III., Cap. I—VII., p. 220—232; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.

|| *Ibidem*, Tom II., *Paras Prior*, *De Viduis*, Liber Unus, Cap. I—XV., p. 234—262.

¶ *Ibidem*, *De Virginitate*, Liber Unus, Cap. I—XX., p. 266—302.

** How he exults in the passion of the martyrs! *Ibidem*, *De Virginitate*, Lib. III., Cap. VII., n. 38, p. 332.

row, his love of the penitent, his unwearied patience with the sinner, his large charity, and his utter forgetfulness of self, together with his encouragement of holy purity in the Christian family, so drew the people round him, that when the political power of the world turned sharply against him, they were ever ready to console him, and stand bravely by his side.*

And indeed the Church had need of such a champion.† The canker of Arianism, not to speak of paganism, was still eating into the vitals of religion, and occupied the highest place in the State.

Ambrose was just one of the few men who appear born into this world to govern others. From youth up he had been in the society of those whose lives were spent in commanding men. He himself, from his early manhood, had held positions of trust and of responsibility. To give the law, to enforce it, to be calm and self-controlled, to sway the popular mind,—this belonged to the natural character of Ambrose. He held his place with ease, and men took for granted what he seemed so naturally to claim. His position as Bishop of Milan brought him into continual contact with the civil power. He was no stranger to the ways of statesmen and the subtleties of politicians; yet he never meddled with the world save when forced to do so in the interests of the Church.‡

To preserve the mind of the Emperor Gratian from being infected with the Arianism of his uncle Valens, whom he went to succour in the east against a Gothic king, S. Ambrose wrote (377) his works "On Faith,"§ and "On the Blessed Trinity,"|| in which, with great vigour and acuteness, he oversets the heresy in question. His influence over the mind of Gratian was remarkable; and many of the enlightened legislative acts of that monarch bear upon them unmistakably the mark of a broader and deeper intelligence than his own. When the Emperor, stabbed to the heart by the dagger of Andragathius, was expiring

* His Master was Christ, his weapons the Holy Scriptures. His great and commanding temper seems to show itself with special force:—*Ibidem*, *Tom. Secundi et Ultimi Pars Prior*, *De Officiis Ministrorum*, *Cap. I.*, n. 3, p. 24.

† How clearly he sees the difficulty of his position!—"Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos cepti, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere." (*Ibidem*, *Tom. II.*, *Cap. I.*, n. 4, p. 24—25.)

‡ The story of the two *Cubicularii* of Gratian shows how the officers of State were mixed up in religious questions. These two men were Arians. They proposed a difficulty to Ambrose regarding the Incarnation, and promised to be present in the Basilica Portiana next day, when he undertook to explain it. For the discourse of S. Ambrose see *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. II.*, *Pars Prior*, *De Incarnationis Domini Sacramento*, *Lib. I.*, *Cap. I—X.*, p. 818—846; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.

§ *Ibidem*, *De Fide ad Gratianum Augustum*, *Libri Quinque*, *Lib. I.*, *Prologus*, *Cap. I—XX.*, p. 528—560; *Lib. II.*, *Prologus*, *Cap. I—XVI.*, p. 560—590; *Lib. III.*, *Cap. I—XVII.*, p. 590—618; *Lib. IV.*, *Cap. I—XI.*, p. 618—650; *Lib. V.*, *Prologus*, *Cap. I—XIX.*, p. 650—698.

|| *De Spiritu Sancto Libri Tres ad Gratianum Augustum*, *Lib. I.*, *Prologus*, *Cap. I—XVI.*, p. 703—742; *Lib. II.*, *Prologus*, *Cap. I—XIII.*, p. 742—776; *Lib. III.*, *Cap. I—XXII.*, p. 776—816; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.

from the effects of that mortal wound, the first name which flew to his lips was that of his beloved bishop, Ambrose, whose image only then faded from his mind, as gradually he swooned away into the arms of death.*

Gratian's half-brother, Valentinian, resided at Milan with the Arian Justina. Twice did the great Bishop, at the request of the civil power, make use of his diplomatic abilities to save the empire from the ravages of war. At length the valour and skill of Theodosius defeated Maximus on the Save, and that ambitious and unscrupulous usurper was finally visited with the just punishment of his evil deeds (388).

But in spite of the great services S. Ambrose had rendered to the State, and of his readiness to assist the empress, the spirit of religious and sectarian animosity would not allow him to bide in peace.

Justina, just before Easter, 385, when the terrors of invasion by Maxentius had been warded off, sent an order to Ambrose, in the name of the emperor, to hand over to the Arians the Catholic Basilica of S. Victor's.† His reply was worthy of his model, the great S. Basil: "Did his majesty demand my lands and money," he said, "though they are the property of the poor, I should not refuse them. But he has no right to that which belongs to God. If you seek my estate, take it; if you would load me with irons, or put me to death, I am well content."‡ The following Lent (386), she commanded him to deliver up the Portian Basilica.§ The intrepid prelate made this reply: "Naboth did not give up his birthright, and shall I betray the inheritance of Jesus Christ?"|| Ambrose remained in the church, and was guarded by the faithful. The imperial soldiers then surrounded the Basilica.¶ The people were permitted to enter,

* See how Ambrose loved Gratian and Valentinian:—"Doleo in te, fili Gratiane, suavis mihi valde. Plurima dedisti tuae pietatis insignia. Tu me inter tua pericula requirebas, tu in tuis extremis me appellabas, meum de te plus dolebas dolore. Doleo etiam in te, fili Valentiniane, speciosus mihi valde. Deciderat amor tuus in me, sicut amor pignoris. Tu per me putabas eripi de periculis: tu me non solum ut parentem diligebas, sed ut redemptorem tui, et liberatorem sperabas. Tu dicebas: Putasne, videbo patrem meum? Speciosa de me voluntas tua, sed non efficax presumptio. Hei mihi vana spes in homine! sed tu in sacerdote Dominum requirebas. Hei mihi quod voluntatem tuam non aucte cognovi! Hei mihi quod non clanculo ante misisti! Hei mihi qualla amisi pignora! Quomodo ceciderunt potentes, et perierunt arma concupiscenda!—II. Reg. I., 27." (Vid S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. II., Pars Prior, De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, n. 79, p. 1383—1384; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.)

† See how Ambrose writes to his sister:—S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. II., Pars Prior, *Epistolarum Classis I., Epist. XX.*, p. 995—996; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.

‡ (*Ibidem*, n. 8, p. 996—997.) Again, see his sermon beginning:—"Audistis filii, librum Job legi, qui solenni munere est decursum et tempore. Scilicet ex usu hunc librum etiam diaboli intinmandum, quo virtus omnis aucte tentationis aperitur et proditur; et ideo se hodie motu majore concussit," &c. (*Ibidem*, n. 14, p. 998.)

§ *Ibidem*, n. 26, p. 1002.

|| "Meministis etiam quod lectum est hodie Naboth sanctum virum possessorem vinee sue, interpellatum petitione regis, ut vineam suam daret; ubi rex, successis vitibus, oliva vilo aceret, eumque respondisse: *Abiit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hereditatem*; regem contristatum eade, quod sibi esset alienum jus relatione justa negatum, sed muliebri consilio deceptum. Naboth vitee suae vel proprio errore defendit. Si ille vineam non tradidit suam, nos trademus Ecclesiam Christi!" (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. II., Pars Prior, *Sermo Contra Auxentium*, n. 17, p. 1012; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.)

¶ See the words of S. Ambrose in reply to his enemies:—*Ibidem*, n. 18, p. 1012—1013.

but none were allowed to depart. Here they remained several days, whilst their bishop prayed with them before the altar, preached to them on constancy in suffering, and condemned the wickedness and impiety of Auxentius and the Arians.

Several attempts were made to secure the Saint, and some were made to murder him. Just as a ruffian had lifted up his naked sword to smite the man of God, his arm was stiffened suddenly midway in the air;* and it was only after he had confessed himself to be an emissary of Justina, that the weapon fell, and his hand dropped by his side.

Many examples might be cited of the immense influence exerted by S. Ambrose in imperial and ecclesiastical affairs; the case of Theodosius is too well known to be repeated; then it was through his influence that the altar of victory was kept out of the senate-house, and that many acts of imperial severity were either mitigated or cancelled altogether.† If his image lived in the heart of Gratian, his entire spirit took possession of Valentinian, whose power extended over the whole of the Western Empire. How deeply the Bishop loved him is evident from the tears which he shed on hearing that he had been strangled on the banks of the Rhone.‡

S. Ambrose hated heresy, and loved the martyrs of the Church. He confuted Bonosus, he called a Council against the Apollinarists (381), he deposed Arian bishops, and in spite of the intrigues of a designing empress, he established an orthodox chair at Sirmium; he wrote two books "On Penance" against the Novatians, and addressed an excellent letter or catechism to the queen of the Marcomanni. He discovered the gigantic skeletons of S. Gervasius and Protasius, and also the relics of S. Nazarius and S. Celsus. Through the power of these courageous athletes, the blind were restored to sight, sick were healed, and devils were cast out.§

* Many miracles are related as having been performed by the Saint; for instance, the cure of Nicentius's feet. Then the case of the slave whom the Saint delivered over unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, might be recalled. (See Fleury, *Eccles. Hist.*, Book XX., § 20, p. 308—309. *Oxford Edition.*)

† The Saint explains to Eugenius what he had done:—See S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. II., *Par. Prior*, *Epistolarum Classis I.*, *Epistola LVIII.*, n. 2, p. 1175; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XVI.

‡ Here is a good specimen of the eloquence and tenderness of S. Ambrose—"Quomodo ceciderunt potentes! Quomodo uterque super illa Babylonis ceciderunt flumina? Quomodo rapidiora utriusque vite fuere curricula, quam ipsius Rhodani sunt fluenta? O mihi Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et charissimi, quam angusto vitam fine clausistis! Quam proxima vobis mortis fuere confinia! quam sepulera vicina! Gratiane, inquam, et Valentiniane, in vestris nominibus adherere juvat, atque delectat in vestri commemoratione requiescere. O omnibus Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et charissimi! Inseparabiles in vita, et in morte non estis separati (*II. Reg.*, i. 23). Non vos discevit timulus, quos non disceverat affectus. Non causa mortis separavit, quos pietas una iungebat. Super columbas simplices, super aquilas leviores, super agnos clementiores, super vitulos innocentiores. Gratiani sagitta non est reversa retro, et Valentiniani iustitia non fuit vacua, nec inanis auctoritas. Quomodo sine pugna ceciderunt potentes?" (*Ibidem*, *De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*, n. 79, p. 1382—1383.)

§ The Saint himself had the gift of miracles:—See S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Par. Prior*, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*, n. 10, p. 30; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.

Ambrose foretold his own death. In his last illness he was engaged upon the Forty-third Psalm.* Paulinus, his secretary, tells us that whilst writing at the dictation of the Saint, he happened to look up from his paper for a moment, and to his amazement he saw a flame, in the form of a small shield, covering the head of the man of God. The shield seemed to be drawn slowly into the mouth, upon which the countenance changed, and became white as the drifted snow; then the effect gradually dying out, the face resumed its usual appearance. "I was struck with terror," says Paulinus, "and was stiffened with fear, and was unable to continue my work till the vision had passed away." From this time forth, Ambrose closed his books, and neither wrote nor dictated any more.†

When Stilico heard that the Saint was dying, he exclaimed: "The day on which this great man dies, destruction hangs over Italy!" He and the officials of the city presented themselves before their Bishop, and implored him to beg our Lord to preserve his life. The dying Ambrose made this grand reply: "I have not so lived among you as to be ashamed to live; nor do I fear to die, for we have a good Master!" Shortly after this, whilst praying with Bassianus, Bishop of Lodi, he opened his eyes, and beheld Jesus Christ approaching him with a radiant countenance.‡ Then he grew worse, and lay motionless for several hours with his arms extended like a Cross, and with his lips just moving in silent prayer.§ When the moment came for his recall, Honoratus, Bishop of Vercelli, who was sleeping in an upper room, heard a voice: "Arise! make haste, for he is going to depart." He hurried at once to the dying man, and gave him the Body of our Lord. Ambrose had no sooner received it than his spirit fled. Christ had come, and had taken him to His own.||

* The Saint did not get beyond the twenty-fourth verse:—"Quare faciem tuam avertis?" His last words, so much in keeping with his own character, are on wisdom and living with the Lord:—"Cum autem Deus mihicubi in tribulatione dicitur; tunc fiet latitudo cordis, sicut arenis maris innumerabilis. Quae sit ista latitudo audi dicentem sanctum Salomonem: *Optet, et datus est mihi sensus, et invocavi, et venit in me spiritus sapientiae* (*Sup. VII. 7*). . . . " These are the last words he ever wrote or dictated:—"Opus est ut nos maneamus in Domino, nec ab eodem recedamus; quoniam praesule Domino et assistente nobis, omne certamen fortiter possumus sustinere. Si autem Dominum negligamus, et longo nos faciamus a Domino, faciemus nobis adversarium fortiozem." (*Ibidem*, Tom. II., in *Psalmum XLIII.*, n. 93—94, p. 1133—1134.)

† *Ibidem*, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*, n. 42, p. 41—42.

‡ These are his words as given by Paulinus:—"Quod ille [Ambrosius] ubi ab illis audivit, respondit: 'Non ita luter vos vixi, ut pudeat me vivere; nec timeo mori: quia Dominum bonum habemus.'" (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Pars Prior*, in *Vita a Paulino ejus Notario*, n. 45, p. 42—43; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XIV.)

§ "In eodem tamen loco in quo jacebat (sicut referente sancto Bassiano episcopo Landensis Ecclesiae, qui ab eodem audierat, didicimus) cum oraret una cum supradicto sacerdote, viderat Dominum Jesum advenisse ad se, et ardentem sibi: nec multos post dies nobis ablatum est." (*Ibidem*, n. 47, p. 43.)

|| "Honoratus etiam sacerdos Ecclesiae Vercellis cum in superioribus domus se ad quiescendum componisset, tertio vocem vocantis se audivit, dicentisque sibi: Surge, festina, quia modo est recessurus. Qui descendens, obtulit sancto Domini corpus; quo accepto ubi gluttit

Such was the end of one of the most able ecclesiastical rulers who have left their mark in the Church of God. His powerful will and clear intelligence, his singleness of aim and devotedness of purpose, have made him a model man in the world of ecclesiastical politics. Ever keen and on the alert, he did not suffer an opportunity to pass which might be turned to account in the interests of the Church.

He was as singular in his diplomatic gifts, and in his quickness of political vision, as the Angelical was remarkable for his absorption into the world of theory and of thought.

It is a curious study to observe how men of different vocation and cast of mind can be wholly engrossed with the objects special to the world in which they live, to the exclusion of everything else which does not bear upon their particular interests. The Fathers, occupied with men and with affairs, were keenly alive to pain, sorrow, and trials; saw with rapid vision the bearing of events; energized with intense activity amidst the passions and emotions of the world; and gained men to God by sympathizing and mixing with them. Such was their vocation. They, as a rule, worked in the second order of human greatness; the Angelical laboured in the first. He was one of those, preëminently, "who are so absorbed in the divine life, that they seem, even while they are in the flesh, to have no part in earth or in human nature; but to think, speak, and act under views, affections, and motives simply supernatural. If they love others, it is simply because they love God, and because man is the object either of His compassion or of His praise. If they rejoice, it is in what is unseen; if they feel interest, it is in what is unearthly; if they speak, it is almost with the voice of angels; if they eat or drink, it is almost of angels' food alone—for it is recorded in their histories, that for weeks they have fed on nothing else but that Heavenly Bread which is the proper sustenance of the soul. Such we may suppose to have been S. John; such S. Mary Magdalene; such the hermits of the Desert; such many of the holy virgins whose lives belong to the science of mystical theology;"* and such in very deed was the Angel of the Schools. Not even the pressure of acute physical suffering could distract him during his divine contemplation. He seemed as it were to be clothed with angelic flesh, which transcended the ordinary action of

emisit spiritum, bonum viaticum secum ferens; ut in virtute easdem anima refector, angelorum nunc consortio, quorum vita vixit in terris, et Elias societate letetur; quia ut Elias nunquam regibus vel ullis potestatibus, ita nec iste pro Dei timore loqui veritus est." (*Ibidem*, n. 47, p. 43.)

* See Newman's *Sermons*, preached on various occasions, Sermon V^{II}., p. 122. Second Edition.

man's nervous system, and through the intensity of its purity was, at times, freed from the slaveries of suffering and of sense. For example :—

On one occasion, having a tumour formed upon his thigh, the doctors ordered the part to be scorched with a red-hot iron. The Saint begged his *socius* to inform him beforehand of the doctor's arrival. Having been apprised of it, the Angelical made all the necessary preparations for the operation, and then was carried away in ecstasy—and so completely, that the surgeon had finished the burning without the Saint being in the slightest degree cognizant of his presence.*

Once more : he was dictating his Tract on the Blessed Trinity. It was at night, and taking the candle in his hand he said to the amanuensis : “ Don't call out to me, whatever you see me do,” and then he was carried away in ecstasy as usual. After an hour, the candle was consumed to the end, and without the Saint becoming aware of it, it had burnt clean out between his fingers.† The fact that the Angelical was of a very delicate *physique* renders these examples all the more remarkable.

That S. Thomas was divinely lifted up, and that his freedom from the thralldom of the senses was a gracious gift, resulting from his generous correspondence with a large infusion of heavenly grace, no Catholic would think of calling in question. It is only for the sake of minds which have been taught to shrink from anything like the marvellous in the moral order, that it would not be out of place to say that his liberation from physical suffering, when absorbed in contemplation, was not necessarily the result of the miraculous. A slight study of the science of Physiology will speedily dispel any suspicions of the kind :—

“It is well known that such impressions as would ordinarily produce severe pain, may for a time be completely unfelt, through the exclusive direction of the attention elsewhere ; and this direction may either depend—firstly, upon the determination of the *ego* ; or, secondly, upon the attractiveness of the object ; or, thirdly, on the combination of both.”

“Thus, before the introduction of chloroform, patients sometimes went through severe operations without giving any sign of pain, and afterwards

* “Tanta autem erat hujus doctoris mentis abstractio, ut interdum non perciperet se ladi etiam a corporali læsivo. Unde semel cum esset de consilio medicorum consultum, quod in tibia portaret cauterium, dixit socio suo: Cum venerit, qui ignem debet apponere, facias me autem præscire. Quod cum fieret in lecto, quod cauterizandus erat, se preparans extenta tibia, tanta fuit abstractione levatus, quod appositione ignis cauterium non percepit: cujus signum fuit, quia de loco, ubi tibiam extenderat, non mutavit.” (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. VIII., n. 48, p. 672.)

† “Cum semel prædictus Doctor esset in camera sua et sursum tractum de Trinitate diceret, accepta una candela in manu, dixit scriptori suo. Quidquid videas in me, cave ne voces, et tunc in contemplatione abstracto, candela post horam consumpta est usque ad digitos, quibus ignem candela diutius adherere Doctor non sensit sed ipsum ignem sine aliquo motu digitorum sustinuit, donec defecit.” (*Ibidem.*)

declared that they felt none; having concentrated their thoughts, by a powerful effort of abstraction, on some subject which held them engaged throughout. On the other hand, many a martyr has suffered at the stake with a serenity that he declared himself to have no difficulty in maintaining; his entranced attention being so engrossed by the beatific visions which presented themselves to his enraptured gaze, that the burning of his body gave him no pain whatever.*

Here then is the Angelical supreme in intellect, and S. Ambrose supreme in will; the one so great in his sphere because he could abandon the senses and the affairs of earth; the other, so paramount in his, because he could grasp and deal with the practical aspects of the political order, and control the various movements of the ecclesiastical world. Theory found its greatest king in the Angelical; practice found its highest master in S. Ambrose: whilst theory and practice find their entire harmony in the synthesis of Christian love.

It was the solidity, amiability, and eloquence of S. Ambrose which did so much towards drawing the son of Monnica into the Church. To give S. Augustine's own words will serve to throw light on the character of either:—

“To Milan I came, to Ambrose the Bishop, known to the whole world as amongst the best of men, Thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourses did then plentifully dispense unto Thy people the flower of Thy wheat, the gladness of Thy oil, and the sober inebriation of Thy wine. To him was I unknowing led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me as a father, and showed me an episcopal kindness on my coming.† Thenceforth I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the Truth (which I utterly despaired of in Thy Church), but as a person kind towards myself. And I listened diligently to him preaching to the people, not with that interest I ought, but, as it were, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof, or flowed fuller or lower than was reported, and I hung on his words attentively; but of the matter I was as a careless and scornful looker-on; and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse, more recondite, yet in a manner less winning and harmonious than that of Faustus. . . . And while I opened my heart to admit—‘how eloquently he spake,’ there also entered—‘how truly he spake;’ but this by degrees.”‡

* “Some of Robert Hall’s most eloquent discourses,” continues Dr. Carpenter, “were poured forth whilst he was suffering under a bodily disorder, which caused him to roll in agony on the floor when he descended from the pulpit; yet he was entirely unconscious of the irritation of his nerves by the calculus which shot forth its jagged points through the whole substance of his kidney, so long as his soul continued to be ‘possessed’ by the great subjects on which a powerful effort of his will originally fixed it.” (See Dr. Carpenter’s *Physiology of the Will*, *Contemporary Review*, May, 1871, p. 202.)

† “Et veni Mediolanum ad Ambrosium episcopum, in optimis notum orbi terre, plurimum cultorem tuum; cujus tunc eloquia strenue ministrabant adipem frumenti tui, et lætitiā olei, et sobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. Ad eum autem ducebar abs te nesciens, ut per eum ad te sciens ducerer. Suscepit me paternæ illi hominē Dei, et peregrinationem meam satis episcopally dilexit.” (S. Augustini, *Opera Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. V.*, Cap. XIII., n. 25, p. 717; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

‡ S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. V.*, Cap. XIII–XIV., n. 23–24, p. 717–718; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

S. Augustine had, in the first place, gone to the Eternal City as a professor of eloquence; but disgusted by the meanness and dishonesty of the students, he was glad to close with an offer of Symmacus to become reader of rhetoric in Milan. He was at this time about thirty years of age. His history had been a strange one indeed, for a man who eventually became one of the greatest lights of the Catholic Church.*

He was born (354) at Thagaste, an episcopal city of Numidia. His father, Patritius, a poor freeman of the city, was of a passionate nature, fervid in his affections, and unfaithful to his wife.† Possibly, on his becoming a catechumen, when his son Augustine was about sixteen years old, his habits and temper became more subdued. He was baptized a year later, and died shortly after his reception into the Church.

S. Augustine's mother is so well known that little need be said of her to refresh the memory of the reader. A perfect wife, a perfect mother, a perfect widow, and a perfect saint, she converted her violent husband to Christ, and by her tears turned Augustine from a sinner into one of the noblest pillars of God's Church.‡ If Patritius was naturally tainted by the vices of the pagan, his wife possessed all the noblest characteristics of a valiant woman of God. Full of tenderness, full of womanly sympathy and love, still gifted with true courage, with high aspirations, with a capacity of understanding the hidden things of Divine wisdom, Monnica stands out in her place with as great brilliancy and distinction as Augustine stands out in his. If he is the great Doctor of the Church, she is the Christian mother, the devoted widow, the strong woman of the Scriptures, filled with all the sweetness of Christ's heroic spirit.§

Her devoted love of her children, her exceeding affection for Augustine, her maternal advice, her self-sacrifice in his regard, her agony at his spiritual death, and her ceaseless prayers and tears during nine long years for his conversion, are too well known to need repeating. How horror-stricken she was when

* "Cum itaque civitas Mediolanensis eloquentiæ professore destituta esset, missum est a Mediolano Romanum ad Symmachum urbis præfectum, ut illi civitati professorem provideret, impertita etiam evectio publica. Hunc Augustinus provinciam per eos ipsos Manicheos quibus, ait, ut carerem ibam, audivit (*Confessionum, Lib. V., Cap. XIII., n. 23*): nec frustra." (*Ibidem, in Vita ex ejus potissimum scriptis concinnata, Lib. II., Cap. II., n. 1, p. 98.*)

† "Ita autem toleravit (Monnica) cubilis injurias, ut nullam de hac re cum marito haberet unquam simulationem. Expectabat enim misericordiam tuam super eum, ut in te credens castificaretur. Erat vero ille præterea, sicut benevolentia præcipuus, ita ira fervidus. Cumque intrarentur illas (matronas) scientes quam ferocem conjugem sustineret, nunquam fuisse auditum, aut aliquo iudicio claruisse, quod Patricius ceciderit uxorem, aut quod a se invicem vel unum diem domestica lite disenserint, et causam familiariter quererent: docebat illa institutum suum, quod supra memoravi." (*Ibidem, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. IX., n. 19, p. 772.*)

‡ S. Augustin, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. IX., n. 22, p. 773; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

§ *Ibidem, Lib. V., Cap. IX., n. 17, p. 714.*

she discovered him to be a Manichean; how, in spite of his tenderness to her and her love of him, she would not suffer him to eat at her table, till the vision consoled her, and the holy bishop soothed her heart with these words: "Go thy ways, and God bless thee, for it is not possible that the son of these tears should perish;"—all these things are familiar as household words.* Who so strict as she in her religious duties? who so full of true devotion and genuine charity? who so constant?—following her son across the seas; who so courageous?—comforting in a storm "the very mariners," who rather should have strengthened her; † who loved Ambrose more than she did, who was ready to die with him if needs should be? O the joy of her widow's heart, when she found that at length her prayers were heard, and that Augustine had turned his vast intellect towards the Truth! Let her own son speak of her:—

"Thence we go into my mother; we tell her; she rejoiceth; we relate in order how it [his conversion] took place; she leaps for joy, and triumpheth, and blesseth Thee, 'Who art able to do alone that which we ask or think,' for she perceived that Thou hadst given her more for me, than she was wont to beg by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For thou convertedst me unto Thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing on that rule of faith, where Thou hadst shewed me unto her in a vision, so many years before. ‡ And Thou didst 'convert her mourning into joy,' much more plentiful than she had desired, and in a much more precious and purer way than she erst required, by having grandchildren of my body."

Monnica had completed her destiny when she had converted her boy to God. Her ardent love of him, and the trust of her pure strong heart in Christ, had achieved the great result. She retired with him to the Villa of Cassiciacum, and had the happiness of seeing him baptized:§

"And we were baptized, and anxiety for our past life vanished from us. Nor was I sated in those days with the wondrous sweetness of considering the depth of Thy counsels concerning the salvation of mankind. How did I weep, in Thy Hymns and Canticles, touched to the quick by the voice of

* This was her vision:—"Vidit enim stantem se in quadam regula ligneâ, et advenientem ad se juvenem splendidum, hilarem atque aridentem sibi, cum illa esset mœrens et mœrore confecta: qui cum causas quæsisset ab ea mœstitiæ suæ quotidianarumque lacrymarum, docendi, ut assolet, non discendi gratia, atque illa respondisset perditionem meam se plangere; jussisse illum quo secura esset, atque admonuisse ut attenderet et videret, ubi esset illa, ibi esse et me. Quod illa ubi attendit, vidit me juxta se in eadem regula stantem. . . . Unde illud etiam, quod cum mihi narrasset ipsum visum, et ego ad id trahere conarer, ut illa se potius non desperaret futuram esse quod eram; continuo sine aliqua hesitatione, Non inquit, non enim mihi dictum est, Ubi ille, ibi et tu; sed, Ubi tu, ibi et ille." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. XI., n. 19, p. 691—692; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

† "Nam et per marina discrimina ipsos nautas consolabatur, a quibus rudes abyssi viatores, cum perturbantur, consolari solent; pollicens eis perventionem cum salute, quia hoc ei tu per visum pollicitus eras." (*Ibidem*, *Lib. VI., Cap. I., n. 1, p. 719.*)

‡ S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. VIII., Cap. XII., n. 30, p. 762—763; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

§ Augustine's son Adeodatus was baptized with them. See how he speaks of the boy:—"Adjunximus etiam nobis puerum Adeodatum ex me natum carnaliter de peccato meo. Tu bene feceras eum. Annorum erat ferme quindecim, et ingenio præveniebat multos graves et doctos viros." (*Ibidem*, *Lib. IX., Cap. VI., n. 14, p. 763.*)

Thy sweet-attuned Church! The voices flowed into mine ears, and the Truth distilled into my heart, whence the affections of my devotion overflowed, and tears ran down and happy was I therein.”*

Mother and son now set out for Africa. But for Monnica the end had already come. She fell ill at Ostia on the Tiber, and was ready to depart, for she felt conscious that her life's work was done, and that it was time for her to take her rest. Hear Augustine's tender words :—

“The day now fast approaching whereon she was to depart this life . . . it came to pass . . . that she and I stood alone, leaning in a certain window, which looked into the garden of the house where we now lay, at Ostia; where removed from the din of men, we were recruiting from the fatigues of a long journey, for the voyage. We were discoursing then together, alone, very sweetly; and ‘forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before,’ we were enquiring between ourselves in the presence of the Truth, which Thou art, of what sort the eternal life of the saints was to be, ‘which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man.’†

. . . Such things was I speaking, and even if not in this very manner, and these same words, yet, Lord, Thou knowest that in that day, when we were speaking of these things, and this world with all its delights became, as we spake, contemptible to us, my mother said: ‘Son, for mine own part I have no further delight in anything in this life. What I do here any longer, and to what end I am here, I know not, now that my hopes in this world are accomplished. One thing there was, for which I desired to linger for a little while in this life, that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I died. My God hath done this for me more abundantly, that I should now see thee withal, despising earthly happiness, become His servant: what do I here?’”‡

“ . . . Scarce five days after, or not much more, she fell sick of a fever; and in that sickness one day she fell into a swoon, and was for a while withdrawn from these visible things. We hastened round her; but she was soon brought back to her senses and looking on me and my brother [Navigius] standing by her, said to us enquiringly: ‘Where was I?’ and then looking fixedly on us, with grief amazed: ‘Here,’ saith she, ‘shall you bury your mother.’ I held my peace and refrained weeping, but my brother spake something, wishing for her, as the happier lot, that she might die, not in a strange place, but in her own land.§ Whereat she, with anxious look, checking him with her eyes, for that he still ‘savoured such things;’ and then

* “Et baptizati sumus, et fugit a nobis sollicitudo vite preterite. Nec satiarar illis diebus dulcedine mirabili, considerare altitudinem consilii tui super salutem generis humani. Quantum fleui in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis Ecclesie tue vocibus commotus acriter! Voces ille infundebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur veritas in cor meum; et exestabat inde affectus pietatis, et credebant lacrymæ, et bene mihi erat enim eis.” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. IX.*, Cap. VI., n. 14, p. 769; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

† *Ibidem*, Cap. X., n. 23, p. 774.

‡ “Dicebam talia, etsi non isto modo et his verbis, tamen, Domine, tu scis quod illo die, cum talia loqueremur, et mundus isto nobis inter verba vilescebat cum omnibus delectationibus suis, tunc ait illa: ‘Fili, quantum ad me attinet, nulla jam re delector in hac vita. Quid hic faciam adhuc, et cur hoc simi nescio, jam consumpta spe lupus sæculi. Unum erat propter quod in hac vita aliquantum immorari cupiebam, ut te christianum catholicum viderem, priusquam morerer. Cumulatim hoc mihi Deus meus prestitit, ut te etiam, contempta felicitate terrena, servum ejus videam: quid hic facio?’” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. IX.*, Cap. X., n. 26, p. 775; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

§ *Ibidem*, Cap. XI., n. 27, p. 775.

looking upon me : 'Behold,' saith she, 'what he saith,' and soon after to us both : 'Lay,' she saith, 'this body anywhere ; let not the care for that any way disquiet you ; this only I request, that you would remember me at the Lord's altar, wherever you be. . . .' On the ninth day then of her sickness, and the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the three and thirtieth of mine, was that religious and holy soul freed from the body."*

"I closed her eyes, and there flowed withal mighty sorrow into my heart, which was overflowing with tears ; mine eyes at the same time, by the violent command of my mind, drank up their fountain wholly dry ; and woe is me in such a strife. But when she breathed her last, the boy Adeodatus burst into a loud lament ; then, checked by us all, held his peace."†

S. Augustine, from his earliest childhood, appears to have combined, in an extraordinary degree, his father's ardent character with that direct tendency towards truth which so greatly ennobled the intellect of Monnica. As his work for the Church was unique, so also was his history. S. Anthony, S. Athanasius, S. Gregory *Thaumaturgus*, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*,—these, from the beginning, seemed to have followed virtue as the sunflower follows the light of day. S. John Chrysostom had his temptations, and he overcame them ; but with S. Augustine the case is different. Of none of the Fathers does he remind one so much, in his fierce passionate nature, as of S. Jerome. But S. Jerome, though he did slip from the narrow way, soon recovered himself. He fearfully chastised his flesh ; he almost expired in the desert ; he, as an athlete, wrestled with, threw, and trampled on self, and for ever after maintained the mastery over his rebellious will. S. Augustine, on the other hand, for years was the slave of sin.‡ His strong passions drew him down and fastened him to earth ; whilst his soaring intelligence, his innate sense of the Beautiful and Eternal, together with his strange yearning after the Sovereign Truth, made him loathe those very habits which were tyrannizing over him. Two master-forces seemed to live and energize within him, each violently dragging him in an opposite direction, till finally, through the efficacy of his mother's prayers, through his love of the name of Christ, and through his craving after wisdom, the lower bonds were snapped asunder, and he shot up and expanded in that tranquil element of supernatural purity and charity which alone could satisfy the desires of his heart.§

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. XI., n. 27, p. 775; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Premebam oculos ejus, et confluebat in precordia mea mœstitudo ingens, et transfluebat in lacrymas; ibidemque oculi mei violento animi imperio resorbent fontem suum usque ad siccitatem, et in tali luctamine valde male mihi erat. Tum vero ubi efflavit extremum spiritum, puer Adeodatus exclamavit in planetum, atque ab omnibus nobis coercitus tacuit." (*Ibidem*, *Cap. XII., n. 29, p. 776.*)

‡ S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. III., n. 5, p. 685; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

§ "Quæ (ratio) se quoque in me comperiens mutabilem, erexit se ad intelligentiam suam; et abduxit cogitationem a consuetudine, subtrahens se contradicentibus turbis phantasmatum,

Whilst the Angelical never had one moment's experience of the stain of an impure thought, whilst his whole youth was passed in the company of God's blessed angels, whilst his calm serene mind, undisturbed by any restlessness of nature, was feeding on the wisdom of the Incarnate, and resting on the peacefulness of God,—Augustine was like a ship tossed in a dark and thundering storm, straining at every seam, creaking in every joint, struck by the curling sea, and shivering with the shock,—ever rising and falling, ever sinking and swerving, and battling with the elements, till heart turned sick and head turned dizzy.

He began as a wayward, headstrong, clever boy; he disliked his lessons; he hated Greek, on account of the difficulties he found in it; whilst his imagination was charmed by the verses of the Latin poets.* His intense sensibility of mind, his glowing imagination, his extreme impressionableness, his passionate violence of heart, and his broad lofty intelligence, seem, in combination, almost too powerful for his self-control. No doubt it was the highly-wrought and fine texture of his spiritual constitution, at times wrenched by the hurricane of his emotions, which, whilst it was the natural cause of his eventual greatness, made his career for many years one of great misery and torment to himself. His excessive fondness of poetry, the great declamatory and rhetorical powers which he displayed at an early age, all point in the same direction. Then his thefts and boyish sins, his lies, his love of amusement, his greediness, his unfairness at play, and his readiness to quarrel with his companions—all of which, with touching compunction, he mentions in his confessions—display the force and rankness of original nature, and point to the many tribulations through which he would have to save his soul.†

When sixteen years of age he left Madura, where he had been sent to learn grammar and rhetoric, and returned home. Here

ut inveniret quo lumine aspergeretur, cum sine ulla dubitatione clamaret incommutabile præferendum esse mutabili; unde nosset ipsam incommutabilem, quod nisi aliquo modo nosset, nullo modo illud mutabili certo præponeret. Et pervenit ad id quod est, in ictu trepidantis aspectus. Tunc vero invisibilia tua, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspexi; sed aciem figere non eavalui; et repensam infirmitate redditus solitis, non mecum ferebam nisi amantem memoriam, et quasi facta desiderantem quæ comedere nondum possem." (*Ibidem*, Lib. VII., Cap. XVII., n. 23, p. 745.)

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. I.*, Cap. XIII., n. 20, p. 670; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

† "Non enim videbam voraginem turpitudinis in quam projectus eram ab oculis tuis. Nam in illis jam quid me fadus fuit, ubi etiam talibus displicebam, fallendo innumerabilibus mendaciis et pedagogum, et magistros, et parentes amore ludendi, studio spectandi iugatoria, et imitandi ludicra inquietudine. Furta etiam faciebam de cellario parentum et de mensa, vel gula imperitante, vel ut haberem quod darem pueris, ludum anum mihi, quo pariter nitiqno delectabantur, tamen vendentibus. In quo etiam ludo fraudulenter victorias, ipse vana excellentie cupiditate victus, sepe aucupabar. Quid autem tam nolebam pati, atque atrociter, si deprehenderem, arguebam, quam id quod aliis faciebam, et si deprehensus arguerer, aevire magis quam cedere libebat?" (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. I.*, Cap. XIX., n. 30, p. 674; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

he spent his days of idleness and dissipation, neglecting his mother's warnings, amusing himself in acts of gratuitous dishonesty. Thus his boyhood passed. During his youth—that is from seventeen to twenty-nine—he was tossed about on the angry sea of passion and unrest. He was first sent to Carthage, at the expense of Romanianus and his mother, to study rhetoric; and his eyes must have shone brightly, when, for the first time, they gazed upon the magnificent theatres and temples, the broad streets and the handsome quays of that vast African city. The port was filled with the shipping of the blue Mediterranean, and the markets with the richest produce of the east; refreshing fountains played in the streets, and the great University, over which floated the white flag, was thronged with a vast concourse of students.* These spent their mornings creating uproar in the schools, and passed their afternoons witnessing gladiators wrestling in the circus, and savage beasts tearing fierce men to pieces in the arena. Madura was celebrated for its teachings and its culture, for its forum, its colleges, and its statues of the gods, but it dwindled into insignificance when brought into comparison with Carthage.

Here it was that Augustine soon proved himself to be first in the class of rhetoric. Here it was that he fell into the company of those licentious young men who went by the name of *Eversores*:—

“And now I was chief in the rhetoric school, whereat I joyed proudly, and I swelled with arrogancy, though (Lord Thou knowest) far quieter and altogether removed from the subverting of those ‘Subverters.’ . . . amongst whom I lived with a shameless shame that I was not even as they.”†

The consequence of all this was almost inevitable. Augustine was carried away by pride and sensuality. Blindness trod on the heel of passion. His reason took a rationalistic turn, he felt disgusted with authority, and joined the sect of the Manicheans. For nine years—from his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year—he remained in this Egyptian darkness. Of his errors with regard to God, Christ, the Mosaic Law, the Patriarchs, the nature of evil, and the cause of sin, and of his

* What young savages the students at Carthage were is evident:—See S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. VIII.*, n. 14, p. 712; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

† “Et major jam eram in schola rhetoris; et gaudebam superbe, et tumebam typho; quanquam longe sedatior, Domine, tu scis, et remotus omnino ab eversoribus quas faciebant Eversores (hoc enim nomen scævum et diabolicum, velut insigne urbanitatis est), inter quos vivebam pudore impudenti, quia talis non eram: et cum eis eram, et amicitia eorum delectabar aliquando, a quorum semper factis abhorrebam, hoc est ab eversoribus, quibus proterre insectabantur ignotorum verecundiam, quam perturbarent gratis illudendo atque inde pascendo malevolas letitias suas. Nihil est illo actu similis actibus demoniorum. Quid itaque verius quam eversores vocarentur? Eversi plane prius ipsi atque perversi, deridentibus eos et seducentibus fallacibus occulte spiritibus, in eo ipso quo alios irridere amant et fallere.” (*Ibidem*, *Lib. III., Cap. III.*, n. 7, p. 685.)

superstition, this is not the place to speak.* He still occupied himself as a rhetorician, and taught first at Thagaste, and then at Carthage. When twenty-six years of age, he wrote his book on "The Fair and the Fit." Whilst at Carthage, his faith in the Manichean teaching was gradually shaken; and this we may regard as the turning-point of his career.

To understand the steady advance of his mind towards the Truth, the grand monastic principle, which is ever coming into prominence in this work, must be borne in mind. S. Augustine was indeed an exceptional saint. Not a Father resembles him in the history of his early life. But below the surface, hidden out of sight, there was in him that which eventually brought him out of darkness into the admirable Light.†

It matters not how antagonistic the natural characters of God's great ones may have been, the principle of *Christ*, or of monasticism, was powerful enough to harmonize the most discordant. This is illustrated in the case of the Angelical and S. Augustine. Each set out, as it were, from opposite poles; but the star which guided them brought them safe to the common port of the Spiritual City.‡

It was Christ, and wisdom, and the impress of the Platonic mind; it was the eloquence and the tenderness of Ambrose, the history of Anthony, and the words of the Apostle Paul, which at last broke the proud spirit of the wayward child of Monnica, and drew him out of cloud and fog, into the comfortable light of the Catholic Church. S. Augustine and S. Thomas were similar in this: both possessed a large generosity of heart, a mighty energy of will, and a noble enthusiasm, which form the most perfect natural basis for the operations of supernal grace.§ See how splendid and Christ-loving a nature God had given to Augustine:—

* See his error, however, regarding our Lord:—S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. IX.*, n. 16, p. 713; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

† See how S. Augustine bursts out in speaking of the One Everlasting Rest of the strong, which moulded so many weak men into heroes of the Cross:—"Cum autem se composuerit et ordinaverit, ac concinam pulchramque reddiderit, audebit jam Deum videre, atque ipsam Fontem unde manat omne verum, ipsumque Patrem Veritatis. Deus magne, qui erat illi oculi! quam sani, quam decori, quam valentes, quam constantes, quam sereni, quam beati! quid autem est illud quod vident? quid, queso? Quid arbitremur, quid astinemus, quid loquamur? Quotidiana verba occurrunt, et sordidata sunt omnia villisimis rebus. Nihil amplius dicam, nisi promitti nobis aspectum pulchritudinis, cuius imitatione pulchra, cuius comparatione feda sunt cætera." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *De Ordine*, Lib. II., *Cap. XIX.*, n. 51, p. 1019.) See also the words:—"Neque enim deerit nobis quærentibus se, qui desuper est Magister omnium." (*De Quantitate Animæ*, Lib. I., *Cap. XXXVI.*, n. 81, p. 1081; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

‡ See how the Saint lays down the monastic principle of seeing Christ through purity of heart and good works:—*Ibidem*, Tom. X., *Pars Prior, De Natura et Gratia*, *Cap. LXV.*, n. 78, p. 286; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XLIV.

§ How clearly S. Augustine saw the necessity of moral rectitude for understanding Divine things!—"Quoniam magnus es, Domine, et humilia respicias; excelsa autem a longe cognoscis (*Psal. CXXXVII.*, 6): nec propinquas nisi obtritis corde; nec inveniris a superbis, nec si illi curiosa peritila numerent stellas et arenam, et dimittantur siderens plagas, nec vestigent vias astrorum." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. III.*, n. 3, p. 707; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

"As a boy I had already heard of an eternal life, promised us through the humility of the Lord our God stooping to our pride; and even from the womb of my mother, who quietly hoped in Thee, I was sealed with the mark of His Cross and salted with his salt."

And when as a boy he thought himself in danger, he says:—

"Thou sawest my God (for Thou wert my keeper) with what eagerness and what faith I sought, from the pious care of my mother and Thy Church, the Mother of us all, the baptism of Thy Christ my Lord and God."*

Such was the influence, which, together with a genuine love of wisdom, worked such marvels in S. Augustine's soul.

Speaking of the season of his darkness he exclaims:—

"O Truth, Truth, how inwardly did even then the marrow of my soul pant after Thee, when they often and diversely, and in many and large books, echoed of Thee to me, though it was but an echo! And these were the dishes wherein to me, hungering after Thee, they, instead of Thee, served up the sun and moon, beautiful works of Thine, but yet Thy works, not Thyself, no nor Thy first works.† For Thy spiritual works are before these corporeal works, celestial though they be, and shining. But I hungered and thirsted not even after those first works of Thine, but after Thee Thyself, the Truth, 'in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning:' yet they still set before me in those dishes, glittering fantasies, than which better were it to love this very sun (which is real to our sight at least) than these fantasies which by our eyes deceive our mind. Yet because I thought them to be Thee I fed thereon: not eagerly, for Thou didst not in them taste to me as Thou art; for Thou wast not these emptinesses, nor was I nourished by them, but exhausted rather."‡

How strange and mysterious are not the yearnings of great and ardent spirits! They seem to feel, with inexpressible intensity, the hollowness of all that smiles so confidently on the surface of the world; and even in the midst of the most fascinating dissipations of life, there is a voice speaking, or ready to speak, in the centre-tabernacle of their soul, telling them, in spite of themselves, that the earth passes, and will pass, with sun and moon and stars; and that the real earth and the real

* "Audieram enim ego adhuc puer de vita aeterna nobis promissa per humilitatem Domini Dei nostri descendentes ad superbia nostra: et signabar jam signo crucis, ejus et condecabar ejus sale, jam inde ab utero matris meae, quae multum speravit in te. Vidiisti, Domine, cum adhuc puer essem, et quodam die pressi stomachi repente restitarem pene moriturus: vidiisti, Deus meus, quoniam custos meus jam eras, quo motu animi et qua fide baptismum Christi tui Dei et Domini mei flagitavi a pietate matris meae, et matris omnium nostrum Ecclesiae tuae." (*Ibidem*, Lib. I., Cap. XI., n. 17, p. 668.)

† S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. VI.*, n. 10, p. 687; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

‡ "Priora enim spiritualia opera tua, quam ista corporea, quamvis lucida et celestia. At ego nec priora illa, sed teipsam, te, Veritas, in qua non est commutatio nec momenti obumbratio (*Jacobi*, I., 17), esuriebam et sitiebam; et apponebantur adhuc mihi in illis ferebris phantasmata splendida, quibus jam melius erat amare istum solem, saltem istis oculis verum, quam illa falsa animo decepto per oculos. Et tamen, quia te putabam, manducabam: non aride quidem, quia nec sapiebas in ore meo sicuti es; neque enim tu eras figura illa inania; nec nutrebar eis, sed exhaurebar magis. Cibum in somnis similissimus est cibis vigilantium, quo tamen dormientes non aluntur; dormiunt enim; at illa nec similia erant illo modo tibi, sicut nunc mihi loenta es: quia illa erant corporalia phantasmata, falsa corpora, quibus certiora sunt vera corpora ista quae videmus visui carneo, sive celestia sive terrestria." (*Ibidem*.)

heaven are to be looked for in the Unseen Kingdom. Augustine appears to have been possessed by a spirit of the other world—his sublime intelligence opening out into the free and expanding realms of spiritual realities, even whilst dragged violently down by the power of a strong and sensual nature.

When nineteen years of age, during his studies he happened to read the Hortensius of Cicero, which contained a fervent exhortation on the love of wisdom. This work, which unfortunately is no longer extant, made a deep impression on his mind. And, in the avowal he makes of this, he shows with what a wondrous grace Christ still wrestled in his spirit, and how our Lord seemed as it were determined, come what would, to set up His kingdom in that large and uncultivated heart.*

Augustine says :—

“And since at that time (Thou, O light of my heart, knowest) Apostolic Scripture was not known to me, I was delighted with that exhortation, so far only that I was thereby strongly roused, and kindled, and inflamed to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and embrace not this or that sect, but wisdom itself whatever it were; and this alone checked me thus enkindled, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this name, according to Thy mercy, O Lord, this name of my Saviour Thy Son, had my tender heart, even with my mother's milk, devoutly drunk in, and deeply treasured; and whatever was without that name, though never so learned, polished, or true, took not entire hold of me.”†

It was his strong craving after this Divine presence which was his salvation. Had it not been for this, in all human probability he would have fallen back into the heresy of Manes, or his incipient scepticism would have developed into atheistical misbelief.

“So then after the manner of the Academics, . . . doubting of everything, and wavering between all, I settled so far, that the Manicheans were to be abandoned; judging that, even while doubting, I might not continue in that sect, to which I already preferred some of the philosophers; to which philosophers notwithstanding, for that they were without the saving Name of Christ, I utterly refused to commit the cure of my sick soul.”

Here, evidently “the saving Name of Christ” shielded him from those philosophers who through their abilities and repu-

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. III.*, Cap. IV. n. 7, p. 685; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

† “Et ego illo tempore, scis tu, lumen cordis mei, quoniam nondum mihi hæc apostollæ nota erant, hoc tamen solo delectabar in illa exhortatione, quod non illam aut illam sectam, sed ipsam, quæcumque esset, sapientiam ut diligerem, et quærerem, et assequerem, et tenerem atque amplexarer fortiter, excitabar sermone illo, et accendebar, et ardebam; et hoc solum me in tanta flagrantia refrangebat, quod nomen Christi non erat ibi. Quoniam hoc nomen secundum misericordiam tuam, Domine, hoc nomen Salvatoris mei Filii tui, in ipso adhuc lacte matris, tenerum cor meum præberat, et alte retinebat; et quidquid sine hoc nomine fulset, quamvis literatum, et expolitum, et veridicum, non me totum rapiebat.” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. III.*, Cap. IV. n. 8, p. 685; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

tation had made a deep impression on his mind. But was this influence merely negative? Assuredly not. He says:—

“I determined therefore so long to be a Catechumen in the Catholic Church, to which I had been commanded by my parents, till something certain should dawn upon me, whither I might steer my course.”*

Augustine's confidence in the theories of the Manicheans had been shaken in many ways. He was present when Helpidius had a controversy with them and upset them on every point;† he knew of the dilemma of Nebridius, which invariably tossed them over, whichever horn they thought fit to choose;‡ and as for Faustus, their greatest champion, the only merit which Augustine found in him was his modesty in acknowledging his own incapacity and ignorance.§ All this would naturally tend to unsettle any earnest and honest mind. Augustine was beginning to doubt of everything; and the few convictions which he at one time possessed were in imminent danger of being undermined.

Whilst in this perilous condition of soul, in spite of his mother's entreaties to the contrary, disgusted by the licentious lives of the Carthage students, he set sail for Rome. Here he took up his abode with a Manichean, fell grievously ill, recovered, and eventually, as has been said before, accepted the office of teacher of rhetoric at Milan.

At this period he was thirty years of age, and during the four following years his complete conversion was effected. The influence of S. Ambrose over him has been spoken of elsewhere. Yet his heart was still set upon honour, wealth, and marriage;|| and he was only restrained from violent excesses by his fear of death and dread of judgment. Next we find him poring over the works of the Platonists, and entering into the refined and lofty teaching of their school. This study seems to have had a spiritualizing effect upon his mind:—

“But having read the books of the Platonists, and thence being taught to search for incorporeal truth, I saw Thy ‘invisible things, understood by those things which are made.’”¶

* *Ibidem*, Lib. V., Cap. XIV., n. 25, p. 718.

† S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum* Lib. V., Cap. XI., n. 21, p. 716; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

‡ *Ibidem*, Lib. VII., Cap. II., n. 3, p. 734.

§ *Ibidem*, Lib. V., Cap. VI., n. 10, p. 710.

|| “Inhabam honoribus, lucris, conjugio; et tu irridebas. Patiebar in eis cupiditatis amarissimas difficultates, te propitio tanto magis quanto minus sinebas mihi dulcescere quod non eras tu. Vido cor meum Domine, qui voluisti ut hoc recordarer et confiterer tibi. Nunc tibi inherens anima mea, quam de visco tam tenuis mortis exuisti. Quam misera erat! et sensum vulneris tu pungebas, ut relictis omnibus converteretur ad te qui es super omnia, et sine quo nulla essent omnia; converteretur, et sanaretur.” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum* Lib. VI., Cap. VI., n. 9, p. 723; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

¶ “Sed tunc, lectis Platoniorum illis libris, posteaquam inde admonitus querere incorpoream veritatem, invisibilia tua, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspexi; et repulsus sensi

Then he applied himself to S. Paul. This was another step in advance. His impressionable nature seemed deeply touched by the sympathetic and noble-hearted Apostle of the Gentiles. Speaking of the Apostle's writings, he exclaims :—

"These things did wonderfully sink into my bowels when I read that 'least of Thy Apostles,' and had meditated upon Thy work, and trembled exceedingly."*

Now came the struggle between inveterate habits and new aspirations. He dreads the severity of a Christian life; yet he burns to imitate the example of Victorinus, of whom Simplicianus (the same who taught S. Ambrose) had spoken to him with such genuine admiration. But it was S. Anthony, that primeval example of true imperial self-denial, who finally touched the heart of S. Augustine, and opened his eyes to the full power of the heroism of the Cross.† The lives of the Solitaries of the Desert came upon him and roused him out of his land of dreams; he had not even heard of the nuns established by S. Ambrose in the suburbs of Milan, and hence his mind and imagination were fresh to receive the impress of the great monastic principle which animated the entire action of S. Anthony of Egypt.

Pontitianus told him the well-known story of how two officers of the emperor—

"In their wandering lighted upon a certain cottage, inhabited by certain of Thy servants, 'poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of heaven,' and they found a little book containing the life of Anthony."‡

And so overcome were they by what they read, that—

"Fixing their hearts on heaven, they remained in the cottage. And both had affianced brides, who when they heard thereof, also dedicated their virginity unto God."§

Words cannot convey the depth of Augustine's emotion on

quid per tenebras animæ meæ contemplari non sinerer, certus esse te, et infinitum esse, nec tamen per locos finitos infinitosve diffundi," &c. (*Ibidem*, Lib. VII., Cap. XX., n. 26, p. 746.)

* *Ibidem*, Cap. XXI., n. 27, p. 748.

† The Saint speaks of his wavering:—S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. VIII.*, Cap. I., n. 1., p. 749; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

‡ "Unde incidit ut diceret nescio quando ac et tres alios conturbinales suos nimirum apud Treveros, cum imperator pomeridiano Circensium spectaculo teneretur, exisse deambulatum in hortos muris contiguos; atque illic ut forte combinati spatiantur, unum secum seorsum, et alios duos iidem seorsum pariterque digressos: sed illos vagabundos irrussisse in quandam casam, ubi habitabant quidam servi tui, spiritu pauperes, quoniam est regnum celorum (*Matth.*, V., 3), et invenisse ibi codicem in quo scripta erat vita Antonii." (*Ibidem*, Cap. VI., n. 15, p. 755.)

§ "Tum Pontitianus et qui cum eo per alias horti partes deambulabant querentes eos, devenerunt in eundem locum. At illi narrato placito et proposito suo, petiverunt ne sibi molesti essent si adjungi recusarent. Isti . . . trahentes eor in terra abiecerunt in podiatum; illi autem affligentes cor secundo inarserunt in eam. Et ambo habebant sponsas; quas posteaquam hoc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipsæ virginitatem tibi." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. VIII.*, Cap. VI., n. 15, p. 755; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

hearing this story. The heroic bent of his nature, and the violence of passion, like two great wrestlers, struggled within his soul. He retired from his companions, and allowed his full heart to flow out in bursts of tears and overwhelming agitation. Whilst thus pouring forth his spirit, he was suddenly surprised and distracted by a voice crying—"Take up and read! Take up and read!" Then, he says himself in his Confessions:—

"Instantly my countenance altered; I began to think most intently, whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words: nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God to open the book, and read the first chapter I should find.*"

"For I had heard of Anthony [see how deeply he was impressed], that coming in during the reading of the Gospel, he received the admonition, as if what was being read, was spoken to him; 'Go sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow Me.' And by such oracle was he forthwith converted unto Thee."†

"Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostles, when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that section, on which my eyes first fell: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities, not in contention and envy. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences.'"

"No further would I read; nor needed I: for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away."‡

This was the occasion on which S. Augustine made his mother "leap for joy" at the tidings which he conveyed to her.

Who is not struck by the workings of grace in the soul of this marvellous man? The Image of Christ hidden in the heart, the beauty of Wisdom attracting the intelligence, and Anthony's trust in the Unseen World freely venturing all for heaven,—who is not amazed at the miraculous influence of these three powers, seeing how they can transform miserable clay into heroic form, and turn the darkness of passion into the light and purity of heaven? Augustine indeed is not merely trans-

* *Ibidem*, Cap. XII., n. 29, p. 762.

† *Ibidem*.

‡ "Nec ultra volui legere; nec opus erat. Statim quippe cum fine hujusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt. Tum interjecto aut digito aut nescio quo alio signo, codicem clausi, et tranquillo jam vultu indicavi Alypio. At ille quid in se ageretur, quod ego nesciebam, sic indicavi. Petit videre quid legissem: ostendi; et attendit etiam ultra quam ego legeram, et ignorabam quid sequeretur. Sequebatur vero: *Infirmum autem in fide recipite* (Rom., XIV., 1). Quod ille ad se retulit, mihi quoque aperuit. Sed tali admonitione firmatus est, placitoque ac proposito bono et congruentissimo animi moribus, quibus a me in melius jam olim valde longeque distabat, sine ulla turbulenta cunctatione conjunctus est. Inde ad matrem ingredimur. Indicamus; gaudet; narramus quemadmodum gestum sit; exultat et triumphat; et benedicebat tibi, qui potens est ultra quam petimus aut intelligimus facere (Ephes., III., 20), quia tanto amplius sibi a te concessum de me videbat, quam petere solebat miserabilibus flebilibusque gemitibus." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. VIII.*, Cap. XII., n. 29—30, p. 762; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

formed, he is transfigured; he shines with the very same radiance as the Angelical himself—so much so indeed, that, though in natural character they may be considered as antagonistic, still their intellects may be almost said to illuminate the theological heavens with one single light: for the mind of the Angelical is little else than the intellect of the great African athlete, divested of its rhetorical colouring, cultured by the method of the schools, and chastened by a wider experience and a severer training.*

When once Augustine had fairly made up his mind to make the holocaustic sacrifice of himself to Christ; then his chains fell from him, he rose steadily and grandly from the earth, his centre became fixed in heaven, and he began to form himself on the philosophy which S. Chrysostom tells us was introduced by Christ.

He renounced all hope of this world (386), embraced celibacy, resigned his professorship, went into retirement, was baptized by Ambrose, and then journeyed to Rome, the Fountain of orthodox faith. Here for a while he remained, to study the discipline and customs of the Mother Church, and to make himself full master of those high transforming principles which had been introduced by Athanasius.†

See how in the Eternal City he comes in contact with the guiding principles of the Eastern athletes. Writing against the Manicheans, in the work "*De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*," he says:—

"Nor will I mention those things which are unknown to you, but by you concealed. For who knows not that the number of Christians, that is, persons of high abstinence, daily spreads more and more throughout the whole world, especially in the East and in Egypt, of which you cannot possibly be ignorant? I will say nothing of those I mentioned a little before who, living most retired quite out of sight of men, contenting themselves with Bread only (which at certain seasons is brought to them) and water, do inhabit most desolate regions, enjoying a converse with God, to whom they adhere with most pure minds, and are most happy in the contemplation of His Beauty, which is discernible by the understanding of those only who are Saints."‡

* See how his heart opened to the words of the Psalmist, whose character was not dissimilar to his own:—S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. IX.*, Cap. IV., n. 8, p. 766—767; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

† See how splendid he is!—"Sed ubi erat tam annoso tempore, et de quo imo altoque secreto evocatus est in momento liberum arbitrium meum, quo subderem cervicem leni iugo tuo, et humeros levi sarcinæ tuæ (*Matth. XI.*, 30), Christe Jesu Adjutor meus et Redemptor meus? Quam anave mihi subito factum est carere suavitatibus nugarum! et quas amittere meum fuerat, jam dimittere gaudium erat. Ejiciebas enim eas a me, vera tñ et summa anavitas: ejiciebas, et intrabas pro eis omni voluptate dulcior, sed non carni et sanguini; omni nec clarior, sed omni secreto interior; omni honore sublimior, sed non sublimibus in se. Jam liber erat animus meus a curibus mordacibus ambiendi et acquirendi, et volutandi atque scalpendi scabellum libidinum; et garriebam tibi claritati meæ et divitiis meis, et saluti meæ Domino Deo meo." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Confessionum Lib. IX.*, Cap. I., n. 1, p. 763; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

‡ *Ibidem*, *De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, Lib. I., Cap. XXXI., n. 65—66, p. 1337—1338.

Then further on he speaks especially of what he witnessed in Rome :—*

“Nor will I negligently pass over another very commendable sort of Christians; those I mean who dwell in cities, far removed from vulgar life. I saw at Milan a Society of holy persons, not a few, over whom was one, a Priest, an excellent man, and very learned. At Rome likewise I knew more such, in which several eminent for gravity, prudence, and Divine knowledge, govern the rest dwelling with them; living in Christian charity, sanctity, and liberty: themselves are chargeable to none, but after the manner of the East, and the authority of the Apostle Paul, they employ themselves in working with their hands. I have understood that many of them keep fasts altogether incredible; not, in refreshing their bodies daily but once, and that at night (which is everywhere usual); but very often continuing three days together, or longer without meat or drink. Nor in men this only, but in women too: who, widows, virgins, living a many of them together, and getting their living by spinning, are governed by the gravest, and those, who amongst them not only are most reputed for forming and composing their manners, but likewise experienced and fittest for forming their minds.”†

The monastic principle thus took possession of the mind of S. Augustine; and he gave himself over to the practice of holocaustic sacrifice. Love of Christ in place of love of self; purity of heart and spirit in place of sensual indulgence; reverence in the place of pride of intellect; and a genuine spirit of adoration in the place of scepticism and misbelief, now animated the entire moral man of this marvellous servant of the Crucified.

Having drunk of the Roman spirit, he sets sail for Carthage, where the famous miracle is worked.‡ Then, he hurries to Thagaste, bent on beginning a career of entire self-immolation. He divests himself of all his goods, and endows the Church with them, and passes three years with his chosen companions in practices of prayer, fasting, and contemplation.§ Possidius, for forty years his familiar friend, thus describes this portion of his life, saying :—

“That he and his lived according to the manner and rule instituted by the holy Apostles; chiefly, that none in the society should have any property, but

* *Ibidem*, Chap. XXXIII.

† “Nec ideo tamen laudabile christianorum genus contempserim, eorum scilicet qui in civitatibus degunt, a vulgari vita remotissimi. Vidi ego diversorum sanctorum Mediolani, non paucorum hominum, quibus unus presbyter præerat vir optimus et doctissimus. Romæ etiam plura cognovi, in quibus singuli gravitate atque prudentia et divina scientia præpollentes cæteris secum habitantibus præsent, christianæ charitate, sanctitate et libertate viventibus: ne ipsi quidem cuiquam onerosi sunt, sed Orientis more, et Pauli Apostoli auctoritate manibus suis se transigunt. Jejunia etiam prorsus incredibilia multos exercere didici, non quotidie semel sub noctem reficiendo corpus, quod est usquequaque usitatissimum, sed continuum triduum vel amplius sæpissime sine cibo ac potu ducere. Neque hoc in viris tantum, sed etiam in feminis; quibus item multis viduis et virginibus simul habitantibus, et lana ac tela victum quærantibus, præsent singule gravissimæ probatissimæque, non tantum in instituendis componendis moribus, sed etiam instruendis mentibus perite ac paratæ.” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholice*, Lib. I., Cap. XXXIII., n. 70, p. 1339—1340; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

‡ S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. VII., *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XXII., Cap. VIII., n. 3, p. 761—763; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XLI.

§ *Ibidem*, in *Vita (ex scriptis)*, Tom. I., Cap. II., n. 2, p. 161; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

that all things should be common amongst them; and distributed to every one as he had need.”*

The Saint expresses himself thus (to Hilary) on the advantage of abandoning all for God.

“I, considering that perfection of which our Lord spake, when he said to the rich young man: ‘Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come follow Me,’ was vehemently affected with it; and, not by my own strength, but His grace assisting me, did the like. And it shall not be less accounted to me, because I was not rich; for neither were the Apostles rich, who did so before me; but he leaveth the whole world, who relinquisheth both what he hath, and whatever he desireth to have in it. And what good proficiency I made in this way of perfection, I know better than any other man, yet God knoweth better than I; and to this manner of life I exhort others with all my power, and in the name of our Lord, I have companions who are persuaded in it by my ministry.”†

He says to Albina:—

“If the people of Hippo loved me for having despised a few fields of my father’s, and for having embraced the free service of God, neither did they envy the church of Thagaste, which was my native home.”‡

Having grounded himself in the great life-principles of S. Anthony, S. Athanasius, and S. Basil, Augustine spends the rest of his career in defending and expanding the teachings of the Church.

He is invited to Hippo-Regius; there, against his will, he is ordained Priest.§ He founds another monastery; and a house of religious women, for which he writes a Rule, and of which his sister is the head.|| He preaches for Valerius, disputes with Fortunatus, makes an oration before the African Council, and writes many of his works, in the midst of strict fasts and protracted vigils.¶

Valerius now, in spite of the Saint’s opposition, has him consecrated Bishop at Hippo, and soon afterwards dies; S.

* *Ibidem*, in *Vita Auctore Possidio*, *Cap. V.*, p. 37.

† “Ego qui hæc scribo, perfectionem de qua Dominus locutus est, quando ait diviti adolescenti, *Vade, vende omnia que habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in celo; et veni sequere me* (*Math. XIX.*, 21.) vehementer adamavi, et non meis viribus, sed gratia ipsius adjuvante sic feci. Neque enim quia dives non fui, ideo minus mihi imputabitur: nam neque ipsi Apostoli, qui priores hoc fecerunt, divites fuerunt. Sed totum mundum dimittit qui et illud quod habet, et quod optat habere, dimittit. Quantum autem in hac perfectionis via profecerim, magis quidem novi ego, quam quisquam alius homo; sed magis Deus quam ego. Et ad hoc propositum quantis possum viribus alios exhortor, et in nomine Domini habeo consortes, quibus hoc per meum ministerium persuasum est.” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. II. Epistolarum Classis Epist. III.*, *CLVII.*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 39, p. 692; *Patrolog. Lat.*, *Vol. XXXIII.*)

‡ “Nam si in me dilexerunt quod audierant paucis agellulis paternis contemptis, ad Dei liberam servitutem me fuisse conversum, neque in hoc inviderunt Ecclesie Thagastensi, quæ carnalis patria mea est.” (*Ibidem*, *Epist. CXXVI.*, n. 7, p. 179.)

§ S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, in *Vita (ex scriptis)*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 1, p. 169—also Possidius, *Cap. IV.*, p. 36—37; *Patrolog. Lat.*, *Vol. XXXII.*

|| See full account of his monastery, his disciples, their fame, the spread of the institute, &c.—*Ibidem*, *Cap. V.*, n. 1, 2, 3, &c., p. 174—178.

¶ Regarding his preaching, see:—*Ibidem*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 4, 5, 6, p. 171—174.

Augustine succeeds him, and, taking up his abode in the palace, turns it into a powerful monastic centre, which soon makes its influence felt throughout the Church of Africa. No ecclesiastic was permitted to enter here who had not previously disposed of his estates, who was not prepared to live a life of celibacy, and to be content with community of goods. No priest could find employment in this Church who had not embraced a life of holocaustic sacrifice. It is but natural that this palace-monastery should become a nursery of saints.* The Churches of Africa were only too anxious to obtain the services of men who had given so strong a pledge of their devotedness, as to abandon everything, save God's love, at the very outset of their course. The Sees themselves of this province of the Church were soon filled up by those Apostolic men, who had drawn from the great spirit of Augustine elements of sacrifice, stability, and Christian love. Possidius says that, at the request of those concerned, the Bishop of Hippo had sent as many as ten "holy and reverend, learned and continent persons," to preside over various Sees.†

It would occupy too much space to write at length on Augustine's unwearied labours in the service of the Church during these years, or to show how manfully he opposed the heretical teachings of the Manicheans, Donatists, Pelagians, and Arians, and overset the arrogant pretensions of the pagans. During his episcopal career he carried on a continued warfare against special errors, either by confronting the enemy in personal conflict, or by wielding his vigorous, logical, and energetic pen.‡ Possidius says:—

"In the tumult of so many secular distractions, so much was written and published by him, so many things discoursed in the Church taken down by Notaries, and afterwards corrected—either writings against divers heretics, or Expositions of the Holy Scriptures,—that even a man who is very industrious can hardly peruse or read them all over."§

As he approached the end, the Saint rose more and more into

* *Ibidem*, Cap. V., n. 3, p. 176.

† S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Possidio, Cap. XI., p. 42; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

‡ For his principal works see *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I.—XI. Tom. I.—*Contra Academicos*, Libb. III., p. 906—958 (circa 386); *De Magistro*, Lib. I., p. 1193—1221; *De Beata Vita*, Lib. I., p. 959—976; *De Ordine*, Libb. II., p. 978—1020; *Soliloquiorum*, Libb. II., 869—904; *De Immortalitate Animæ*, Lib. I., p. 1021—1036 (circa 388); *De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, et de Moribus Manichæorum*, Libb. II., p. 1310—1378; *De Musica*, Libb. VI., p. 1081—1194. Tom. III., *Pars I.*, *De Verâ Religione*, Lib. I., p. 121—172; *De Genesi Contra Manichæos*, Libb. II., p. 173—220. Tom. I., *De Libero Arbitrio*, Libb. III., p. 221—430 (circa 395). Tom. III., *Pars I.*, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Libb. IV., p. 1041—1230 (circa 400).

§ "Tanta autem ab eodem dictata et edita sunt, tantaque in Ecclesia disputata, excepta atque emendata, vel adversus hæreticos conscripta, vel ex canonicis Libris exposita ad adificationem sanctorum Ecclesiæ filiorum, ut ea omnia vix quisquam studiosorum perlegere et nosse sufficiat." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita* Auctore Possidio, Cap. XVIII., p. 49; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

that region in which the great Angelical spent his entire life. His mind became replenished with spiritual delights; human science became distasteful to him; the Holy Scriptures filled his heart with supernatural joy. His soul was weaned of sensible things; and though his health was always delicate, he spent his days and nights in prayer, and in studying and writing on spiritual things.*

He expresses the whole principle which is the centre-life of the monastic idea in these words:—

“A right spirit which causeth the soul not to stray or err in seeking Truth, is not restored in her, till the heart be first clean: that is, till first the cogitation hath restrained and purified itself from all desires, and dregs of mortal things. And now in this vision itself, and contemplation of Truth (which is the seventh and last ascent of the soul, nor yet so truly an ascent, as a certain mansion, whereto by the former ascent she arrives) what joys are there, what a full fruition of the true and Sovereign Good, and the delicious flavour of what a serenity and eternity! What can I say? These things have been said (so far as they thought fit to say them), by those great and incomparable souls, whom we believe to have seen, and still to see, and experience them. But this now I dare say; that, if we do most constantly hold on the course which God hath commanded, and we have undertaken, we shall attain by the power of God, and by wisdom, to this supreme Cause, or Author, or Principle of all things: Who once understood by us, we shall well discern how all things under the sun are *Vanitas Vanitatum*.† . . . And so great delight there is in contemplating this Truth, so great purity, so great clearness, so undoubted a belief of things, that one then thinks himself not to have known anything besides, which he thought he knew; and, for the less impediment of the whole soul to inhere in the whole Truth, Death itself, that is, an absolute escape and flight from the body, before so dreaded, is now as the greatest benefit desired.”‡

These words, though written early after his conversion, express the tenor of his mind and the practice of his episcopal life. Of the sweet order of his monastic palace, the frugality, yet hospitality of his table, of the miracle he wrought, and of his abstraction from the world, Possidius has treated at length. His hatred of uncharitable conversation is evidenced by the

* Here are some more of his works:—*Tom. VI.*—De Catechizandis Rudibus, Lib. I., p. 309—349. *Tom. IX.*—Contra Epistolam Parmeniani, Libb. III., p. 33—107; De Baptismo contra Donatistas, Libb. VII., p. 107—245. *Tom. VIII.*—Contra Faustum Manicheum, Libb. XXXIII., p. 207—519 (circa an. 400). *Tom. I.*—Confessionum Libb. XIII., p. 659—905 (circa an. 400). *Tom. VI.*—De Bono Conjugali, Lib. I., p. 373—395 (circa an. 401); De Sancta Virginitate, Lib. I., p. 395—429 (circa an. 401). *Tom. IX.*—De Unitate Ecclesie, Lib. I., p. 391—445; Contra Litteras Petiliani, Libb. III., p. 245—391. *Tom. VIII.*—De Actis cum Felice Manicheo, Libb. II., p. 519—551 (circa an. 404); De Natura Boni contra Manicheos, Lib. I., p. 551—571 (an. 405); Contra Secundinum Manicheum, Lib. I., p. 551—571 (an. 405); Contra Cresconium, Libb. IV., p. 445—595; De Unico Baptismo, Lib. I., 595—613; De Gestis cum Emerito, p. 697—707 (an. 418); Contra Gaudentium Donatistam, 707—753 (an. 420). *Tom. X.*—De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione et de Baptismo Parvulorum, Libb. III., p. 109—199; De Spiritu et Littera, Lib. I., p. 199—247. *Tom. IV.*—De Fide et Operibus, Lib. I., p. 197—231 (an. 413).

† *Eccles.*, I., 2.

‡ S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, De Quantitate Animæ, Lib., I., Cap. XXXIII., n. 75—76, p. 1076; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

words carved on his table, and to the spirit of which he made all who sat at meat with him strictly adhere—

“Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.”*

What a privileged board was that at which presided so great a genius and so admirable a saint! and how winning must not have been his appearance, if the old portrait at Milan in any way resembles him!† Dark in complexion, of a frail yet graceful form, with a broad brow, with a penetrating, sweet, and concentrated expression, the natural nobility and candour of his soul must have added an exquisite distinction to his manner. The most perfect expression of genius, combined with the highest type of Christian civilization, must have rendered S. Augustine one of the rarest specimens of choice humanity which has ever been fashioned by the hand of God into a pillar of the Church.

But this brief account of the great Bishop of Hippo must now be drawn to a close. He continued preaching and writing to the end; and, in the midst of all the horrors of the Vandal invasion, he retained his peace of mind and self-possession, and wrote to Honoratus a letter full of apostolic wisdom, pointing out the duty of priests during the perilous time of war.‡

And indeed the terrific scourge which visited the teeming and opulent coast of Africa, was enough to shake the nerve of the stoutest man. The Vandals—boiling over with lust, maddened

* “Cochlearibus tantum argenteis utens, cætera vasa quibus mense inferebantur cibi, vel testea, vel lignea, vel marmorea fuerunt: non tamen necessitati inopia, sed proposito voluntatis. Sed et hospitalitatem semper exhibuit. Et in ipsa mensa magis lectionem vel disputationem, quam epulationem potationemque diligebat et contra pestilentiam humanæ consuetudinis in ea scriptum ita habebat:—

Quisquis amat, &c.

Et ideo omnem convivam a superfluis et noxiis fabulis et detractionibus sese abstinere debere admonerebat.” (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I. in *Vita*, Auctore Possidio, Cap. XXII., p. 52; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

† It is thus described:—“E vestito in una forma veramente propria o di quel tempi o per lo meno de' paesi dell' Africa; nè è molto dissimile da quella che anco ne' nostri giorni si costuma generalmente in Levante. Il colore è vermiglio tendente al fosco; la fronte stesa: lo sguardo penetrante sì, ma dolce e sospeso; la stuttura del corpo ristretta e gentile.”

‡ See *Tom. VI.*—De Bono Viduitatis, Lib. I., p. 429—451 (circa an. 414). *Tom. VII.*—De Civitate Dei, Libb. XXII., p. 1—804 (begun in 413, ended in 426.) *Tom. X.*—De Natura et Gratia, Contra Pelagium, Lib. I., p. 247—291; De Perfectione Justitiæ Hominis, p. 241—391 (an. 415). *Tom. III.*—De Genesi ad Litteram, Libb. XII., p. 245—485. *Tom. IV.*—Pars Prior, Enarrationes in Psalmos, Psalm. I.—LXXIX., p. 1—1028. *Tom. IV.*—Pars Posterior, Psalm. LXXX.—CL., p. 1033—1966. *Tom. VII.*—De Trinitate, Libb. XV., p. 819—1098 (begun 400, ended 416). *Tom. III.*, P. II.—In Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus CXXIV., p. 1379—1977; In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos, Tractatus X., p. 1977—2063; *Tom. X.*—De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, p. 359—413 (an. 418). *Tom. V.*—Sermo, &c., p. 1—1735. *Tom. X.*—De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia, Libb. II., p. 415—475 (an. 419—420). *Tom. VI.*—De Conjugiis Adulteriis, Libb. II., p. 451—487 (an. 419). *Tom. X.*—De Anima et ejus Origine, Libb. IV., p. 475—549 (an. 419—420). *Tom. III.*—Locutionum Libb. VII., p. 485—547; Questionum in Pentateuchum, Libb. VII., p. 547—825. *Tom. X.*—Contra Dnas Epistolas Pelagianorum, Libb. IV., p. 549—641. *Tom. IX.*—Contra Gaudentinum, Libb. II., p. 707—753. *Tom. VI.*—Contra Mendacium, Lib. I., p. 517—547. *Tom. VIII.*—Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum, Libb. II., p. 603—665 (an. 419—420). *Tom. X.*—Contra Julianum, Libb. VI., p. 641—881 (an. 421). *Tom. I.*—Regula ad Servos Dei, p. 1377—1384 (an. 422—423). *Tom. III.*, P. I.—De Doctrina Christiana, Libb. IV., p. 15—121 (an. 426). *Tom. X.*—De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, Lib. I., p. 881—915 (an. 426—429); De Correctione et Gratia, Lib. I., p. 915—959. *Tom. VII.*—Contra Sermo, Lib. I., p. 693—709; De Hæresibus, Lib. I., p. 21—51 (an. 428—429). *Tom. X.*, P. II.—De Predestinatione Sanctorum, Lib. I., p. 959—993; De Dono Perseverantiæ, Lib. I., p. 993—1049; Contra secundum Juliani Responsionem, imperfectum opus, Libb. VI., p. 1049—1611.

with cruelty and crime, and frenzied with Arian hatred of the orthodox faith—carried with them a spirit of savage cruelty, which turned the beautiful nature of God into a howling wilderness. Destruction was their one aim, and terribly did they carry it into effect. They pillaged, burnt, sacked, cut to pieces, razed to the ground, scattered to the winds, stamped into the earth, whatever bore about it a mark of life, civilization, or religion. They ransacked the churches, smashed to atoms the ornaments, and then set the sacred edifices in flames, till nothing but charred ruins and blackened walls met the eye. Even the harmless trees were not spared—they hacked them to bits too, lest they should give food to that wretched remnant of the population, which, having fled to the woods or hidden in the mountains, or crept into the vaults, had escaped the cruel fate of their companions.* No distinction was made of age or sex. Old men, delicate women, children just born, all were trodden out of life, or broken and maimed by the violent fury of these savages. Bishops and priests were tortured and burned to death. Monks and virgins were dispersed, or made captives, or immolated. Many died of sheer want of food; many walked the roads absolutely naked, without a friend of any kind to help them, and piteously begged for bread. A smoking furnace, with every horror of blood, iron, and tears, was all that remained of one of the most opulent and fruitful portions of the Roman world. At length only three cities were left which had not been visited by these demons in the shape of men—Carthage, Hippo, and Cirta.†

Finally, the time came for Hippo to be besieged. S. Augustine, now an old man of seventy-six, was struck down by fever. He was in the midst of his own, surrounded by the community which he had so carefully formed, and attended by several bishops, amongst whom were Possidius, and his old familiar school companion Alypius. Speaking of this period, Possidius says:—

“We used continually to converse together about the misfortunes in which we were involved, and contemplated God’s tremendous judgments which were before our eyes, saying, ‘Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgment is right.’ One day, at meal time, as we talked together, he said, ‘Know ye that in this our present calamity I pray God to vouchsafe to rescue this besieged city, or (if otherwise) to give His servants strength to bear His will, or, at least, to take me to Himself out of this world.’ We followed his advice, and both ourselves, and our friends, and the whole city, offered up the same

* See Newmam’s *Church of the Fathers*, p. 229. *Fourth Edition*.

† Poujoulat, *Historie de Saint Augustin*, Tom. II., Chap. LIII., p. 477—478. *Seconde Edition*.

prayer with him. On the third month of the siege, he was seized with a fever, and took to his bed, and was reduced to the extreme of sickness.*

"He had been used to say in familiar conversation, that after receiving baptism, even approved Christians and priests ought not to depart from the body without a fitting and sufficient course of penance. Accordingly, in the last illness, of which he died, he set himself to write out the special penitential psalms of David, and to place them four by four against the wall, so that, as he lay in bed, in the days of his sickness, he could see them. And so he used to read and weep abundantly. And lest his attention should be distracted by any one, about ten days before his death, he begged us who were with him to hinder persons entering his room except at the times when his medical attendants came to see him, or his meals were brought to him.† Till this last illness, he had been able to preach the word of God in the Church without intermission with energy and boldness, with healthy mind and judgment. He slept with his fathers in a good old age, sound in limb, unimpaired in sight and hearing, and, as it is written, while we stood by, beheld, and prayed with him. We took part in the Sacrifice to God at his funeral, and so buried him."‡

Such was the death of this Father of the Church. So he ended who summed up in himself, and manifested in their fullest bloom, the special characteristics of the Patristic period. A large solitary light, steadily shining in the Church of Africa, separate as it were from the great luminaries of Asia Minor and Syria, of Palestine and Egypt, he appears to the eye of the theologian, when the other planets have retired from the heavens, as the beautiful day-star, bearing within itself all the illuminations of the night, and shedding them upon the earth with a ray as intense as it is pure.

His long eventful career, from his boyhood to the grave, had been one abiding struggle. In the first portion of his life he had to wrestle with himself; in the second, he was engaged in single combat with the enemies of the Church. The dust of

* "Unde nobiscum sepiissime colloquebamur, et Dei tremenda iudicia præ oculis nostris posita considerabamus, dicentes: 'Justus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.' (Psalm. CXVIII., 137.) Pariterque dolentes, gementes et flentes orabamus miserationum Patrem et Deum omnis Consolationis (2 Cor., I., 3), ut in eadem nos tribulatione sublevare dignaretur. Et forte provenit, ut una cum eodem ad mensam constitutis, et inde confabulantibus nobis diceret: 'Noveritis me hoc tempore nostræ calamitatis id Deum rogare, ut aut hanc civitatem ab hostibus circumdatam liberare dignetur, aut si aliud ei videtur, suos servos ad perferendam suam voluntatem fortes faciat, aut certe ut me de hoc sæculo ad se accipiat. Quæ ille dicens, nosque instruens, deinceps cum eodem et nos, et nostri omnes, et ipsi qui in eadem fuerant civitate, a summo Deo similiter petebamus.'" (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Possidio, Cap. XXVIII.—XXIX., p. 59; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.)

† S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Possidio, Cap. XXXI., p. 63—64; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII.

‡ "Et ita observatum ac factum est: et omni illo tempore orationi vacabat. Verbum Dei usque ad ipsam suam extremam egritudinem impræternisse, alacriter et fortiter, sana mente, sanoque consilio in ecclesia prædicavit. Membris omnibus sui corporis incolumis, integro aspectu atque auditu, et, ut scriptum est, nobis adstantibus, et videntibus, et cum eo pariter orantibus obdormivit cum patribus suis, eunxit in bona senectute; et nobis coram pro ejus commendanda corporis depositione sacrificium Deo oblatum est, et sepultus est. Testamentum nullum fecit, quia unde faceret pauper Dei non habuit. Ecclesie bibliothecam, omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper jubebat. . . . Juxta quod etiam secularium quidam poetarum, suis jubens quo sibi tumulum mortuo in aggre publico collocarent, pro-grammate fluxit, dicens,

Vivere post obitum vatem vis nosse, viator,
Quod legis ecce loquor, vox tua nempe mea est."

(*Ibidem*, p. 64.)

battle and the excitement of war were ever at his door. Like Athanasius and Gregory, like Chrysostom and Jerome, like Ambrose and Basil, he was ever ready, armed *cap-à-pie*, expecting the onslaught of the enemy, or with lance in rest, hurling himself into the midst, and overbearing, in his impetuous onset, the heretic, schismatic, and pagan.* No one has ever had the force of arm to smite as he. No knight was ever so bold, so brilliant, so victoriously a conqueror. No Father of the Catholic Church possessed such versatility, so extraordinary a combination of moral and intellectual gifts. He had known from experience what human passions were. He had been schooled in the difficulties of life. His imagination was elastic and warm; his reasoning power immense; his poetic and dramatic genius great; his knowledge of the religions and philosophies of the past unrivalled. Who so soaring in his gift of abstract thought? Who so wide in his vision of the spreading map of human act and theory? Who so elevated in his standpoint—like a man on a mountain-top surveying the world below? Who looked down on the enemy, detected his position, turned his weak points to such account, as this great champion of the Church in a dark and difficult day? Such force of logic and such electricity of fancy—when have they been so harmonized before?† Then, who so loyal to the Church, so reverential towards faith, so fearful of the aberrations of the reason, as S. Augustine? Who so humble in acknowledging a fault, so ready to correct an error, so truly great in the marvellous candour of his Confessions, and so truly splendid in the Christianity of his generous, burning, loving heart?

His great work "*De Civitate Dei*" is an index to the character of his mind, and to the nature of the labour he was called

* The principal dates in S. Augustine's career are as follows:—Born, Nov. 13, 354; returns from Madura, 370—1; at Carthage, 371; birth of his child Adeodatus, 372; reads Cicero's *Hortensius*, 373; becomes a Manichean, 374; teaches at Thagaste—returns to Carthage, 376; writes *De Pulchro et Apto*, 379; becomes a sceptic and goes to Rome, 383; to Milan, 385; studies S. Paul—is converted, 386; baptized by S. Ambrose—his mother dies, 387; returns to Africa, 388; made Presbyter, 389; writes against the Manicheans, 392; and the Donatists, 394; made Bishop, 395; writes the *Confessions—De Trinitate—Valerius dies*, 397; Council of Carthage, 398; refutes Petilianus, 402; asks to be protected against the Donatists, 404; writes *De Urbs Rome Obsidione*, 408; efforts against the Donatists, 411; *De Civitate Dei*, 413; *De Geniti Palest. Synodi circa Pelagium*, 417; writes against Priscillianists, 420; Semi-Pelagians, 424; appoints a successor, 426; writes the *Retractions*, 428; answers Prosper and Hilary, 429; dies, Aug. 28, 430. (*Cf. Library of the Fathers, Vol. I., S. Augustine's Confessions, p. 347. Oxford.*)

† Speaking of S. Augustine's exceptional position amongst the Fathers, Bindemann says:—"Damit dieses geschah, kam Verschiedenes bei ihm zusammen: eine Vereinigung von Geistes-eigenschaften, die oft nicht vereinigt sind, und noch viel seltener in solchen Masse und solcher Harmonie vereinigt sind; ein inniger Sehnsuchtszug der Seele zur Gemeinschaft mit Gott, durch Eindrücke kirchlicher Frömmigkeit früh genährt; ein Gemüth, das auf eine von allem Kleinlichen entfernte Erhabenheit, auf Einfachheit, Milde, Demuth und heiligen Ernst angelangt war; eine mit Forschungsdrang verbundene Kraft des Denkens, die ihn zu den höchsten und tiefsten Problemen des Erkennens, bis an die Grenzen des Erreichbaren führte und in bewunderungswürdiger Dialektik sich ausbreitete; ein reiches Gefühlsleben innerlicher Contemplationen, in denen seine Seele zu ruhen liebte und aus denen wohl die Phantasie mächtig ihre Flügel auszubreiten strebte, wobei sie aber doch wieder von Besonnenheit und Nüchternheit gezügelt ward." (*Der heilige Augustinus, Dritter und letzter Band, Zweite Abtheilung, Zweites Capitel, p. 926.*)

upon to accomplish. His fifteen books "*De Trinitate*," his treatise "*De Vera Religione*," his polemic against the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians—all are evidences to his mighty grasp and force of mind; but his "*De Civitate Dei*" may be looked upon as his *Summa Theologica*.^{*} It speaks of the man, and of the times. Its method is especially Patristic; its conception large, broad, and dramatic; it is history and poetry; it is creative and exuberant; it impresses the imagination by the depth of its principles, the elevation of its standpoint, and the vastness of its design. The two great antagonistic cities standing over against each other—Babylon and Jerusalem, bring before the mind the idea of huge combats, mighty battlings between fierce opposing hosts,—the powers of paganism and the heroism of the Cross. Such a work was suited to the genius of that period; it told upon it, and subdued it by the sublimity of the picture which is engraved upon the mind.

Poujoulat says—

"The 'City of God' is a marvellous monument, on account of the novelty, the height, and the breadth of its design, and the number of its facts and ideas; no genius before S. Augustine had ever seen so many things so accurately, and from so high an elevation.† The 'City of God' is as it were the encyclopedia of the fifth century; it embraces all epochs, and all questions, and answers them all. It is the Christian poem of our destinies in their relation with our beginning and our last end. The 'City of God' and the 'Confessions' after being read and re-read for fourteen centuries, will yet continue to be studied as long as a trace of human letters remains; because these two works, which have God and man as their subject, preserve their interest in spite of all the revolutions of time."‡

Just as the classic Church Fathers are summed up in S. Augustine; just as he, through his breadth of mind and grasp, drew into one, as it were, the whole teaching of the past—so with the great Angelical. He, in his place and way, did in the "*Summa Theologica*" what S. Augustine did in the "*De Civitate Dei*." They are both of them epoch-making works, and express a synthesis which is the outcome of many centuries

^{*} Speaking of this work, Bindemann says:—"Wie ein Wanderer, der eine Gegend durchwandert, die im Einzelnen viele bedeutende Ansichten darbietet und dabei einen Ort enthält, von welchem aus die einzelnen bedeutenden Punkte mit einem Gesamtblick überschaut werden können, wohl zuletzt diesen Ort besucht, um endlich noch das Gesamtbild dessen, was im Einzelnen anziehend für ihn gewesen war, in sich aufzunehmen; so erscheint es auch angemessen, die Charakteristik der Schriften Augustinus mit seinem grossen apologetischen Werke abzuschliessen. Es giebt Schriften, von denen man im besondern Sinne sagen kann, dass ihre Verfasser durch deren Vollendung Lebensaufgaben erfüllt haben. Nämlich besonders von solchen Schriften wird man dies sagen, welche den Verfasser nicht nur längere oder kürzere Zeit, sondern überhaupt während seines literarischen Lebens beschäftigt haben. In diesem Sinne darf gesagt werden, dass Augustinus durch sein Werk 'vom Gottesstaat' eine Lebensaufgabe erfüllte." (*Ibidem*, p. 795.)

† See how S. Augustine speaks of those who thought of answering him:—*Opp. Omnia*, Tom. VII., *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. V., Cap. XXVI., n. 2, p. 174; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. XLI.

‡ *Histoire De Saint Augustin, sa Vie, ses Œuvres, son Siècle, Influence de son Génie*, Tome II., Chap. XLIX., p. 421. *Seconde Edition*.

of labour, and of the brain-toil of many able men. A comparison between the matter and form of these two efforts of genius would bring out very clearly the relative opportunities, characters, and talents of the men.

But here another, and the last, as he may be called, of the great classic Fathers must be treated of; and then the four Latin and four Greek pillars of the Church will have been discussed. Doubtless, the Angelical was influenced by other teachers; but those regarded by the Church as her special Doctors may be fairly held as typical of the rest.

Gordianus, the Father of S. Gregory the Great, was a man of noble family and of saintly life. His three sisters dedicated their virginity to God. His wife, Silvia, became a canonized saint. She abandoned the world when an occasion offered, and, hiding herself away in a place called the "*Cella Nova*," near the Basilica of S. Paul's, she spent the remainder of her life in prayer, penance, and contemplation. S. Gregory was probably born about the year 540.* Little is handed down regarding his early childhood. Gregory of Tours says that he was taught grammar, dialectics and rhetoric; and that he was second to none in his proficiency in these arts. He was endowed with good memory and quick parts, and had a natural esteem for the teachings of authority. Law and philosophy were not neglected by him, and his earnest craving after knowledge gave evidence of that future which was realized in his career.

The principal strategic centres have now been touched upon—Alexandria, Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, Bethlehem, Milan, Hippo—and now we come to Rome. Theology, ecclesiastical politics, Scripture, eloquence: the bishop, the orator, the Biblical, the preacher,—these have been dwelt upon in their different offices, and have been shown to shed within the Church their various lights.† Now we approach the crown of all, the Sovereign Pontiff, who was the first monk-Pope, and the first great luminary, who, by the universal consent of Chris-

* Paul the Deacon speaks thus of the parentage of S. Gregory:—"Gregorius hac urbe Romanæ, patre Gordiano, matre vero Silvia editus, non solum de spectabili senatorum prosapia, verum etiam religiosa, originem duxit. Nam Felix, istius apostolice sedis antistes, vir magnæ virtutis, et Ecclesiæ in Christo gloria, ejus avus fuit. Sed tamen hanc Gregorius tanta nobilitatis lineam moribus extulit, probis actibus decoravit. Denique, ut post in propatulo claruit, non sine magno quodam præsigio tale sortitus est nomen. Gregorius namque ex Græco eloquio in nostra lingua vigilator, seu vigilans sonat. Re etenim vera vigilavit sibi, dum divinis inluerendo præceptis, laudabiliter vixit. Vigilavit, et fidelibus populis, dum doctrinæ affluentis ingenio eis quo tramite cœlestia scanderent patefecit." (Sanct. Gregorii, *Opera Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Paulo Diacono, *Monacho Cassinensi*, n. 1, p. 42; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXXV.)

† See the high opinion entertained of S. Gregory the Great by S. Gregory of Tours, his contemporary:—*Lit. Hist. Cap. I.*; by S. Isidore, *Lit. De Illust. Eccles. Script.*, Cap. XXVII.; by John the Deacon, *Lit. I.*, Cap. XVII.; *De Vita S. Gregorii*; by Venerable Bede, *Lit. II.*, *Ital. Eccles. Gentis Anglorum*, Cap. I.; by Pope Hadrian I., *Ad Episcopos Hispaniæ*, Tom. VII., *Comest.*, p. 1017; and by many others mentioned in S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., p. 487—500; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXXV.

tendom, has been styled "*Magnus*," as well as "*Sanctus*." Scripture, oratory, theological lore, and governing powers of the highest order, seem to have been combined in this great Benedictine, in such unusual proportions as to have lifted him far above the level of distinguished men. He shines even at this day, through the haze of so many hundreds of years, with a radiance specially his own. Breadth of mind, benevolence, a large heart, a certain magnificence combined with true humility, a stubborn will, joined to a gracious courtesy and tenderness of manner—a Patriarchal Sovereign Pontiff, seated on the Chair of Peter, and ruling, in a dark and stormy day, a crumbling world—such a picture as this is presented to the imagination when the name of Gregory the Great is brought before the mind.*

Born in the midst of splendour and wealth, with a brilliant career open to him, it seemed little probable that the accomplished son of Silvia would throw up the charms of life, and embrace poverty and the Cross.

The very society into which he was cast, held out great temptations to a young man of parts and of ambition. He was made Prefect of the City of Rome, an office of high dignity, and offering every inducement which station, wealth, and influence could hold out for making the best of this world, and for enjoying the honours which it lavishes in such profusion.† Many men, like S. Benedict, or S. Anthony, or S. Basil, have broken with the world before it has placed them in position; many men, after they have tried it and found it fail, have dedicated their declining years to the service of their Master,—but few indeed there are, who, like S. Gregory the Great, in the very flush and high-tide of popularity, when their blood was warm with passion, when the world was dangling its charms before their eyes, have turned their backs upon it, thrown up all its gifts, and in poverty and subjection, have been content, indeed have been overjoyed, to give the rest of their lives to serve Christ crucified, in holocaustic love and blind obedience.‡

* His early tendencies point to his future:—"Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica, ita a pueris est institutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florent adhuc Romæ studia litterarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsa secundus esse putaretur. Ierat ei in parva adhuc ætate matrum jam studium adherere scilicet majorum dictis; et si quid dignum potius auditu percipere, non seganter oblivioni tradere, sed tenaci potius memorie commendare: hauriebatque jam tunc sitibundo doctrinæ fluenta pectore, quæ post congruenti tempore mellito gutture eructaret. Hic in annis adolescentiæ (in quibus solet ea ætas vias sæculi ingredi) Deo capitis devotus existere, et ad supernæ vitæ patriam totis desideriis anhélare." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Paulo Diacono, n. 2, p. 42—43; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

† And indeed the world had some effect even on him. Hear John (not Paul) the Deacon:—"Sed, dum conversionis sue gratiam longius protrahens, intus ac Christo famulaturum putaret, si sub prætoris urbani habitu mundo specie tenus serviret, ceperunt multa contra eum ex ejusdem sæculi cura succrescere; ita ut non jam, sicut proposuerat, specie, sed in eo retineretur et mente." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore, Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I.* n. 4, p. 64—65; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

‡ The following shows what Gregory might have been in the world:—"Quid in hac amplissima dignitate gesserit Gregorius, ignorari a nobis voluit; conjicitur tamen ex morum probitate,

And this is what Gregory was called upon to do by the Voice of Grace, in the prime of manly life. And greatly did the Roman people wonder at him, when they beheld their former Prefect, who had paraded the streets in rich silks covered with sparkling gems, humbly going his way in the penitential sack-cloth of a simple monk.*

He was a select soul from the very first. Probably it was through the influence of his mother that he learnt to love God in tender childhood. The vision of the Unseen World seems to have taken possession of him some considerable time before he made his irrevocable step. Christ had chosen him out for His own, and at length the Voice spoke so strongly, and the attraction became so great, that, breaking through all pretexts, he gave himself over, in poverty of life, to serve his Saviour. Paul the Deacon says that—"in his youthful days, when young men are accustomed to enter the world, Gregory began to serve God devoutly, and to yearn with all his might after the life which is above."†

The Saint seems to be speaking of himself, when he says, in his book of Morals:—

"And because they [holy men] condemn all transitory things, they do not experience the licentious familiarities of the thoughts springing therefrom. For their desires are fixed upon their eternal country alone, and loving none of the things of this world, they enjoy a perfect tranquillity of mind; and hence it is said with justice 'which buildeth desolate places for themselves.' For 'to build desolate places' is to banish from the heart's interior the stirrings of earthly desires, and with single aim at the eternal inheritance to pant in love of inward peace. Had he not banished from himself all the risings of the imaginations of the heart, who said, 'One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord?' . . . Far from the tumult of earthly things he had sought a singular and perfect retreat in a quiet mind, wherein he should see God the more clearly, in proportion as he saw Him alone with himself also alone."‡

juris peritia, iudicii maturitate, strenuitate, vi indefessa in laboribus et negotiis, denique ex tot tantisque animi dotibus quibus quidam purpurarum splendore præfulgebant, cum optima prætoris partes omnes obisset." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n. 4, p. 251; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

* "Et qui ante serico contextu ac gemmis micantibus solitus erat per urbem procedere trabeatus, post villi contextus tegmine, ministrabat pauper ipse pauperibus." (*Ibidem*, *Auctore Paulo Diacono*, n. 4, p. 43.)

† S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita Auctore Paulo Diacono*, n. 2, p. 43; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV. Again:—"Postea tamen plus Prætor, cum intimos animi sensus explorare scrutarique sæpe conuevisset, animadvertit tandem, coacti lumine illustratus, inolita se vitæ secularis, consuetudine devinctum mundique blanditiis irretitum, in ipsis relinquendis moras necitare, neque corpore tantum, ut falso putaverat, sed ipso mentis affectu in sæculo retineri." (*Ibidem*, in *Vita*, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n. 5, p. 252.)

‡ "At contra sancti viri, quia nihil hujus mundi appetunt, nullis procul dubio in corde tumultibus premuntur; omnes quippe inordinatos desideriorum motus a cubili cordis, manu sanctæ considerationis ejiciunt, et quia transitoria cuncta despiciunt, ex his nascentes cogitationum insolentias non patiuntur. Solam namque æternam patriam appetunt; et quia nulla hujus mundi diligitur, magna mentis tranquillitate perficiuntur. Unde recte dicitur: qui ædificant sibi solitudines. Solitudines quippe ædificare, est a secreto cordis terrenorum desideriorum tumultus expellere, et una intentione æternæ patriæ in amorum intimo quietis anhelare. An non eunctos a se cogitationum tumultus expulserat qui dicebat, &c. ? . . . A tumultu rerum temporalium magnam quendam recessum petierat quietam mentem, in qua tanto purius

Here is the explanation of that yearning, expressed with such overpowering sadness in so many letters, sermons, and writings of the Saint, after he had been drawn from the repose of monastic life into the turbulent sea of ecclesiastical politics. It was not idleness he sought, nor was it even peace—in the sense in which the world understands that word; but it was the peace which the world does not understand, and cannot give. Gregory's one desire was after Christ. He wished to "see Him alone with himself alone." He only sought peace, because peace was a condition of vision—because the more all his faculties were at rest from worldly tumult, so much the more clearly would he behold his Saviour.* It was a yearning indescribable which possessed him, after the one real Object which alone can satisfy the heart of man. Gregory from boyhood experienced that innate craving after a larger light, a brighter world, and more satisfying joy than crumbling earth could offer him.

His dread of being inveigled, and the temper of his mind, come out in these words:—

"I then [when at Constantinople] detailed in your ears [Bishop Leander] all that displeased me in myself, since for late and long I declined the grace of conversion, and after that I had been inspired with a heavenly affection, I thought it better to be still shrouded in the secular habit. For though I had now disclosed to me what I should seek of the love of things eternal, yet long-established custom had so cast its chains upon me, that I could not change my outward habit:† and while my purpose still compelled me to engage in the service of this world as it were in semblance only, many influences began to spring up against me for caring for this same world, so that the tie which kept me to it was now no longer in semblance only, but what is more serious, in my own mind. At length being anxious to avoid all these inconveniences, I sought the haven of the monastery and having left all that is of the world, as at that time I vainly believed, I came out naked from the shipwreck of human life.‡"

Deum cerneret, quanto hunc cum se solo solum inveniret." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Moralium Lib. IV.* in *Cap. III. B. Job*, *Cap. XXX.* [*Vet. XXXIV.*], n. 58, p. 668; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

* For example see some of his letters. Writing to Theoctista, the emperor's sister, he says:—"Alta enim quietis mea gaudia peridi, et intus corruens, ascendisse exterius videor. Unde me a conditoris mei facie longe expulsum deploro. Conabar namque quotidie extra mundum, extra carnem fieri, cuncta phantasmata corporis ab oculis mentis abigere, et superna gaudia incorporaliter videre: et non solum vocibus sed medullis cordis ad Dei Faciem adheare, dicebam: Tibi dixit cor meum: Quæsi vultum tuum: Vultum tuum, Domine, requiram (Pa. XXVI., 8).

S. Gregorii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Epistolarum Lib. I.*, *Judic. IX.*, *Epist. V.*, p. 448; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVII. See also *Epist. VI.*, p. 452; *Epist. VII.*, ad Anastasium *Episcopum*, p. 452; *Epist. XXI.*, p. 466; *Epist. XXVI.*, p. 479; *Epist. XXVII.*, p. 480; *Epist. XXX.*, p. 483; *Epist. XLIII.*, p. 496.

† "Dudum te, frater beatissime, in Constantinopolitana urbe cognoscens, cum me illic sedis apostolicæ responsa constringerent, et te illic juncta pro causis fidei Visigothorum legato perduxisset, omne in tuis auribus, quod mihi de me displicebat, exposui: quoniam diu longæque conversionis gratiam distuli, et postquam celestis sum desiderio afflatus sæculari habiti contemmelius putavi. Aperiatur enim mihi jam de æternitatis amore quid quererem, sed innotia me consuetudo devlexerat, ne exteriorem cultum mutarem." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Moralium Libri, Epistola Misoria. Cap. I.*, p. 511; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

‡ "Cumque adhuc me cogeret animus præsentī mundo quasi specie tenuis deservire, coperunt multa contra me ex ejusdem mundi cura succrescere, ut in eo jam non specie, sed, quod est gravius, mente retinerer. Quam tamen cuncta sollicitè fugiens, portum monasterii petii, et relictis quæ mundi sunt, ut frustra tunc credidi, ex hujus vitæ naufragio nudus evasi." (*Ibidem.*)

What greatly inflamed the mind of Gregory was the life of S. Benedict, the Patriarch of Western monks. How minutely and deeply he had studied that life, is evident from his "Dialogues;" and he was hardly twenty years of age when he acquired from his dear familiar friend Constantine, the successor of S. Benedict at Cassino, the information therein contained.* Then he had earnest conversations with Valentinian of the Lateran monastery on the same subject, as well as with Honoratus, the Abbot of Subiaco; and his various works show how his ear had been attuned to the spirit and tenor of the Holy Rule. Indeed, in the whole history of the thousands of saints which this Order has given to the Church, there is not one man who more exquisitely fulfils in his own example those profound instructions given by S. Benedict regarding the character and conduct of the Abbot.† Gregory the Great sitting on the chair of Peter, and legislating for the Universal Church, prudently, lovingly, and supremely governing, is simply the Benedictine Abbot transferred to the Pontifical throne—is simply an expression in the life, of that greatness and that sanctity which flow from the teachings of the inspired Patriarch of Western Monks.

The precise year in which Gregory abandoned his high position in the world, is uncertain—probably in 575.‡ He would then have been in the prime of life. He, like all Church heroes, did not act by halves: what he did, he did earnestly. His vast possessions ceased to please him. The deep love and respect entertained towards him by the Roman people had no effect upon his heart. He threw aside his jewelled silks; divested himself of all his estates; and entered the splendid liberty of monastic life. O, the joy of shaking off the world, and breathing freely in the open air of the house of God, and with ready unincumbered wing, flying towards the sweet Rest of the vision of the Great Supreme!§

* "Vix quidem annum vigesimum attigerat, cum frequentibus colloctionibus a beato Constantino, S. Benedicti discipulo, ejusque in monasterii Casinensis reguline successore, qui anno circiter 60, supra 500, obiisse legitur, jam omnia pene quae de eodem S. Benedicto scripsit toto Lib. II. Dialogorum perfecte didicerat, ut ipse Gregorius testatum reliquit in laudati libri Dialog. praefatione; unde intelligas quae fuerint nobilissimae hujus juvenis studia." (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita ex scriptis ejus, &c.*, n. 5, p. 252; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

† "De eodem argumento, scilicet de S. Benedicti vita, frequenter etiam colloqui solebat cum Valentiniano qui annis multis monasterio Lateranensi praefuit; cum Simplicio, qui S. Benedicti congregationem post eum tertius rexit; et cum Honorato, qui Subiacoensi monasterio praesat; jaque tunc ad aetioris et perfectioris vitae propositum accendi videbatur." (*Ibidem*, ex *eius scriptis adornata*, n. 5, p. 252.)

‡ "Ubi vero quantum licebit assignemus quo tempore, quae ætate Gregorius monachum induerit, id factum subodoramur paulo post subscriptam Laurentii cautionem de qua supra num. 3; hoc est, anno 575, cum quadragenario quinque annis esset minor." (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita ex ejus scriptis adornata*, n. 7, p. 253; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

§ Truly, he says:—"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty!" Speaking of the coveter of riches, he says:—"Sed quia omnia ambiens timere judicem nolit, ex hac vita subtrahit, ad judicem nudus vadit. Cui tamen iniquo ad retributionem minus est quod in subsequenti pena cruciatur, si in hac saltem vita liber esse permittitur. Sed nulla est libertas in culpa, quia scriptum est: *Ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas* (2 Cor., III., 17.). Et plerumque perversa menti ipsa sua culpa fit pena." (*Ibidem*, Tom. I., *Moralium Lib. XV.*, Cap. XX.; B. Job, Cap. XXI. (Pet. XI.), n. 25, p. 1094.)

The use which Gregory made of his wealth shows the attraction of his heart. He established and endowed six Benedictine monasteries in Sicily. He converted his paternal palace into an abbey, and the remainder of his goods he distributed amongst the poor. Having thus disposed of all the world could lavish, with a light heart he entered the seventh monastery, that of S. Andrew's (now called S. Gregory's), near the Coliseum, and, naked, was clothed with the love, grace, and intimate friendship of Jesus Christ. Such, once more, was the influence of the monastic principle on the career of a man of broad mind and generous tender heart. Thus did the cords of Adam and the chains of grace bind and lead captive, as a prisoner of Christ, the great governor of Rome—the admired of the people, and the representative of one of the noblest and richest families of the State.*

He looked forward to the reward, and to an everlasting inheritance. He says—

"Whosoever being urged by the incitement of Divine love, has forsaken all that he possessed here, shall doubtless attain there [in heaven] to the height of judicial power; that he may then come as judge in company with the Judge, who now by consideration of the Judgment chastises himself with voluntary poverty. For hence it is that it is said by Solomon concerning the spouse of Holy Church: 'Her husband is honourable in the gates, when he sitteth among the senators of the land.'† Hence Isaias says: 'The Lord will enter into Judgment with the ancients of his people.'‡ Hence Truth proclaims these same ancients now no longer servants but friends: 'I will not now call you servants; but I have called you friends.'§ And the Psalmist regarding the same saith: 'But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable.'|| And whilst he beheld their loftiness of mind, and how they trod down with the heel of the foot the glory of the world, he thereupon added: 'Their principality is exceedingly strengthened!' And that we might not think that they be few, who we learn thus advanced even to the summit of such high perfection, he thereupon added: 'I will remember them, and they shall be multiplied above the sand.' For as many persons, then, as now wittingly abase themselves for the love of the Truth, so many lamps shall then blaze forth in the Judgment."¶

* "Antequam autem seculo munus remitteret, in rebus propriis sex in Sicilia monasteria congregavit, ut loquitur illorum temporum scriptor Gregorius Turon. (*Lib. X. Cap. I.*), 'septimum infra urbis Rome muros instituit, quibus tantam delegans terrarum copiam, quantam ad victum quotidianum prebendum sufficeret, reliqua vendidit, cum omni presidio ac pauperibus erogavit.'" (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata*, n. 6, p. 252; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† *Prov., XXXI., 23.*

‡ *Isaias, III., 14.*

§ *John, XV., 15.*

|| "Quisquis stimulo divini amoris excitatus, hic possessa reliquerit, illic procul dubio culmen judicarie potentatis obtinebit, ut simul tunc iudex cum iudice veniat, qui nunc consideratione judicellense spontanea paupertate castigat. Hinc est enim quod de sanctis Ecclesie sponso per Salomonem dicitur: Nobilitas in portis civis ejus, quando aderit cum senatoribus terre (*Prov., XXXI., 23*). Hinc Isaias ait: Dominus ad judicium veniet cum senioribus populi sui (*Isaias, III., 14*). Hinc eosdem seniores Veritas non jam famulos, sed amicos denuntiat, dicens: Non jam dicam vos servos, sed amicos meos (*Joan., XV., 15*). Quos numerum Psalmista intuens, ait: Mihi autem nimis honorificanti sunt amici tui, Deus (*Psal., CXXXVIII., 17*). (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Moralium Lib. X. in Cap. XII.; B. Job, Cap. XXXI. (Vet. XXX.), n. 52, p. 550-551; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

¶ "Quorum dñi celsitudinem cordis aspiceret, mundi gloriam qua calce calcarent, proxima admittit: Nimis confortatus est principatus eorum. Ac ne paucos esse crederemus, quos proficere usque ad summam tantæ perfectionis agnosceremus, illico adiunxit: *Diminuerbo eos, et super*

With what ardour Gregory put his "heel on the glory of the world," and with what earnestness he gave himself over to the rigours of a penitential life, and with what great results his saintly example was crowned, come out clearly in the history of his monastic career. The severity of his penances suggests the sternness of S. Chrysostom in his mountain cave. Indeed, so far did he carry his austerities, that at one time his life was despaired of. Continuous prayer, contemplation, and study of the Scriptures, accompanied with rigorous fasts (being content with a few legumes), at length told upon his constitution to such an extent, that he often swooned away; and finally, had to give up fasting altogether. So much was his system shaken by the violence with which he trod upon the flesh, that he never wholly recovered himself; and he became a confirmed invalid during the rest of his life.* Very possibly it was that same indomitable energy which made him so uncompromising with self-seeking, which in the issue carried him to the supreme height of Divine love, and made him fit, after having broken self, to control the destinies of the Universal Church.†

Nor was his silent monastic life without its aspirations after the good of his fellow-men. He did not want for sympathy with his kind. All that was beautiful and of good report found its way to his heart, and was purified and elevated by coming in contact with his exalted mind. Walking through the market-place, he was arrested by the graceful forms and pure faces of the Anglo-Saxon boys! They at once became associated in his mind with something divine. "Those who have angelical countenances," he said, "ought to be the companions of the angels in heaven."‡ He could not endure the thought that such beautiful creations should be corrupted by pagan vice, and be lost for ever. He obtained permission to leave S. Andrew's and to undertake the perilous mission of converting their distant

arenam multiplicabuntur. Quot itaque nunc pro amore veritatis sese libenter humiliant, tot tunc in iudicio lampades coruscant. Dicitur igitur recte: *Lampas contempta apud cogitationes diutinam, parata ad tempora statim, quia nullatenusque iusti anima velint abjecta contemnitur cum degens inferius stantibus non habet, sed admirabilis cernitur dum desuper fulget.* (*Ibidem*, p. 351.)

* "Non solum orationi et contemplationi ab ipso monastica palestra ingressu totum se dedit Gregorius, sed etiam abstinence, jejuniis, aliisque penitentie operibus, quæ sacrorum librorum lectione ac meditatione condebant, ita deditus erat, ut, debilitato stomacho et afflicta valetudine, brevi morituro videretur. Neque tamen frequentes morbi audere potuerunt ut de tanta vite asperitate aliquantulum remitteret. Cibum ejus legumina erant quæ Silvia mater eodem forte cibo victitans suppedibat et parabat." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n. 3, p. 263; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

† "Inde contractus, ipso teste, molestissimus morbus quem medici syncopen, seu vitallium incisionem vocant; quæ laborans crebris angustis per horarum momenta, ad exitum properare contabatur." (*Ibidem*.)

‡ "Cum Gregorius in foro venales conspexisset pueros nuper ex Britannia adveectos egregia forma, candido corpore, ipso etiam capiliamento insignes, interrogavit quæ ex gente essent. Anglos esse responsum est ad quod, 'Bene,' inquit, 'nam et angelicam habent faciem et tales Angelorum in cælis decet esse consortes.'" (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex ejus scriptis adornata, n. 5, p. 264; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

island.* He had already proceeded three days upon his journey, when the Roman people were made acquainted with his departure. They were in despair. They looked upon his loss as a public calamity. They considered that his presence amongst them was intimately bound up with the safety of the State and the prosperity of the Church. They hurried to the Pope, and cried out with terrified voice (*terribili voce*): "Holy Father, what hast thou done? Thou hast offended S. Peter, thou hast destroyed Rome!"†

The Pontiff was greatly moved by their vehement expressions. He feared that the tumult would turn into sedition. He sent swift messengers after the missionary party, and commanded them to return. Gregory like a true monk at once obeyed the order,‡ and was received with acclamation by the whole city; he then buried himself once again in the solitude of his cell.

But he was not suffered to repose. A man with such profound knowledge of affairs, possessing so just a balance of mind, endowed with so much generosity of character and such sacrifice of self, with such keen discrimination and such political shrewdness, was not destined to spend all his days in the practice of contemplation. His experience of men, joined to his monastic temper, fitted him, in a singular manner, for the position of an ecclesiastical ruler in times of difficulty and danger.§

Pope Benedict I. drew him out of his retreat, and placed him over one of the seven divisions of Rome (577). How little Gregory desired so great a distinction, is evident from his words to Bishop Leander:—

"As the vessel that is negligently moored is very often (when the storm waxes violent) tossed by the water out of its shelter on the safest shore, so under the cloak of the Ecclesiastical office, I found myself plunged on a

* "Mox itaque accedens ad Benedictum, apostolicæ sedis pontificem, cepit vehementer expetere ut in Britanniam aliquos verbi milistros mitteret. Quo cum neminem ire velle cognosceret, semetipsum quoque non dubitavit lugerere, dummodo sibi pontifex licentiam commodaret. Qui licet cum magna cunctatione totius cleri ac populi Gregorium sponte proficisci cupientem abire permisit." (*Ibidem*, Auctore Joanne Diacono, Lib. I., c. 22, p. 72.)

† "Gregorius vero accepta discendi copia, assumptisque e suo Andream sodalito selectis quibusdam sociis, quancitius clam se subduxit et itineri commisit; metuens quod postea contigisset, ne ab itinere, suorum civium amore ac studio revocaretur. Itaque Romani audientes viri sancti perfectionem, summum pontificem adeunt et *terribili voce conclamant: Eia, Apostolice, quid fecisti? S. Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti. Tanta erat de sancto viro existimatio et fiducia jam concepta, ut ex uno Gregorio salus omnium pendere videretur.*" (S. Gregorii Papæ: *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., c. 25, p. 264; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

‡ "Obtemperare coactus vir sanctissimus, qui obedientiam Deo primis sacrificiis omnibus placere noverat, Romæ summa omnium ordinum gratulatione exceptus est; et in monasterium regressus, novo fervore ad internuncios monasterii instituti labores sese accinxit." (*Ibidem*.)

§ See what John the Deacon says:—"Denique cernens Benedictus, venerabilis pontifex, virtutum gradibus Gregorium ad alta conscendere, violenter eum a quiete monasterii sui abstrahens ecclesiastici ordinis officio sublimavit, levitiamque septimum ad eum adiutorium consecravit. In quo venerabilis levita Gregorius tanta humilitate vixit, tanta selectis ministris, ut in ecclesiasticis hierarchiis ministerio videretur divinis angelis non solum nitore habitus, verum etiam claritate morum probabilium quodammodo cœquari." (S. Gregorii Papæ: *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Joanne Diacono, Lib. I., c. 25, p. 72; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

sudden in a sea of secular matters, and because I had not held fast the tranquillity of the monastery when in possession, I learnt by losing it, how closely it should have been held. For whereas the virtue of obedience was set against my own inclination to make me take the charge of ministering at the holy Altar, I was led to undertake that upon the grounds of the Church requiring it, which, if it might be done with impunity, I should get quit of by a second time withdrawing myself.”*

Next he was sent to Constantinople as Papal Nuncio, on a delicate political errand to the Emperor Tiberius (578). Whilst at the imperial court, he conducted himself with all the sagacity and prudence of a statesman and diplomatist, and lived the life of a genuine Benedictine.† In his converse with earth, he was simply working for heaven. He, like S. Anselm after him, like S. Gregory *Theologus*, like the Angelical, looked upon the world, even in its ecclesiastical aspect, as a tempest-tossed ocean, where peace and rest are never to be found. The society of his brethren, and the practices of Benedictine asceticism, formed his one powerful stay in the midst of a career which was so distasteful to his nature.‡ Let him speak in his own words:—

“Just as it happened then also when I was brought to the ministry of the Altar, this was brought about for me without my knowledge, viz.—that I should receive the mighty charge of the Holy Order, to the end that I might be quartered under less restraint in an earthly palace, whither indeed I was followed by many of my brethren from the monastery, who were attached to me by a kindred affection. Which happened, I perceive, by Divine dispensation, in order that by their example, as by an anchored cable, I might ever be kept fast to the tranquil shore of prayer, whenever I should be tossed by the ceaseless waves of secular affairs. For to their society I fled as to the bosom of the safest port from the rolling swell, and from the waves of earthly occupation; and though that office which withdrew me from the monastery had with the point of its employments stabbed me to death as to my former tranquillity of life, yet in their Society, by means of the appeals of diligent reading, I was animated with the yearnings of daily renewed compunction.”§

* “Quia enim plerumque navem incaute religatam, etiam de sinu tutissimi littoris nuda exentit, cum tempestas excrecit, repente me, sub pretextu ecclesiastici ordinis, in causarum secularium pelago reperi; et quietem monasterii, quia habendo non fortiter tenui quam stricte tenenda fuerit, perdendo cognovi.” (*Ibidem*, *Moralium Libri*, *Epistola Missoria*, *Cap. I.*, p. 511.)

† “Secuti namque sunt cum multi ex suo monasterio fratres, germana devincti charitate. Quod divina factum dispensatione conspiciat, ut eorum videlicet exemplo ad orationis placidum litus quasi anchoræ fune stringeretur, et divi causarum secularium continuatis vertiginibus fluctuaret ad illorum consortium velint ad tutissimi portus sinum, refugeret. Illorum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munus incursibus, verum etiam ad vite celestis exercitia magis magisque succensus.” (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, in *Vita*, *Auctore Joanne Diacono*, *Lib. I.*, n. 26—27, p. 72—73; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

‡ Paul the Deacon speaks thus:—“Et licet illud eum ministerium ex monasterio abstractum a pristina quietis vita incrocione sue occupationis extinxerit, inter eos tamen per studiosis lectionis alioquin quodidam aspiratio compunctionis animabat. Horum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munus incursibus, verum etiam ad celestis vite exercitiis magis magisque succensus.” (*Ibidem*, *Auctore Paulo Diacono*, n. 7, p. 44—45.)

§ Both Paul the Deacon and John the Deacon follow S. Gregory, almost word for word:—“Quod divina factum dispensatione conspicio, ut eorum semper exemplo ad orationis placidum litus, quasi anchoræ fune restringeretur, cum causarum secularium incessabili impulsu fluctuarem. Ad illorum quippe consortium, velint ad tutissimi portus sinum, terreni actus

Gregory remained six years, living his life of "compunction," at the palace of Tiberius. His mission was crowned with success. He re-established amicable relations between the Holy See and the Byzantine Court. He became well acquainted with the supple methods of Eastern politics; and induced the Patriarch Eutychius to retract his heretical opinions regarding the resurrection of the body.*

He then returned to his monastery of S. Andrew's; was elected Abbot (584); and, with the tenderness of a father, and with the just severity of one who remembers that souls will finally be examined by an All-seeing Judge, he ruled and guided his brethren in the ways of perfection and of peace.

In 590, a terrible inundation of the city took place through an extraordinary rising of the Tiber.† This visitation was followed by a pestilence, which decimated the inhabitants and did not spare the monastery of S. Andrew's. Pope Pelagius II. was himself carried off by it. The energy of Gregory was roused. He addressed the people. With earnest eloquence he called them to penance.‡ He set on foot a monster procession: the seven Basilicas were centres of formation; all the clergy, all the monks, the nuns themselves from their sacred retirement, were ordered to join; widows, married women, the laity, and even tender infants were not exempt. With plaintive litanies and many tears, this vast concourse proceeded to the Basilica of our Lady. The plague was carrying off as many as eighty per hour at the very time of their intercessions. But if the legend be true, that pilgrimage was not made in vain.§ Whilst the city was thus storming heaven with prayers and tears, Gregory cast his eye towards that great mausoleum, the *Moles Hadriana*, now called the Castel Sant' Angelo, and hovering over it he saw the Angel of God: in his hand was the

volumina fluctusque fugebam; et licet illud me ministerium ex monasterio abstractum, a pristina quietis vita, muneris sue occupationis exstulxerat; inter eos tamen per studioso lectuonis alioquin, quotidianæ me aspiratio compunctuonis animabat." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Moralium Libri*, *Epistola Miscoria*, Cap. I., p. 511; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

* "Cum ergo Gregorius validissimis febribus æstualet, Eutychius, cum morte conflixens, pellem manus sue tenebat coram omnibus, dicens: *Confiteor quia omnes in hac carne resurgemus*. Post quam catholicæ fidei confessionem defunctus est." (*Ibidem*, in *Vita*, Auctore Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I.*, n. 30, p. 75.)

† The date is contested:—"Itaque inundatio, de qua Gregorius Turonensis, accidit mense Novembre an. 589, Januario sequenti pestilentia Pelagium papam abstulit." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex *ejus scriptis adornata*, *Lib. I.*, Cap. VII., n. 1, p. 277; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

‡ His sermon began thus:—"Oportet, fratres carissimi, ut flagella Dei, quæ metere ventura debuimus, saltem præsentia et experta timeamus. Conversiois nobis aditum dolor aperiat, et cordis nostri duritiam ipsa quam patimur poena dissolvat. Ut enim propheta teste prædictum est: *Pervenit gladius usque ad animam* (*Jerem. IV.*, 10). Ecce etenim cuncta plebs, celestis ira mucrone percutitur, et repentina singuli eade vastantur. Nec languor mortem prævenit, sed languoris moras, ut cernitis, mors ipsa præcurrit. Perensus quisque ante raptus, quam ad lamenta penitentis convertatur." (*Ibidem*, Auctore Joanne Diacono, n. 41, p. 79.)

§ "Ab illis supplicationibus originem traxisse videtur litania quæ dicuntur majores, et in festo S. Marci quotannis celebrantur, cum illæ quæ in triduo ante Ascensionem Domini sunt, dicantur minores." (*Ibidem*, ex *ejus scriptis adornata*, *Lib. I.*, n. 6, p. 281.)

flashing sword of destruction, but the swift minister was not drawing it forth to smite the people: God's anger appeared to have been appeased, for he was sheathing it in the scabbard.*

The death of Pelagius turned all eyes upon Gregory. Clergy, senate, and people, with unanimity elected him as Sovereign Pontiff. Gregory did all that lay in him to escape so great an infliction. He clung to his life of monastic poverty in the same way as a miser clings to his bags of gold.† He did his best to induce the emperor to refuse to confirm his election; and when he found this plan to fail him, it is said that he fled, and was only discovered through the supernatural appearance of a bright cloud of fire, which stood over the place where he lay concealed. Finally, he was constrained to accept the high office, and by the prudence, patience, and enlightenment of his policy, earned for himself the proud title of "The Great."‡

In him shone especially the great Benedictine virtues of the Holy Rule. He who had learnt thoroughly to obey, now knew how to govern. Humility and charity were the pillars of his throne. Indefatigable industry, wide sympathy, breadth of view, benignity, and a marvellous stability of character, made him fit to take the helm in rough and stormy times.

His very love of his old state fitted him all the more for his new one. His letters, which are full of sighs and lamentations at the loss he has sustained, in having been drawn from his haven of peace, and thrust on the tossing sickening sea of political life, speak, by that very circumstance, of the Rock on which his stability was built, and of that Christ Who was taking him by the hand and directing him along his ways.§ Not even Nazianzen felt the crushing power of responsibility with greater

* "Tunc ferunt prope molem Hadriani Tiberi adjacentem visum esse angelum, in signum reconciliati Numinis, nudatum gladium in vaginam reponere, eoque symbolo morbum cessasse significare voluisse." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex *quibus scriptis adornata*, Lib. I., n. 6, p. 280; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.) The author then goes on, however, to question the prudence of giving credit to the legend. The silence of S. Bede, of Paul the Deacon, and of John the Deacon, tells strongly against it.

† "Formidabat enim celum quidem, et arduum locum, Et sic metuebat paupertatis suæ incurtatem perdere, sicuti avari divites solent perituras divitias custodire, ut ejusdem Gregorii (Lib. III., *Dialog.*, Cap. XIV.). Verum cum latibula fugæ prepararet, capitur, trahitur, et ad beati apostoli Petri basilicam deducitur, ibique ad pontificalis gratiæ officium consecratur, papa Urbis datus est." Hæc Gregorius Turon. (Ibidem, n. 8, p. 282.)

‡ "Obtinuit is [Gregorius] a negotiatoribus ut in cratera oculatus educeretur ab Urbe, atque ita interius urbis se occultavit, donec illum jejuniis et orationibus, populus Romanus, columna incisa, tertia super eum nocte cœlitus emissæ, obtinuit: quæ non parvo noctis spatio a summo cœli usque ad eundem ipsam linea recta effluens, quærentibus votum optabile demonstravit." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Paulo Diacono, n. 13, p. 48; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

§ For instance, his letter to Theoctista is one example in point. Observe the following very ingenious comparison. Speaking of sinners, he quotes the verse:—"Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam (Psal. LXXXII., 14). Rota quippe ex posteriori parte atollitur et in anterioribus cadit. Posteriora autem nobis sunt bona presentis mundi, quæ relinquimus; anteriora vero sunt æterna et permanentia, ad quæ vocamur, Paulo attestante, qui ait: Quæ retro oblitus, in ea quæ sunt priora me extendens (Phil., III., 13). Peccator ergo cum in presenti vita profecerit, ut rota ponitur; quia in anterioribus cornuus, ex posterioribus elevatur. Nam cum in hac vitæ gloriam percipit quam relinquit, ab illa cadit quæ post hanc venit." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Epistolæ*, Lib. I., Indict. IX., *Epist.* V., p. 450; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.) See also the words beginning:—"Dum contemplationis dulcedinem alte describitis, ruinæ meæ mihi genitum renovastis, &c." (Ibidem.)

acuteness, nor would even the Angelical himself have suffered much more, had such an office finally been forced upon him. The high saints of God have pierced so far into the Unseen Kingdom, that—to use the words spoken of Holy Benedict by this Pontiff—to them the greatest glory of the world is but as a “dried-up flower.”

And it must be confessed Gregory was called to rule in days of great difficulty and complication. The clergy were in schism. The Lombards, who were filled with all the traditional cruelty of the Arians, looked upon the Roman Church as their natural enemy. The emperors, always too weak to afford any assistance, were always strong enough to try and paralyze, and interfere.* The Patriarch of Constantinople, swollen with the vanity which grows from being near a throne, was aiming at a title which implied universal jurisdiction, and which was liable to create a schism between the East and West. Africa was in the hands of the Donatists; Arianism poisoned the whole of Spain; England had sunk into idolatry; Gaul was desolated by simony and social strife; whilst the East was ravaged by the conquering ambition of restless tribes. Gregory, looking upon this vast and turbulent ocean—as he always calls the world, could find no green spot on which to rest his eye. So impressed was he with the terrors of his day, that he thought the end of the world had come upon him.†

Shortly after his elevation he writes—

“But because I being unworthy and weak have taken upon me the old much battered vessel, for the waves make a way in on all sides, and the rotten planks shattered by a daily and vehement tempest tell of shipwreck, I beseech you by Almighty God, to stretch the hand of your prayers in this my peril, since you may implore mercy ever so much the more earnestly, in proportion as you also stand the further removed from the agitated state of calamity which we undergo in this land.”‡

* See how deeply Gregory feels his position, and how graphically he describes it to his friend Bishop Leander:—“Tautis quippe in hoc loco lujus mundi fluctibus quatior, ut vetustam ac putrescentem navem, quam regendam occulta Dei dispensatione suscepit ad portum dirigere nullatenus possim. Nunc ex adverso fluctus irruunt, nunc ex latere cumuli apumosi maris intumescunt, nunc a tergo tempestas insequitur. Interque hec omnia turbatus eorum modo in ipsam elavum adversitatem dirigere; modo curvato navis latere, nullas fluctuum ex obliquo declinare. Ingenisco, quia sentio quod negligente me crescit sentina vitiorum, et tempestate fortiter obviaute, jamjamque putridæ naufragium tabulæ sonant. Flens reminiscor quod peridi mee placidum litus quietis, et suspirando terram conspicio, quam tamen rerum ventis adversantibus tenere non possum.” (*Ibidem*, *Epist. XLIII.*, p. 497.)

† How touchingly eloquent are not his last words in his last Homily on Ezechie!—“Ecce hæc ut, Deo largiente, potuiimus, coram vobis, fratres carissimi, rimati sumus. Nemo autem me reprehendat, si post hanc locutionem cessavero, quia sicut omnes cernitis, nostre tribulationes excreverunt; undique gladiis circumfusi sumus, undique lumine mortis periculum timeamus. Alii, detruccatis ad nos manibus redeunt, alii capti, alii intercepti, nuntiantur. Jam egor linguam ab expositione retinere, quia tædet animam meam vite mee. Jam nullus a me sacri eloqui studium requirat, quia versa in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem fluctuum. Jam cordis oculus in mysteriorum discussione non vigilat, quia dormitavit anima mea pre tædio. Aliquando [Deus Pater] filios pane nutrit, aliquando flagello corrigit, quia per dolores et munera ad hereditatem perpetuam erudit. Sit itaque gloria omnipotenti Domino nostro Jesu Christo, quia et regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum Amen.” (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. II., *Homiliarum in Ezechielem Lib. II.*, *Homil. X.*, n. 24, p. 1072; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVI.)

‡ Sed quia vetustam navem vehementerque confractam indignus ego infirmusque suscepit (undique enim fluctus intrant, et quotidiana ne valida tempestate quassate putridæ naufragia

Then more clearly, in his Homily on S. Luke :—

"Of all which [signs described by our Lord] some we see already accomplished, others we dread to be upon us nigh at hand. For we see already that nation rises up against nation, and that the push and press of them has settled upon the lands worse in our own times than we read in records. That earthquakes overwhelm countless cities, ye know how often we have heard from other parts of the world. We endure pestilences without pause, but signs in the sun, and moon, and stars we do not at all as yet see manifestly ; but that even these things are not far off, we collect from the mere change of the atmosphere already, though before Italy was given up to be smitten by the sword of a Gentile foe, we beheld fiery ranks in the heavens, the very blood itself of the human race, which was afterwards spilt, streaming,"*

Though Gregory looked upon the end of the world as not far off, he acted as though he felt it his duty, as Sovereign Pontiff, to do his best to bring chaos into order. His special characteristics seem to have been the wide compass of his vision, and the versatility of his political resource. He appears as if created to be placed on an eminence, and to rule the world. His vast correspondence shows the activity of his mind, and his indefatigable industry. His conflicts with the emperor Maurice ; his firmness, yet true dignity, based upon the humility of the Cross, in his opposition to the pretensions of John the Faster ; † his diplomatic address in mediating between the Lombards and the Byzantine Court, are sufficient to prove him most able in his conduct of affairs. Then, his services to freedom, in loosening the hold of Eastern despotism on the West ; his enlightened and civilizing treatment of the Franks and the Burgundians ; and his enterprising temper, which carried his interest into far-distant lands, and bore the torch of Truth amidst the dark forests and idolatries of paganism and superstition, speak loud for the real greatness and breadth of his truly Roman mind.‡ Who so free from littleness as he, who secured to the

gium tabulae sonant), per omnipotentem Deum rogo, in hoc mihi periculo orationis tue manu porrigas, quin et tanto enixius potestas exorare, quanto et a confusione tribulationum, quas in huc terra patimur, longius stas." (S. Gregorii Papae, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Epistolarum Lib. I., Indict. IX., Epist. IV., ad Joannem Episcopum Constantinopolitanum*, p. 447; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVII.)

* "Ex quibus profecto omnibus alia jam facta cernimus, alia e proximo ventura formidamus. Nam gentem super gentem exurgere, earumque pressuram terris insistere plus jam in nostris temporibus cernimus quam in Codicibus legimus. Quod terre motus urbes innumeras subminat, ex alia mundi partibus acitis quam frequenter audivimus. Pestilentias sine cessatione patimur. Signa vero in sole, et luna, et stellis, adhuc aperte minime videmus, sed quia et hæc non longe sint, ex ipsa jam aëria immutatione colligimus. Quamvis prinsquam Italia gentili gladio feriunda traderetur, igneus in cælo acies vidimus, ipsam qui postea humani generis finis est sanguinem coruscantem." (*Ibidem*, Tom. II., XL. *Homiliarum in Evangelia*, Lib. I., *Homil. I., n. 1*, p. 1078; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVI.)

† It was Gregory's contest with this arrogant prelate which gave rise to the Pontiff signing himself "Servus Servorum Dei." (See S. Gregorii Papae, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, *Auctore Joanne Diacono*, Lib. II., n. 1, p. 87; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

‡ His sending S. Augustine to England is too well known to require mention. But possibly the letters expressing Gregory's joy at the result of the mission are not so familiar; one begins thus:—"Gregorius Augustinus episcopo Anglorum. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis* (Luc. II. 14; *Joan. XII.*) quia gratum fruentium mortuum est cadens in terram, ne solum regnaret cælo, ejus morte vivimus, ejus infirmitate roboramur, ejus passione a passione eripimur, ejus amore in Britannia fratres querimus quos ignorabamus,

cultivators of the soil freedom, safety, and redress? Who so enlightened as he, who impressed upon those who governed others, as a first rule of action, that they should consult the liberty of those over whom they ruled, as carefully as if they were consulting for themselves? Who so pregnant with principles of true progress as he, who in his legislation touching upon slaves gave the first hint at that emancipation which was afterwards to be considered one of the most beneficent actions of modern civilization?

Even Jews and pagans were made to feel the royal benignity of his paternal rule. He did not persuade himself that ignorance and sin are to be blotted out by tears and iron. Force and hardness were not elements in the composition of his Benedictine spirit; but large moderation, warmth of sympathy, gentleness of management,—treating men, erring men, even the obstinate and the froward, as if they had hearts in their breasts, and as if those hearts could at length be melted, however stony they might have been, by the power of constraining love, by the pressure of sweet humility, by the magic of the gentle patience of a truly strong man.*

Was it not the action of such a spirit as this which broke the perversity of the Donatist schism (594)? Was not the scandal of the Three Chapters brought to a close by the diplomacy of Gregory the Great?

Of his creative influence in sacred art and song, it is superfluous to speak. On the alleged antipathy to literature of one, who, more than any other of his day, was sensitive to the graceful and the beautiful, it is quite unnecessary to dwell. To be a Benedictine monk has ever been to possess a taste for the Classics and the Scriptures. Gregory the Great, clothed with the spiritual diadem of universal Church-rule, was ever at heart a child of the monastic Spirit.† To him the great regular Order owed its wide expansion, much of its *prestige*, its liberty, its

&c." (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Epistolarum Lib. XI.*, *Indict. IV.*, *Epist. XXVIII.*, p. 1138—1139; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVII.) See also S. Gregory's letter to Queen Bertha, so full of a true, loving, Pontifical spirit. It ends thus:—"Oramus autem omnipotentem Deum, ut glorie vestre cor et ad operanda que diximus, gratie sue igne succendat, et eterne mercedis fructum vobis de placita sibi operatione concedat." (*Ibidem*, *Epist. XXIX.*, p. 1142.)

* And he was not less firm than gentle. He writes to the Deacon Sabinianus:—"Quod ego qualiter patiar scis, qui ante paratior sum mori, quam beati Petri Apostoli Ecclesiam meis diebus deigrare." (S. Gregorii Pape, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Epistolarum Lib. V.*, *Indict. XIII.*, *Epist. XLVII.*, p. 721; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVII.) No better idea could be formed of the character of S. Gregory the Great and of the activity of his mind, of his gifts and of his candour, of his honesty of purpose and zeal for saving souls and for maintaining discipline, than by reading his voluminous correspondence. (See *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., p. 442—1328.)

† In the writings of the Saint, there are continual traces not only of the spirit of the Rule of S. Benedict, but also of the very words of that great Patriarch. He uses the word *utilitas* in the special sense of S. Benedict, so of *opus Dei*. See his Letters, his Books on Morals, his Homilies on Ezekiel. "Verum in Expositione Libri I. Regum frequentius Regula Benedictine sententias et verba ipsamque adhibet; nec mirum, cum tunc abbas esset, atque his hominibus suos alumnos ad monasticæ vite perfectionem erudiret. In præfatione ad hunc commentarium plurimos loquendi modos ex laudata Regula petitos, quos colligere curavimus, invenimus." *Ibidem*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n. 6, p. 238; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

stake in the land, and its solemn confirmation. It owed him more than this : him it had to thank for its more wholesome discipline, for its vigorous reform, and for drawing a clear line of demarcation between the world-priest, and the life of him who in poverty and obedience had given himself over, together with his substance, to the absolute disposition of holocaustic love.*

Of his large munificence, his Benedictine hospitality, of his abiding yearning after the sweet retirement of a little cell, where he could be with "Him alone and himself also alone," of the monastic atmosphere with which he surrounded himself, ever loving to be in the midst of the brethren—in a word, of his straining love of heaven whilst battling with the earth, a store of information may be gained by reading his touching letters, or by pursuing his life, as written either by Paul or by John the Deacon.

Ever since those cruel austerities which followed his conversion to religious life, this great Pontiff had been a continual sufferer. Towards the close of his career, he became a martyr to the gout. He was for at least two years confined to his bed, and was ultimately reduced almost to a skeleton. But the fire of his mind and his solicitude for all the Churches were not extinguished by the agony of his physical condition : forgetful of self, he still continued to dictate his letters, and to interest himself in the sorrows and troubles of his fellow-men.† But at length his hour approached. Of his death-bed unfortunately no account seems to have been written, at least none has been preserved. He who had in reality lived with greater freedom by far in the World Unseen, than upon this shifting stage, on the twelfth of March, 604, was called to behold the King in His glory, and to look upon that Face which he loved so tenderly when upon earth.‡ He was fifty-five years of age, and had ruled the Universal Church for thirteen years.

The appearance of this great Pontiff, according to the minute description given by John the Deacon, must have been very

* Montalembert says that S. Gregory remained a monk to the last:—"On y reconnaît aussi l'humilité du moine; ce qui nous rappelle que c'est avant tout le moine qu'il nous appartient de montrer dans le grand pape, dont nous avons peut être parlé trop longuement. D'ailleurs tout dans sa vie publique, dans son règne immortel, dans ses écrits surtout, porte l'empreinte ineffaçable de son éducation et de son esprit monastique." (*Les Moines d'Occident*, Tom. Deuxième, Liv. V., p. 156—157.)

† See how full of true Christian feeling he is in suffering. Writing to Bishop Leander, he says:—"De podagra vero molestia sanctitas vestra, ut acribit, affligitur, cujus dolore assiduo et ipse vehementer attritus sum. Sed facilis erit consolatio, si inter flagella que patimur quæque fecimus ad memoriam delicta revocamus; atque hæc nos jam flagella, sed dona esse conspicimus, si quæ carnis delectatione peccavimus, carnis dolore purgemus." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. III., *Epistolarum Lib. IX.*, *Indict. II.*, *Epist. CXXI.*, p. 1052; *Patrolog. Lat. Vol. LXXVII.*)

‡ Unhappily no particulars of his death have been handed down. Paul the Deacon simply says:—"Qui beatissimus pontifex postquam sedem Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ annis tredecim, mensibus sex, et diebus decem, gloriosissime rexit, ex hac luce substractus, atque ad æternam regni celestis sedem translatus est." (*Ibidem*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, n. 20, p. 59; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXXV.)

striking. A truly Pontifical and Patriarchal man, his presence, whilst typifying the power of command, must have spoken of sweet benignity and of noble condescension; and the expression of his countenance, whilst it betrayed evidences of suffering, told still more strongly of Divine compassion, and of the frankness of a pure conscience and an upright heart.*

In spite of the troubles of the times in which he lived, and of the endless distractions which his position inevitably brought upon him, Pope Gregory the Great—with the exception of Benedict XIV.—has written more voluminously than any other in the long line of Sovereign Pontiffs. His gift was not so much that of originality as of practical talent, combined with a strong bias towards the allegorical. His exposition on the Book of Job, his Dialogues, and his Homilies, all bear upon conduct and the moral law.† His most valued production, in which he brings out the special gifts of prudence, balance, and intuition of governing principles, in his "*Liber Regule Pastoralis*"—the "Book of the Pastoral Rule." Here he sums up and advances the work which had already been attempted by S. Ephrem, and by the four great Fathers: Gregory *Theologus*, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Ambrose. So highly was this noble instruction esteemed, that it was translated into Greek during the life-time of the author; and was the constant companion of bishops and of ecclesiastics in the Middle Ages.

And now we must take our leave of the lives of the great Church Fathers. S. Gregory the Great may indeed be looked upon as the latest of them: not that many eminent men did not rise up in the Church after he had passed away, but because he appears to be the last of the *original* writers—the last of the great classical masters of traditionary lore. S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, S.

* "Statua justa et bene formata, facie de paternæ faciei longitudine et maternæ rotunditate ita medie temperata, ut cum rotunditate quadam decentissime videatur esse deducta, barba paternæ more subtilia et modica; ita calvaster, ut in medio frontis gemellos cincinnos rursus leniter habeat, et dextrorsum reflexos; coram rotundo et spatiosa, capillo subnigro et decerente intorto sub auriculæ medium propendente, fronte speciosa, clatis et longis, sed exilibus superciliis; oculis pupilla furvis non quidem magnis sed patulis; subocularibus plenis; naso a radice vergentium superciliorum subtiliter directo, circa medium latiore, deinde paululum recurvo et in extremo patulis naribus prominente; ore rubeo; crassis et subdividuis labiis gentis compositis; mento a confinio maxillarum decubiler prominente; colore aquilino et vivido, nondum, sicut et postea configit, cardiaco; vultu mitis; manibus pulchris; teretibus digitis et habilibus ad scribendum." (S. Gregorii, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., in *Vita*, Auctore Joanne Diacono, *Lib. II.*, n. 48, p. 230; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV.)

† Vid. S. Gregorii *Papæ*, *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. V., Tom. I.—*Moralium Libri sive Expositio in Librum B. Job.*; Libb. I.—XVI., p. 509—1162; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV., Tom. II.—*Moralium Libri sive Expositio in Librum B. Job.*; Libb. XVII.—XXXV., p. 9—782; *Homiliarum in Ezechielem Prophetam Libri Duo*; Lib. I., Homil. I.—XXI., p. 786—1170; Lib. II., Homil. XXI.—XL., p. 1170—1311; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV. *Regule Pastoralis Liber ad Joannem Episcopum Civitatis Ravennæ*, Prima Pars, Cap. I.—XI., p. 13—26; Secunda Pars, Cap. I.—XI., p. 26—50; Tertia Pars, Cap. I.—XL., p. 50—126; Quarta Pars, Cap. I., p. 126—128; *Dialogorum Libb. IV.*, De *Vita et Miraculis Patrum Italianorum et De Æternitate Animarum*, p. 150—430 [S. Benedict's Life, *Lib. II.*, not included]; *Registrum Epistolarum*, Libb. I.—XIV., p. 432—1328; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXV. *Liber Sacramentorum*, p. 25—264; *Liber Antiphonarum*, p. 641—721; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVIII. *Exposit. in Lib. Primum Regum*, p. 18—408; *Super Cantica Canticorum Exposit.*, p. 471—548; in *Septem Psalmos Penitent.*, p. 550—658; *Patrolog. Lat.*, Vol. LXXIX.

Ambrose, and S. Gregory the Great, though they do not exhaust the number, at all events, they represent that splendid galaxy in the theological heavens—

“Whither as to their fountain other stars
Repairing, in their urns draw golden light.”

Those who follow, for the most part repeat, or vary, or develop their teaching; assimilate, and then cast into a more modern form, the riches of their wisdom; or use their utterances as arguments to recommend views which have been gathered from other portions of their writings. Even the most creative writers of the medieval time, on close inspection, owe their name more to novelty of form, than to originality of matter.

All this tends to explain why the Author has brought the leading Greek and Latin Doctors so prominently forward in this volume. Their characters are so intimately bound up with their works, that one of the strongest lights which can be thrown upon their writings proceeds from the history of their lives. How could the intellect of the great Angelical be portrayed, save by offering some kind of description of that potent element which added so much to its richness and its tone? and how could the reader be better prepared for taking in the majesty and tenderness of his sublime and solitary life, than by being conducted into his presence along a gallery of pictures (though they be but rough cartoons), in which, with a few bold strokes, the artist suggests such thoughts of heroism and greatness to the imagination, as attune the mind into harmony with all that is most singular and difficult to grasp in the seraphic character of the Angel of the Schools?

All large subjects require large treatment. And if detail is to some extent sacrificed to breadth of outline, large masses of colouring, and general effect, it is not because minuteness and small accuracies are undervalued: just the reverse; but because the finish of a picture, if it is to be perfect, depends as much upon the power of presenting the entire conception as a whole, with its really leading features and salient points, with its one governing characteristic, as upon the careful and conscientious elaboration of each of the component parts.

CHAPTER VI.

TRADITION AND SCRIPTURE.

THE influence of S. Anthony and the desert wrestlers, in the formation of the great classic Fathers, has now been dwelt upon; and the points of likeness and contrast between these latter and the Angelical have been suggested to the reader: whilst the Christ-principle of monasticism has been traced from Egypt to Rome, and from Rome to Paris, as it runs through, and gives oneness to, the beautiful variety in the characters of God's leading saints.

The Fathers lived in times of war and struggle, and "bore the brunt of the conversion of the world:" the Angelical, in days of peace. They were athletes of the Cross; he was the great thinker of the Church. They flourished, the larger portion of them, when the earth was still poisoned by the breath of paganism: he, after the Church had planted her victorious banner on nearly all the citadels of the world. They had drunk in the civilization of pagan Greece or Rome, together with their Christianity: he had been educated from tender infancy in the midst of the very metropolis of Christian culture, and had passed his calm career amongst the purest traditions and examples of the civilization of the Cross.* They had gained experience, a rude experience to some of them, of the cruelties and horrors of the old-world religion: he had tasted none of this, hidden away as he was with Christ in God under the gentle sway of perfectly-developed monastic life, finding his sweetest meditation and tranquillity in the highest empyrean

* It was a great advantage to the Angelical, in constructing his *Summa Theologica*, to have been brought up, from his tenderest years, in the purest atmosphere of the Church. Thus he drank in as it were with his mother's milk the full temper and tone of genuine catholicity. Just as the education of the Fathers fitted them for their special work, so his education specially fitted him for his.

of thought. And thus it was that he had time to erect a master-edifice, and, through his deep acquaintance with the technical systematic form of scholastic teaching, to plan a mighty scheme, of which the patristic labours were to furnish the materials. Living in the thirteenth century, he garnered into his mind all the advances made in theologic method during many centuries, as well as the best thoughts of the "*maxima mortalium ingenia*;" and through his synthetic genius, welded into one splendid unity the combined teaching of the past, which he expanded, harmonized, and rendered perfect by means of exquisite Aristotelic drill, and Platonic height and width of discipline.*

The columnal Fathers and the Angelical were in completest harmony: they were knit together by the monastic principle. The intellectual hinges of the Universal Church (speaking humanly) have been monastic-men—that is to say men who, through an intense cross-worship and a keen perception of the beautiful, threw up all for Christ; and through—

"The ingrained instinct of old reverence,
The holy habit of obediency,"

loved, laboured, suffered for Him, and died into His Arms.†

For the one thread which pierces through all, and maintains a real communication between the Angelical and the heroes of the classic age—which creates a brotherhood between S. Thomas of the thirteenth century, and the great athletes in the second and the third—which makes the "Sun of the Church" illuminate the "Pillar of the World," and so reciprocally—that is to say, which renders S. Thomas and S. Anthony one in spirit and in principle, was this, that their beings were transformed into a supernatural activity, through an intense and personal love of their Redeemer.

This was the one special lesson which the Angelical drew from the wilderness and the Fathers, which came to him through S. Benedict indeed, but rather as a principle of *quies* than of exertion. In the desert athletes and those who followed them, he found that principle operative, and almost military, in its chivalrous readiness to combat, and spill blood in defence of

* The method of system and order consequent on the introduction of Aristotle, gave an incalculable advantage to our Saint. This was his great gift—to throw a large subject-matter into an organic form, to reduce the many to the one. The classic Fathers did not aim at this. Homilies, commentaries, orations, and polemics occupied their energies.

† To all intents and purposes, it had better be said out, the classic Fathers were monks: that is they lived monks' lives; and if they were not subject to the vow of holy obedience to another, it was because they, being men of governing minds, were themselves great founders of monasticism, like S. Anthony, or great reformers, like S. Basil. Being a monk simply means, after all, abandoning everything out of passionate love of Christ Crucified—venturing the whole of this life for Him.

Truth.* It lent to him what it exhibits in them also—breadth of view, largeness, moral freedom, stubborn courage, generosity of heart, expansion of mind, and an electric light of intellect, which bear about them a touch of the Eastern world. How could the Angelical read Anthony's life, or follow Athanasius in his exiles, or see Basil so heroically rigid in his defence of right, or hear in imagination Gregory *Theologus* pouring out his stream of polished eloquence, without being impressed by Truth's grace and music? How could he watch S. Chrysostom, all on fire with his love of God, and with his discriminating sympathy for men? or think of the ascetic Jerome, battling single-handed in the wilderness, or perusing his Scripture in the cave; how could he dwell in spirit with S. Ambrose, or S. Gregory the Great, or follow the career of the passionate, emotional, splendid S. Augustine, without expanding in heart and mind towards all that is best and greatest—all that is most noble and most fair, in the majestic character of God's tenderly-cherished saints?†

Had he not known them so intimately,‡ great as he was, his mind would have been comparatively cramped; his character most probably would have been less imperial in its mould, and there would have been less of that Oriental mightiness about his intellectual creations, which now reminds one of those vast monuments of other days which still are the marvel of travellers in the East, and the despair of modern engineers.§ The great Christ-principle is essentially creative of enormous consequences: no man has ever bent down to worship Him intensely, who has not been lifted up to carry out some master-work in himself or in another. Here then, at last, we have in their completeness the great informing principles of the character of the

* I have said elsewhere (*Vol. I., Chap. XI., p. 1*) that the patristic spirit is Platonic and synthetical, and therefore averse to polemical contentions; this may, at first sight, appear to be inconsistent with what has been stated above; but such really is not the case. Truly, the Fathers did vigorously combat, but it was only the force of their devotion to Christ which made them do so. They naturally shrink from polemics and position; but the very Platonic principle itself urged them to fight in defence of the synthetical principles of the Cross. Many a hero has been crowned, who, as a matter of liking, loved peace and dreaded war,—indeed such is the feeling of true chivalry.

† It may be remembered how delicately-strung was the soul of the Angelical: nothing passed by him unnoticed which was pure, noble, or heroic. How deeply then must he not have been impressed with the majestic lives of God's greatest athletes!

‡ And unlike the more modern saints, their heart-pouring correspondence shows of what a fine texture their hearts were made:—"We have above 400 letters of S. Basil's; above 200 of S. Augustine's; S. Chrysostom has left us about 240; S. Gregory Nazianzen the same number; Pope S. Gregory as many as 840; S. Nilus, close on 1,400; S. Ildoro, 1,440; the blessed Theodoret, 146; S. Leo, 140; S. Cyprian, 80 or 90; S. Paulinus, 50; S. Jerome, above 100." (See *The Ancient Saints, No. 1. Rambler, Vol. I., p. 93. Anno 1859.*)

§ Nor am I in the least exaggerating, if what Ventura says is true. He exclaims, in his conference on *Catholic Reason*:—"Saint Thomas, M. E., quel homme! quel génie! C'est la raison humaine élevée à sa plus haute puissance. Au-delà des efforts de son raisonnement, c'est la vision des choses dans le ciel. Ici-bas, la raison ne saurait ni monter plus haut, ni voir plus clair. On peut dire de saint Thomas ce que saint Augustin disait de saint Jérôme: 'Que personne n'a au jamais ce que Thomas a ignoré; *Nemo scivit quod Thomas ignoravit.*' Cet homme unique, cet homme dont la vie n'a pas atteint la moitié d'une siècle, a tout vu, tout connu, tout expliqué. Il n'est aucune erreur qu'il n'ait prévue, réfutée, pulvérisée d'avance." (*La Raison Philosophique, Deuxième Conférence, Seconde Partie, p. 128—129. Seconde Edition, Paris, 1852.*)

Angelical. The contemplative principle of *quies* at Cassino, manifesting itself in love, reverence, purity, and adoration; the principle of activity at S. James's, analytical, inquisitive, polemical, technical; and the principle of operative love through a personal friendship with the Word Incarnate, which is the life-spirit of the Solitaries of the desert, and the soul-power of the Fathers of the Church. Thus the Angelical is essentially contemplative—so he is monastic; he is essentially logical—so he is scholastic; and he is essentially large, pure, and operative, through a motive of personal friendship—and therefore he is essentially patristic. S. Benedict, S. Dominic, and S. Augustine—contemplation, dialectics, and energizing charity,—these are the three great elements which make up and explain the full character of the Angel of the Schools.*

And if the influence of the Fathers on the moral build of the Angelical was great, not less remarkable was their influence upon him as a theologian. A master-mind like his would naturally seek first-sources. Albertus Magnus and the teachings of the Lombard would simply lead him to the great reservoirs themselves. From his Commentary on the "Sentences," indeed from his "*Opusculum*" on the Angels,† to the last words he wrote of the "*Summa Theologica*," his intimate acquaintance, especially with the great Fathers already treated of, comes out almost in every page. If he does not mention them by name, he is often merely reproducing their thoughts and establishing their principles.‡ He appears to possess all their breadth of view and power of compassing a complicated subject; he is endowed with the genius of assimilating their theologic tone, and of drawing from them, and making part of the furniture of his own mind, those traditionary elements of knowledge which are closely connected with the Church. He recognizes their entire weight, he perceives the full bearing of their teaching, and seems to feel profoundly that depth, breadth, and stability are principally to be acquired—not so much by his own originality,

* Werner points out in a few words the aim of the great writers of the thirteenth century. The three elements which make up the character of the Angelical aid him directly to carry out that intent:—"Die scholastische Theologie des Mittelalters setzte sich zum höchsten Ziele, die im Geiste der Kirche aufgefasste Schrifttheologie mit den Mitteln der aus Aristoteles erlernten argumentativen Dialektik speculativ zu durchdringen. Darnach theilte sich das wissenschaftliche Streben der scholastischen Theologen in die dreifache Aufgabe der Schriftforschung, des Studiums der Aristotelischen Philosophie, und der auf Grundlage dieser doppelten Studien vorgenommenen speculativ-argumentativen Zergliederung der in Systemform aneinander gefügten Lehrsätze der kirchlichen Theologie." (*Die heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 217.*)

† See Vol. I., Chap. XVIII., p.

‡ It might suggest itself as a difficulty to some minds that the Angelical could not have had access to the writings of the Fathers. But such persons might recall that King S. Louis, seeing when in the East how eager the Sultan was to collect the scattered writings of Mussulman philosophers, was moved to imitate his example. When he returned to France, he had the best exemplars of the Fathers collected and transcribed. We have absolute mention of S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, and many more. And it is certain that the Angelical had free use of the Royal Library.

as by thoroughly mastering, not merely the general tendencies, but the specialities, the genius, and the character of each separate individual.* He appears, indeed, to have an intimate and personal acquaintance with each one of these classic masters of Catholic thought, and, so far as can be done by man, to have absorbed into his own system, and then to have reproduced, that which was most admirable in each of them. S. Jerome and S. Chrysostom in Holy Scripture; S. Athanasius, S. Basil, and S. Gregory *Theologus* in dogma; S. Ambrose and S. Gregory the Great in moral disquisition;—each of these, in fact, in his own special line, has his share in the formation of the Angel of the Schools.†

Then, just as Aristotle may be looked upon as representing the bloom and flower of Greek philosophy, as Dante summed up the whole knowledge of his day in the *Divina Commedia*, so S. Augustine stands as the ripe fruit of the great patristic tree, as the representative of the classic learning of East and West.

As the Angelical professed S. Augustine's Rule, so also he imbibed his spirit. S. Augustine forms the pedestal upon which stands the graceful figure of the "*Summa Theologica*."‡

Indeed, the wealth of dogmatic and moral teaching drawn from the columnal Fathers as a body, and enshrined in the "*Summa Theologica*" alone, is prodigious; but perhaps the best and easiest test of the Angelical's marvellous acquaintance with their writings and their style, is to be found in the *Cutena Aurea* on the Gospels; and this of itself is an ample explanation why so large a space has been taken up in treating of their characters and lives.

In fact, the great dyke set up by the Angelical against the rationalism and irreverence of the schools, was principally formed of materials drawn from the teachings of the Fathers.

* Take as one instance out of many the manner in which the Angelical treats the difference which arose between S. Augustine and S. Jerome on the text:—"How dost thou compel the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (*Galat., Chap. II., 14.*) Here he shows his complete mastery over the mind of either Father, and gives his own opinion with the solidity of a master-mind:—"Validum argumentum Augustini contra Hieronymum est, quia Hieronymus adducit pro se septem doctores, quorum quatuor, scilicet Luodiceensem, Alexandrum, Origenem et Didymum, excludit Augustinus, utpote de heresi infames. Aliis vero tribus opponit tres quos pro se et pro sua opinione habet; scilicet Ambrosium, Cyprianum, et ipsum Paulum, qui manifeste dicit, quod reprehensibilis erat Petrus." (*In Epist. ad Galatas, Lect. III., p. 396, Vol. XIII.*)

† Frigerio speaks of the Angelical's "*inesplicabil riverenza*" for the Fathers of the Church:—"Da sì profonda umiltà cagionosi in lui quel sommo rispetto e inesplicabil riverenza, in che egli hebbe i Padri e santi Dottori della Chiesa, come ciò ben dimostrano i suoi gran volumi." (*Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. II., Cap. IX., n. 9, p. 115.*)

‡ Tournon shows, with abundant authority, how strikingly the Angelical kept himself in harmony with S. Augustine. Cardinal Norris says:—"Ad Augustinum non itur nisi per Thomam." The learned Cardinal d'Aguirra says:—"Mira illa Angelice mentis claritate obscura quæque exposuit D. Thomas, et abstrusos patrum, præsertim Augustini sensus luce donavit: quod experientia didici; nec dubium quin alii. Contingit in controversiis, inspecta solâ sancti Augustini litterâ, mentem obui fluctibus difficultatum, nec apparere viam ad emergendum; totum verò procellam sedari, et occurrere portum, ubi intente quaeritur, et tandem invenitur, quid Angelicus Doctor tradiderit: ipse enim mihi ac suavissima interpretationis genere Divum Augustinum exponit." (*See Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas, Liv. IV., Chap. V., p. 350-357.*)

Then again, the traditions of the Church—that is the writings of the Fathers—must be thoroughly mastered by one who undertakes to construct a *Summa Theologica* worthy of the name. Tradition is the safest guide and support through the labyrinths of Scripture, and along the slippery road of human reason. He who has once grasped the mind of the eight great Doctors of the Church, steps well armed into the arena.*

The Angelical's acquaintance with their writings and spirit might be shown in many ways. It might be brought out by comparing passages from his various works: by reference to the "*Summa Theologica*," to the "Commentary" on the Lombard, or even to earlier labours. But he has bequeathed to us one golden volume, which offers of itself an overwhelming evidence. Had it not been for the "*Catena Aurea*," men would hardly have believed it possible that any theologian, however gifted, could have gained so profound and accurate a knowledge of the teachings and style of the great teachers of the Church. In the whole range of scholastic or indeed of modern learning, even since the patristic method has been so much in vogue, no work has yet appeared which can be compared with the "*Expositio Continua*" of the Angel of the Schools.†

It is of great importance to insist upon the patristic learning of the Angelical, and to show the reader how thoroughly his mind must have been impregnated with the spirit of the Greek and Latin Doctors. Men are too apt to fall into the delusion that because the Saint was a scholastic he contented himself with studying Commentaries and *Compendia*, and with bringing the Aristotelic forms of logic to bear upon the subject-matter of religion; and that he was bound up within the narrow compass of the so-called minute, subtle, technical, and hair-splitting methods of the schools. They are apt to forget that any really giant mind, of its own natural force, would rise above and transcend all the intellectual slaveries, and burst all the bonds of formalism with which they imagine the scholastic mind was occasionally entangled.‡ Though the "*Summa Theologica*" is

* "Im Ganzen sind es mehr als achtzig Autoren aus allen christlichen Jahrhunderten von Ignatius M. bis auf den Mönch Enthymius, deren Erklärungen und Glossen zum Texte der Evangelien dergestalt mit einander verwoben sind, dass sie ein in ununterbrochenem Zusammenhang sich fortspinnendes Ganzes bilden." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 219.)

† See Chap. II., p. 565.

‡ See the Angelical's view of consulting the learned, which he applied so well to the Fathers of the Church:—"Unde in his que ad prudentiam pertinent, maxime indiget homo ab aliis erudiri, et precipue ex senibus, qui sanum intellectum adepti sunt circa fines operabilium. Unde Philosophus dicit in 6 Ethic. (Cap. XI. circa fin.): *Oportet attendere expertorum, et seniorum, et prudentium iudemonstrabilibus enunciationibus, et opinionibus, non minus quam demonstationibus; propter experientiam enim vident principia.* Unde et Prov. III., 5, dicitur: *Ne sententia prudentie tue; et Eccli. VI., 36, dicitur: In multitudine presbyterorum, id est, seniorum, prudentiam sta, et sapientie illorum ex corde conjungere.* Hoc autem pertinet ad docilitatem ut aliquis sit bene discipline susceptivus . . . Ad secundum dicendum, quod docilitas, sicut et alia que ad prudentiam pertinent, secundum aptitudinem quidem est a natura; sed ad ejus consummationem

thrown into a severe logical frame-work, the subject-matter of which it treats was gathered by the Angelical out of the depths of dogmatic revelation, and of the broad sweep of patristic teaching from the days of Origen to those of Albertus Magnus and the Victorines.* There is no *display* of patristic lore in the *Summa*, certainly. The whole is so well digested, and is so ripe a fruit of a career of profoundest study, of widest reading, of intensest thought, that the very harmony of its parts, the mellowness of its colouring, and the maturity of the whole design, conceal, rather than display, the vastness of the labour undergone in its construction. Had not the Saint been master of the intellect of S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, Pope Gregory, and such like, the "*Summa Theologica*" never could have been written. Its depth, its largeness, and its opulence, speak of the traditions of the East; its very conception is patristic, if its form is of the West; it manifests, in point of fact, the grandeur of the Oriental and the symmetry of the Latin mind. It is a splendid synthesis, which could not have been achieved by one who did not possess the power of holding, with a catholic grasp, two worlds at once.

And here again is another note of difference between the Angelical and the classic Fathers, which should not be omitted. He absolutely forgets self in all he writes, and is wholly absorbed by the scientific and technical exposition of the Truth with which he lived: they, on the contrary, were ever allowing the history of their own hearts, the fate of their own friends, the events of their own times, and the play of human sympathy and personal suffering, to enter into, and as it were refresh, the course of their expositions, and even to colour, if so may be said, their formal treatises on dogma and the Sacred Word. They live and breathe in their own writings, the character of the man comes out with its vivid touches of individuality, and one Father is as distinct from another as man is different from man. Who could not at once recognize the Athenian culture of S. Basil and S. Gregory in their graceful periods, and gain an insight into their hearts whilst reading them? Is there one Father who resembles S. John Chrysostom, with his bright trust

plurimum valet humanum studium, dum scilicet homo sollicitè frequenter et reverenter applicat animum suum documentis majorum, non negligens ea propter ignavia, nec contemnens propter superbia." (*Summa, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. XLIX., Art. 3, p. 189—190. Ed. Parm.*)

* Speaking of the wealth of patristic learning in the *Cateua Aurea*, Werner says:—"Aus dieser Wolke von Zeugen für den echten, traditionell kirchlichen Sinn des Schriftwortes werden besonders oft Origenes, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Gregor der Grosse, und von den späteren Hrabanus, Remigius, sowie die Verfasser der beiden Glossen (ordinaria und interlinearis) redend vorgeführt." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 219.*)

in Providence, and with those deep human sympathies which are characteristics of all his expositions—not to speak of his touching letters to Olympias, Theodora, Theodotus, Castor, Nicolas, and Polybius? S. Jerome's whole heart is poured out in all its richness; S. Augustine and S. Gregory the Great* live with the distinct life of men and saints, in their most scientific works, as well as in their voluminous correspondence; in a word, nature and grace, the human and the divine, the personal and the objective,—all flowed out in their writings with the exuberant spontaneity of nature, and so freely, that no better picture of them could have been preserved than that which they painted of themselves. We thank them and love them for their charming frankness; and perceive in the unaffected utterances which gush fresh from the fountain of their hearts, the majesty of that spirit which lent to their very natures some of the witchery of supernatural grace.†

Yet, is there anything less sublime in the self-repression of the Angelical, who has not allowed a shade of self, for good or bad, however faint, to pass across his voluminous creations? Was it that he was cold and colourless, and had no distinct characteristic of his own? Assuredly not. Whose heart burnt with so pure and high a flame? whose character was more intensely personal? whose sympathy was more expanding towards every creature of God, than the great Angelical's? Had he wished, he might have rivalled S. Gregory the Great in the vastness of his correspondence; or S. Gregory *Theologus* in the sweetness of his poems; or S. Jerome in his fierce, his sword-like zeal; or S. Augustine in the lavish outpouring of his whole being, in his "Confessions," with their bursts of passionate inspiration.‡ Had he thought fit, he could have

* "Pope Gregory's epistles give us the same sort of insight into the holy solicitude for the universal Christian people which possessed him, that minute vigilance, yet comprehensive superintendence of the chief pastor. . . . Those of S. Ildore and S. Nilus consist of little more than one or two terse, pithy, pregnant sentences which may be called sermons, and are often as vivid as if we heard them. S. Chrysostom's are for the most part crowded into the three memorable years in which the sufferings of exile gradually ripened into a virtual martyrdom. Others, as some of those of S. Jerome and S. Ambrose, are meditations on mystical subjects. Those of S. Dionysius of Alexandria, which are but fragments, recount the various trials of the time, and are marked with a vigorous individuality which invests the narrative with an interest far higher than historical." (*The Ancient Saints*, No. 1, p. 93, see *Rambler*, Vol. I., 1859.)

† And here at once the answer suggests itself to an objection which may be advanced against the influence of the *Lives* of the Church Fathers on S. Thomas. It may be said by unreflecting persons, that the Angelical knew little of the *Lives*, though he knew much of the *works* of those saints. The reply is easy, and, to any one who has studied the Fathers at all, obvious, namely: that it is simply from their works that we know their lives, and that their individual histories are so intimately bound up with their writings, that the latter cannot be read without gaining a knowledge of the former. How deeply and carefully the Angelical had studied the writings of the classic Fathers, is brought out with sufficient clearness, it is hoped in the course of these pages.

‡ "When Pope Gregory comments upon Ezekiel, he writes about the Lombards, his own people, and himself. What a vivid idea we have of S. Chrysostom! partly from his style, partly from his matter; yet we derive it from his formal expositions of Scripture. His expositions are discourses; his discourses, whether he will or no, are manifestations. S. Gregory Nazianzen has written discourses too, by means of which he has gained for himself the special title of "Theologus;" yet these same orations give us also a large range of information about his own life, his kindred and friends, his feelings and his fortunes." (*The Ancient Saints*, No. 1, p. 94; see the *Rambler*, Vol. I., 1859.)

displayed all the might and tenderness of his affections, and have unveiled the inner secrets of his heart and fantasy, as well as have shown the crushing power of his intelligence before an admiring world; but he was *Angelical*: his heart was jealously reserved to one alone; his interests, affections, yearnings, joys, sorrows, and hopes, like the many-tongued flame of sacrificial fire, tended straight to heaven; earth was simply his altar, and self was consumed in the holocaustic sacrifice of every vibration of the heart, and every emotion of the will, towards that one Object in Whose society he found his freedom and delight. There is nothing more seraphic in the whole history of S. Thomas than this absolute transformation of self which produced the splendid treatise of the "*Summa Theologica*," in which the tenderest and most emotional of creatures offers to the world the fruit of his mighty meditations on the cardinal teachings of religion, and proves that love does not destroy the severity of science, and that science in reality tends but to increase the intensity of love.* If the Fathers were great in their display of self, the Angelical was no less great in divine self-repression.

Indeed his life may be said to have been a steady progress towards the Beatific Vision. As he advanced in years, he also advanced in union, so that the latter portion of his career may almost be said to have been passed in heaven. Science and religion were as the steps of the ladder of his perfection; he knew that there could be little progress in love without contemplation, and that the "Science of the Saints" is principally acquired through an intimate conjunction of the intelligence with the fount of illumination.† He let the visible world go its way, and he went his: as long as he was permitted to dwell in the Spiritual Kingdom, he was well content. Life was simply bearable because by means of it he was enabled to make his footing sure, in his advance into the Admirable Light.

On one occasion, when he was staying at the Convent at Bo-

* The difference between the Angelical and the classic Fathers is suggested at once by the following:—"Instead of writing formal doctrinal treatises, they [the Fathers] write controversy; and their controversy, again, is correspondence. They mix up their own persons, natural and supernatural, with the didactic or polemical works which engaged them. Their authoritative declarations are written, not on stone tablets, but on what Scripture calls 'the fleshly tables of the heart.' The line of their discussion traverses a region rich and interesting, and opens on those who follow them in it a succession of instructive views as to the aims, the difficulties, the disappointments under which they journeyed on heavenward, their care of the brethren, their apprehension of living teachers of error. Dogma and proof are at the same time hagiography. They do not write a *Summa Theologicæ*, or draw a *catena*, or pursue a single thesis through the stages of a scholastic disputation. They wrote for the occasion, and seldom on a carefully-digested plan." (*The Ancient Saints*, No. 1, p. 93-94; see the *Rambler*, Vol. I., 1859.)

† "Corrispose al sublime dono della sapientia di Tomaso, egual dono di contemplatione: essendo della sapientia illicio, come di suprema scientia, fare all'intelletto conoscere e giudicare per cause altissime le verità divine o create; e insieme come di saporita scientia, di far gustare alla volontà il soavissimo sapore delle cose di sopra: che inttoche l'essentia della contemplanatione nell'intelletto consista, è nondimeno dalla carità verso di Dio originata, la quale aprona l'anima a contemplanlo." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. II., n. 1*, p. 130.)

logna, he manifested in a most remarkable manner the abiding temper of his mind.* A Procurator had been nominated, who was a stranger to the city, and was neither personally acquainted with S. Thomas nor with the other friars of the convent. He had occasion to go shopping, and required some one to accompany him, and carry the provisions. He requested the Prior to appoint a person to fulfil that duty, and he was told to summon to his assistance the first friar that he met. Now it so happened that the very first person he saw, on descending from the Prior's cell, was the Angel of the Schools. Not dreaming who he was, the Procurator sharply told him, in the Prior's name, to take the basket and follow him briskly into the street. Without a word, the Angelical put the basket on his shoulder, and went after the Procurator, who was hurrying on in front. But, suffering as he was at the time from a weakness in his leg, the Saint found it almost impossible to keep pace with his new Superior; upon which, the Procurator turned upon him and rated him roundly for a lazy fellow, who was more burden than profit to the community, and who should show more zeal in the service of religion. This scene was witnessed by several citizens who happened to be passing at the time, and they were highly scandalized and amazed at beholding the greatest theologian of the day treated with so little courtesy, and set to do such menial service.† They at once expostulated with the Procurator, and expressed their indignation that Brother Thomas of Aquino, the great luminary of the schools, should receive such scant respect. On hearing the words, "Brother Thomas of Aquino," the Procurator looked as if he had been stabbed!

* "De ejus mirabili dicitur humilitate, quod cum in Bononiensi conventu predictus Doctor transiens moraretur, et more solito per claustrum contemplativus incederet, quidam Frater alterius conventus, qui Doctorem non noverat, venit ad eum, petita et obtenta licentia a Priore, ut cum eo qui primo occurreret, in civitatem ad sua negotia ire liceret: et dixit ei: Bone Frater, Prior mandavit, quod veniatis mecum. Qui statim inclinans caput, secutus est eum. Post quem cum non potuisset sic festinanter incedere, frequenter redargutus a socio, se humiliter excusabat. Cives vero, qui eum noverant, admirati, quod tantus Doctor post Fratrem tanto conditionis incederet, de quo erat dignus, ut preiret, cogitantes hoc ex errore contigisse aliquo, indicaverunt Fratri, quis esset ille, quem diceret. Qui conversus ad Fratrem Thomam, petivit veniam, ut ejus ignorantie indulgeret: et conversa predictis civibus cum reverentia Magistrum interrogantibus, de tanto humilitatis exemplo respondit: Quod in obedientia perfectum omnis religio, quia homo homini propter Deum subicitur, sicut Deus homini propter hominem obediit." (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. V., n. 26, p. 666.)

† The *Vita* gives several examples of the Angelical's readiness in reply, which show that it was for no want of presence of mind on his part that he performed this act of obedience, but simply from a high supernatural motive:—"Essendo dimandato un giorno da alcuni suoi amici: perchè tanto tempo sotto la disciplina d'Alberto avesse taciuto? Rispose: Perchè non haveva cosa degna da rispondere a un tal uomo, quale era Alberto. Dimandato, che cosa più gioconda gli havebbe potuto venire in questa vita? Rispose: se quel che leggerò, bene intenderò. Et dicendogli uno, che non era tanto dotto quanto era tenuto: Egli soggiunse, e per questo studio accio non s'ingannino. Essendogli stato detto, ch'era più grasso di corpo, che non se gli conveniva. La Zucca (rispose) ancor senza cibo cresce. Havendolo salutato un usuraio a lui inognito: divinamente conoscendolo, gli disse: I tuoi dinari saranno sterili: et senza frutto. Mangiando delle olive, le quali il compagno disse, ch'erano salse: Egli disse. E bene il salse, acciò che il corpo grasso non si putrefaccia. Ripreso da una Matrona, ch'essendo nato di femina così le femine fuggisse. Per questo lo fo (soggiunse) perchè di femina son nato. Dimandato dalla Sorella: Che cosa, e dove fosse il Paradiso? l'uno, e l'altro saprai (rispose) se lo meritarai. Dimandato per consiglio: che si doveva fare per non errare? Rispose: Facciasi tutte le cose; che si possa rendere ragione: perchè si facciano." (*Vita*, p. 26.)

He at once threw himself on his knees before the Angelical, and with sobs and tears implored to be forgiven. The Saint said gently in reply, that he was simply carrying out the orders of obedience, and that it was he himself who should by right beg pardon, since he had not been as active as he ought to have been in keeping pace with the movements of the Procurator.* To him the voice of authority, was simply the Voice of Christ: it mattered nothing to a man of his intelligence what the order was, provided he knew the Source from whence it came.

It is not surprising that a man so completely absorbed in the world of supernatural perfection, should day by day live more and more in heaven. He was often lifted up in ecstasy—for instance, during mass. On one occasion this happened at Naples, in the presence of many gentlemen of the city; and, for so long a time was he carried away, that, lest the Mass should be interrupted wholly, one of the friars who were present was obliged to go to him at the altar, and bring him to himself.† The Saint had good reason to have recourse to the Origin of all truth and wisdom. Whenever he had a doubt about his teaching, he sought and gained light from heaven. It is thus that he was enabled to explain a most difficult passage of S. Paul. On another occasion, in the course of his Exposition, he came across a most obscure sentence in Isaias. He used all the force of his thought, and all the breadth of his reading, to bring light out of the darkness: but without avail. Then he set himself to fast and pray for several days. One night, during this period of supplication, Reginald, the *socius* of the Saint, whose cell was contiguous to that of his master, heard voices speaking, and amongst them that of the Angel of the Schools. He was greatly astonished at this, since he knew for certain that S. Thomas had gone to his room alone, and had closed the latch. Reginald went to the door and listened atten-

* Tonron speaks at length on the favours accorded to our Saint, and brings several authors forward to confirm what he advances:—"Puisque je me suis proposé de rapporter tout de suite les principales favours, que notre Saint a reçues du Ciel, quoique dans des lieux, et des temps différens; je ne dois pas oublier ce que plusieurs graves Auteurs, saint Vincent Ferrier, S. Antonin, Bernard Guidonis ont écrit après Guillaume de Tocco; et ce que S. Thomas lui-même sur ses derniers jours confia au Père Renaud; auquel il déclara que le sainte Mère de Dieu l'avoit souvent honoré de ses apparitions; qu'elle l'avoit assuré qu'il persévéreroit selon ses desirs dans son état, que sa vie et ses Ecrits étoient agréables à Dieu; et que tout ce qu'il avoit demandé par l'intercession de la glorieuse Vierge, il l'avoit obtenu de la divine bonté." (*Liv. III., Chap. LX., p. 236.*)

† "Talimento san Tomaso s'univa con Dio nelle sue contemplazioni, che molte volte si levava in estasi: come in Napoli l'accadde alla presenza di molti Cavalieri; che celebrando egli il sacrificio della santa Messa, così nella mente si elevò, che entrando in una profundissima Estasi, pareva agli astanti, che fosse tutto rapito in Cielo; e tanto vi dimorò, che fu bisogno ad un de Frati, che ivi si ritrovò, destarlo, acciò avesse il sacrificio continuato; et egli svegliato dal sonno della contemplatione, volentariamente seguì. Poscia essendo stato dimandato da uno degli ascoltanti della Messa, ch'era suo familiare: quel, che accaduto li era, mentre che così elevato si vedeva? egli per humiltà non volse cosa alcuna a quello manifestare. Poscia ritirandosi in una Cappella, che egli per Oratorio scelta haveva comoda, e atta alle contemplazioni, ivi separandosi dalle cose terrene, si univa con le celesti: e se tempo alcuno se gli concedeva, poiche all'oratione, et agli studi haveva atteso, attendeva alle honeste conversazioni; nelle quali, o insegnava, o recitava cose spirituali; perche imparassero tutti di vivere christianamente." (*Vita, p. 22.*)

tively; there was no mistake: he distinctly heard a voice telling S. Thomas to write, and then, as if reading from a book, the same voice dictated an exposition on that obscure passage of *Isaias*. Next day, Reginald threw himself at his master's feet, and implored him for the love of God to say who had been speaking to him in the night. The Saint was filled with confusion by this request; and it was only after Reginald had solemnly sworn to keep the secret as long as his master was alive, that the Angelical informed him that our Lord had heard his prayer, and sent S. Peter and S. Paul to expound to him the true meaning of the obscure portion of the prophecy.*

Then he was frequently seen lifted up in the air in ecstasy, in the church of S. Dominic, in Naples. Reginald saw him thus in the church of S. Maria Della Porto, in Salerno. But the most memorable occurrence was witnessed by Fra Domenico di Caserta at Naples. The Angelical was in the habit of praying in the church before the night-matins, and the friars of the convent were aware that our Lord accorded many privileges to him. Fra Domenico had a great curiosity to witness the Angelical enjoying these spiritual favours; and to this end hid himself in the church at night to watch S. Thomas whilst at prayer. The Saint as usual, when all had retired to rest, came into the church. Fra Domenico saw him advancing, till he came opposite a certain figure of our Lord hanging on the Cross, in the chapel of S. Nicholas, when he stood still; and then, being rapt in ecstasy, was lifted two cubits in the air before the Crucifix, and so remained a considerable time. Whilst the Saint was thus entranced, Fra Domenico distinctly heard Christ's voice saying from the image: "Well hast thou written of Me, Thomas. What reward wilt thou accept for thy labour?" To which the Angelical at once replied: "No other than Thyself, O Lord!" Something of the same kind happened

* Tocco narrates the vision thus:—"Quod cum super *Isaiam* scriberet, et profunda Prophetæ mysteria exponendo et scribendo in lucem adduceret, pervenit ad quendam ipsius libri textum, quem cum non intelligeret, nec ad intellectum litteræ, qui ei satisfaceret, perveniret, et multis diebus jejuniis et orationibus se affligeret, instantio orationis obtinuit sibi dubium divinitus exponi cretens, quod petiverat in oratione devotus. Nam uno diem, celebrato cum devotione jejunio, de nocte audivit prædictus ejus socius ipsum laquentem, cum quo vel quibus ignorans: sonum quidem percipiens, materiam autem, de qua currebat locutio, non perpendens. Qua locutione finita, prædictus Doctor dixit socio: Fili Raynald surge, et accende candelam, et accipe quaternum, in quo super *Isaiam* scriperas, et parate iterum ad scribendum. Qui cum diutius scriberet, quæ Doctor, quasi in libro legeret, ea facilitate dictabat: scribenti Fratri post aliquam horam dixit: Vade Fili ad quiescendum, quia restat adhuc minutum tempus ad quietem. Qui avidus scire cupiens secretum Magistri sui prodigium, quod ei audita locutione erat revelatum, ad pedes Magistri procidit cum lacrymis, genibus flexis, et dixit: Ego de loco isto non surgam, nisi dicatis mihi, cum quibus vel cum quo diutius estis ista nocte locutus: et cepit ipsum per nomen Domini Dei fortiter adjurare. Qui cum pluries diecere noluisse, et diceret: Fili, non est tibi opus hoc scire; iterum stricte adjuratus, ne nomen Dei videretur continere, per quod cum sociis ausus fuerat adjurare, prædictus Doctor prorumpens in lacrymas, dixit: Fili, vidisti his diebus afflictionem meam super dubio, quod habui super istum textum, quem modo exposui, quem multis lacrymis a Deo scire petivi: unde hæc nocte Deus miseratus est mei, misit ad me beatos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum per quos ipsum rogaveram, qui me omnia plenissime docuerunt." (Tocco, *Bol.*, Cap. VI., n. 32, p. 668.)

at Orvieto: the Angelical had composed the Office of the Blessed Sacrament; and whilst kneeling before a figure of Christ crucified, he offered to our Lord this labour of his love; and his Master in return graciously spoke to him from the Cross, and thanked him for the service he had performed in honour of the Blessed Eucharist.* A still more remarkable event took place at Paris, which shows the immense authority the Saint possessed over the Masters of the University, as well as his intimate relationship with our Lord.†

A great dispute had arisen amongst the Professors of the University, with respect to the position of the "accidents" of bread in the Blessed Sacrament. Warm and angry litigation took place upon this abstruse question, and the flame of controversy was lighted up throughout the various schools of the University. But the Doctors could come to no accommodation. Finally, it was suggested to lay the whole case before the great Angelical. This idea was taken up at once; and the whole University, with entire unanimity, agreed to abide by his decision, whatever it should be,—so great was the universal trust of those fiery and imperious Doctors, in the profound learning and acuteness of the Angel of the Schools.‡ The Saint at once gave himself to

* "Ma particolarmente in Napoli in presenza di fra Domenico di Caserta, huomo di memorabili costumi, e probata vita, per età vecchio, e grave nelle sue attioni, che spesso volte cose maravigliose di Dio soleva vedere, fu visto san Tomaso avanti l'immagine d'un Crocifisso prima del Matutino la notte, ove era solito spesso fiate venire a fare oratione, che osservata l'hora dal diligente e devoto frate per chiarirsi di ciò, che quello faceva, di nascosto in un luogo s'era ascoso, che era una Cappella a san Nicolò dedicata; ove essendo san Tomaso venuto innanzi ad una immagine del Crocifisso, lo vide (dico) orando elevato da terra due cubiti, più volte dopo udì una chiara voce uscire da quelle santissima imagine, che esplicò queste formate parole, dicendo. *Bene scripsisti de me Thoma. Quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem?* A cui san Tomaso tosto rispose; *Domine non aliam præter te.* Dal che il frate stupito, argomentò, che se Tomaso in terra era stimato, e pregiato, il tutto gli aveniva come spirito eletto a fruir l'eterna gloria de' Beati. Questo si persuadè, che l'avenisse: perchè stava all'hora san Tomaso scrivendo la Terza parte della Somma, dove si tratta dell'Incarnazione, Natività, Passione, Vita, Morte, et Resurrettione del vero Messia figliuolo di Dio, e di Maria humilissima: però le parole, che dal figliuolo dell'eterno padre, et di tal Madre gli furono preferite, li significavano la mercede delle fatiche, che scrivendo intorno alla sua persona sparse haveva." (*Vita*, p. 24; *Cf. Tocco, Boll., Cap. VI., n. 35, p. 669.*)

† "Il simile ancora avvenne a S. Tomaso metre stava in Orvieto, havendo composto l'officio del santissimo Sacramento: poiche essendosi inginocchiato innanzi alla immagine di un Crocifisso, l'offerse quell'officio: che composto haveva per ordine di Urbano sommo Pontefice: e havendo fatto oratione fece, che quella immagine dipinta aprisse le labra, e perfirisse a san Tomaso la soddisfazione, che la celeste Corte haveva dell'intenso officio. Et questa divota immagine da i Certitudini di Orvieto; con molta solennità si honora, e riverisce in memoria di sì pietoso atto di testimonianza mostrata verso di questo santo Dottore. Potrà dunque ogul fedele intelletto acquietarsi nella Dottrina di san Tomaso, come dalla divina verità comprobata, e autorizzata: e tanto più che ogul elevato spirito chiaramente conosce, che qual si voglia cosa, che vi si desidera, viene a essere da quella copiosamente esplicata, e dichiarata." (*Vita*, p. 25.)

‡ "Un'altra volta ancora ritrovandosi in Parigi si attaccò tra i Pargini Teologi una controversia circa gli accidenti del santissimo Sacramento dell'Altare. Et tra quelli era per nascervi alcuna specie di confusione: e non potendo sapere la verità di quanto essi bramavano di sapere, ricorsero a san Tomaso, acciò determinasse le loro questioni conforme alla verità. Accettò san Tomaso il peso per la speranza, che nella divina gratia egli haveva; la onde ritiratosi, si diede a diginnì; e a orationi, ponendo etandio l'anì all'intelletto, cominciò a conoscere quanto un'huomo naturale capir poteva sopra sì alto soggetto, havendo il tutto posto in carta. Et havendo già l'opera compita, chiamò il Priore del Convento, con i frati, e con quelli se ne andò all'Altar maggiore della Chiesa, ove la santissima Eucharistia si conservava. Et alla presenza di quei frati pregò la divina bontà, che mostrato haveva alcuno segno esteriore con autenticar quello, ch'egli scritto, e composto haveva sopra tal materia; e dopo di haver fatto una bella, e divota oratione, si udì una chiara, e aperta voce da tutti gli astanti, quili con san Tomaso stavano innanzi all'Altare inginocchiati, così dicendo. *Bene de hoc sacramento scripsisti, Thoma, et bene determinasti propositam questionem, quantum in corpore adhuc mortali constitutus quispiam possit, et humanitate digni.* Con questa fedel voce fu l'opera di san Tomaso da Christo Signor nostro autenticata. Restarono gli astanti da maraviglioso stupore oppressi, benedicendo l'altissimo Dio." (*Vita*, p. 25.)

prayer and fasting ; and this he continued several days. Then bending all the powers of his great mind to the solution of the problem, he wrote his opinion in full ; stating all the objections, and clearly laying down his replies. Having done this, he called together the Prior and brethren of the convent, and they accompanied him to the high altar of the church where the Blessed Sacrament was kept ; and then he knelt in their presence before the altar, and fervently prayed our Lord to show him some sign by which he might know if he had or had not unravelled the difficulty which had been proposed to him. After thus praying some little time, the whole community heard a voice distinctly saying from the tabernacle : " Well hast thou written, Thomas, concerning this Sacrament ; and well hast thou solved the problem—that is to say, in as far as it is possible for one to do so who still is prisoner in the flesh."*

Thus did the great Angelical converse with the other world ; thus did he receive divine illuminations and favours in the great work upon which he was engaged. Supernatural love and supernatural knowledge went hand in hand, and gently led him to the highest summit of perfection—flooding his mind with light, and melting into his heart the charity of the Cross. There is none of the restlessness and uncertainty of mere human talent about him ; all is calm, peaceful, and secure like the summer world when it basks at noonday in the sunshine, sleeping and yet awake, and whilst absorbing the heat and light, displaying through their very influence a thousand varied splendours of flower and fruit, of shade and tint, of sweet scent and soothing melody, of tender mountain distance and rugged broken foreground,—of all that earth can offer as a tribute to the sun.†

But it is time to return to the *Catena Aurea*, and to show the

* Barelle speaks well of the way in which the Angelical lived more and more in the Unseen World as he advanced in years.—" Les extases, les ravissements qu'il avait toujours éprouvés dans l'oraison, devenaient chaque jour plus habituels et plus intenses. Dans de semblables moments, on eût dit que son âme avait entièrement abandonné son corps, tant il revenait alors à la complète inertie de la matière. A son retour dans sa prison terrestre, on l'entendait soupirer, avec les paroles de saint Paul, après le jour de la délivrance et de la vision. Thomas allait redisant souvent à cette époque : ' Qui me délivrera de ces liens de la mort ? Oh ! que je désire sortir d'esclavage et m'en aller au Christ ! ' Ces liens cependant ne semblaient pas devoir se relâcher encore ; rien n'annonçait que les murs de cette prison terrestre fussent s'entreouvrir et tomber. La santé, l'âge même du saint Docteur, qui était celui où les nobles pensées, les grands projets n'ont pu que s'affermir dans le cœur de l'homme, tout paraissait lui promettre une longue existence." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXVI, p. 334.*)

† Gibelli, speaking of our Saint's last days, says:—" Non rifiuiva di ripetere quelle dolci parole di Agostino, cioè a dire di quell'inclito dottore, che sopra ogni altro egli avea avuto in ammirazione, in riverenza ed amore: dammiti a conoscere, o Signore, o virtù dell'anima mia; faumi fervente in amarti, fa ch'io ti posseda in mezzo del mio cuore o beatitudine mia sempiterna; lascia deh lascia ch'io abbracci te vero bene, senza il quale niuna cosa è buona. Oh quando verrò e apparirò dinanzi a te, letizia mia! perchè non mi mostri tu la faccia, o allegrezza mia! dove sei asceso, luce degli occhi miei, vita dell'anima mia! Forse non ti può vedere uomo che viva? ecco o Signore, se così è, dammi la morte e lasciamiti vedere: non voglio più vivere, al voglio morire; desidero di essere disciolto e d'essere con Cristo; desidero morire per veder Cristo, rifiuto di vivere per vivere con Cristo. (A Signore mio Gesù ricevi lo spirito mio; o vita dell'anima mia, trai l'anima mia!)" (*Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XXIX, p. 111. Seconda Edizione.*)

Angelical's deep acquaintance with the columnal Fathers of the Church.*

"By a *Catena Patrum* is meant a string or series of passages selected from the writings of various Fathers, and arranged for the elucidation of some portion of Scripture, as the Psalms or the Gospels. *Catenas* seems to have originated in the short scholia or glosses which it was customary in MSS. of the Scriptures to introduce between the lines or on the margin, perhaps in imitation of the Scholiasts on the profane authors. These, as time went on, were gradually expanded, and passages from the Homilies or Sermons of the Fathers upon the same Scripture added to them."†

Catenas were written long before the thirteenth century, but not one of them possesses the same merit as that by the Angel of the Schools. In fact these earlier efforts can only be called *Catenas*, by courtesy. In none of them are quotations from the Fathers so dovetailed together as to permit the undisturbed flow of the entire sense—as is the case with the work of the Angelical. The first Greek *Catena* was composed by Œcumenius in the ninth century.‡ Fabritius speaks of hundreds of *Catenas* in the Royal Library of France. The works of Eustathius of Antioch and of Procopius are no more *Catenas* than the Commentaries of S. Bede, or the Exposition of S. Jerome on S. Paul to the Galatians. But S. Isidore, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Haymo, and Walafrid Strabo amongst the Latins; and the Damascene—who largely borrowed from S. Chrysostom and S. Gregory, Theophylact, and Titus Bostrensis amongst the Greeks, wrote works which more nearly resemble the Exposition of our Saint. Indeed, he borrowed from their writings, and also made frequent use of the "*Glossa Ordinaria*," called sometimes the "*Auctoritas*," and of the "*Glossa Interlinearis*," which was an elucidation of the Sacred Text, written between the lines, for the immediate benefit of the reader.

The *Catena Aurea* occupies, in the Parma Edition of the Saint's works, two volumes of large quarto in double columns. The first volume contains one hundred and forty-four pages, and treats on the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark; the

* Bareille sees clearly the importance of this work, and how it tells for the Angelical's genius:—"Ce dernier ouvrage est l'un des plus étonnants peut-être qui soient sortis de la plume de Thomas. Il donne une idée effrayante de son érudition et de sa mémoire; et quoiqu'il soit celui de ses écrits où il eût le moins d'invention propre, si l'on considère chaque pensée prise à part, aucun n'atteste mieux en lui cette puissance de création qui est le caractère distinctif du génie. La première conception de cet ouvrage est d'une hardiesse qui le dispute à sa beauté." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XX., p. 234. Quatrième Edition.)

† See *Catena Aurea*, S. Matthew, Part I., Vol. I., Preface, p. 1, Oxford, 1841.

‡ It appears that the Angelical not only made use of extant translations from the Greek, but he also had new translations purposely made to serve for the work in hand:—"Die griechisch geschriebenen Anlegungen benützte Thomas nach den vorhandenen Uebersetzungen; mehrere derselben wurden, laut der Zueignungsrede an den Cardinal Anibald, erst auf seinen Betrieb, um sie für die *Catena* zu benützen, angefertigt." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 219.)

second numbers four hundred and sixty-four pages, and embraces the Gospels of SS. Luke and John.*

The *Catena* on S. Matthew was dedicated to Pope Urban IV., and was composed at his request. The remainder was written at a later date, and was dedicated to Hannibal, Cardinal di Molaria, a personal friend of the Angelical.

"The *Catena* is so contrived that it reads as a running commentary, the several extracts being dovetailed together by the compiler. And it consists wholly of extracts, the compiler introducing nothing of his own but the few connecting particles which link one extract to the next. There are also a few quotations headed '*Glossa*,' which none of the editors have been able to find in any author, and which from their character, being chiefly introductory of a new chapter or a new subject, may be probably assigned to the compiler; though even this is dispensed with whenever it is possible: when a Father will furnish the words for such transition or connection, they are dexterously introduced."†

The method is described thus:—

"The sacred text is broken into paragraphs longer or shorter; the shortest less than a verse; the longest twenty verses; and the exposition of each portion follows this order:—First, the transition from the last paragraph to that under review; if they are events, the harmony with the chronology of the other Evangelists is shewn, S. Augustine (*de consensu Evangelistarum*) being the authority used for this; then comes the literal, or what is called, the historical exposition. Where different Fathers have given different explanations, they are introduced generally in the order of the most obvious and literal first, and so proceeding to the most recondite, by the words "*Vel aliter*." Then if any important doctrine hinges upon any part of the passage or comma, selections are given from the most approved treatises on the subject."‡

In this striking *Catena* the Angelical makes use of the authority of over eighty authors, from S. Ignatius Martyr to the monk Enthemius.§ S. Augustine, S. Hilary, Origen, S. Chrysostom, and

* I cannot pass over Barelle's words, which fully appreciate the genius shown in this work, and the masterful grasp of tradition which it exhibits:—"Il est une parole qui seule paraît digne d'expliquer et d'interpréter la parole des saints Evangiles: c'est celle qui participe à la vénération des chrétiens pour ses livres sacrés, la parole de la tradition. Un commentaire de l'Evangile par la tradition serait sans doute le plus sûr, le plus magnifique des commentaires que l'imagination puisse rêver. Mais ce commentaire semble, en effet, un rêve de l'imagination; et cependant il existe en réalité; pas un chapitre, pas un verset de l'Evangile qui n'ait été exposé, commenté par quelque ancien docteur de l'Eglise, et l'on a pu dire avec vérité que si l'Evangile venait tout-à-coup à périr, on en retrouverait les précieux fragments enchaînés dans les pages de ces écrivains vénéérés. Mais il fallait adjoindre immédiatement que nulle intelligence n'eût été capable de les réunir de nouveau, de reconstruire le divin ensemble." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XX., p. 235.)

† Mark Pattison's *Preface* to the *Catena Aurea*, to which the author is indebted, Vol. I., p. 4. Oxford, 1841.

‡ Mark Pattison's *Preface* to the *Catena Aurea*, Vol. I., p. 4—5. Oxford, 1841.

§ Taking the *Catena* on S. Matthew alone, the following authorities are brought forward to witness to the tradition of the Church:—Origen, Presbyter of Alexandria, A.D. 230; Pseudo-Origen, *Homiliæ sex ex diversis locis collectæ*; S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, 248; Eusebius, Archbishop of Cæsarea, 315; S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, 326; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, 340—350; S. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, 354; S. Gregory of Nazianzus, Archbishop of Constantinople, 370; S. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, 370; S. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, 374; S. Jerome, Presbyter and Monk of Bethlehem, 378; Nemesius, 380; S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, 396; S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, 398; S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, 412; S. Maximus, Bishop of Turin, 422; Cassian, Presbyter and Monk of Marseilles, 424; S. Peter Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna, 433; Council of Ephesus, Canons of, and Theodotus of Ancyra, 431; S. Leo I., Pope, 440; Gennadius, Presbyter of Marseilles, 495; S. Isidore,

S. Gregory the Great, seem to be favourites ; whilst more recent writers, such as Rabanus Maurus, and Remigius, together with the *Glosses*, are continually quoted. The Greek Fathers are transcribed from such translations into the Latin as were at hand ; though in several instances new translations were made for the special use of the Saint when composing this Exposition.*

"The quotations do not profess to be made with scrupulous adherence to the words of the original. But they are not (a very few excepted) abridgements in the words of the compiler, but condensations in their own language. How admirably this is done may be seen by any one who will take the trouble of collating a few pages of some of the more diffuse writers, *e.g.* S. Chrysostom or Origen, with the *Catena*. For instances particularly in which a sentence is made up of clauses gathered from distant pages, see the summary of the Sermon on the Mount, Chap. VII. in fin., and a quotation from Chrysostom on Chap. XXIII. 26."†

Take as a specimen the first of these examples. The *Catena* follows the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth verses of the seventh chapter of S. Matthew :—

"And it came to pass, when Jesus had fully ended these words, the people were in admiration at his doctrine."

"For he was teaching them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees." ‡Gloss.—Having related Christ's teaching, he shows its effects on the multitude, saying, *And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these words, the multitude wondered at His doctrine.* RABAN.—This ending pertains both to the finishing the words, and the completeness of the doctrines. That it is said that *the multitude wondered*, either signifies the unbelieving in the crowd, who were astonished because they did not believe the Saviour's word ; or is said of them all, in that they revered in Him the excellence of so great wisdom. PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM.—The mind of man when satisfied reasonably brings forth praise, but when overcome, wonder. For whatever we are not able to praise worthily, we admire. Yet their admiration pertained rather to Christ's glory than to their faith, for had they believed on Christ, they would not have wondered. For wonder is raised by whatever surpasses the appearance of the speaker or actor ; and thence we do not wonder at what is done or said by God, because all things are less than God's power. But it was the multitude that wondered, that is the common people, not the chief among the people, who are not wont to hear with the desire of learning ; but the simple folk heard in simplicity ; had others been present they would have broken up their silence by contradicting, for where the greater knowledge is, there is the stronger malice. For he that is in

Archbishop of Seville, 595; Bede, Venerable, Presbyter and Monk of Yarrow, 700; S. John, Presbyter of Damascus, 730; Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, 847; Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt, 853; Remigius, Presbyter and Monk of Auxerre, 890; Glossa Ordinaria, in ninth century; Paschasius Radbertus, 850; Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1090; S. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093; Glossa Interlinearis, in twelfth century.

* See how highly Professor Gibelli speaks of the *Catena Aurea*, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Capo XXI., p. 83—84. *Seconda Edizione*.

† *Catena Aurea*, S. Matthew, Part I., Vol. I., Preface, p. 5. Oxford, 1841.

‡ "Nec in Glossa quæ nunc est nec in Anselmo id habetur, pro quo Glossa citari sæpe solet, neque in Rabano quoque vel Beda, vel alio simili."—*Ex edit. P. Nicolai.* (See *Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, *Catena Aurea in Matthæi Evangelium*, Cap. VII., n. 11, note, p. 104, Vol. XI.)

haste to be first, is not content to be second.* AUGUSTINE.—From which is here said, He seems to have left the crowd of disciples—those out of whom he chose twelve, whom He called Apostles—but Matthew omits to mention it. For to His disciples only, Jesus seems to have held this sermon, which Matthew recounts, Luke omits. That after descending into a plain He held another like discourse, which Luke records, and Matthew omits. Still it may be supposed, that, as was said above, He delivered one and the same Sermon to the Apostles, and the rest of the multitude present, which has been recorded by Matthew and Luke, in different words, but with the same truth of substance; and this explains what is here said of the multitude wondering. † CHRYSOSTOM.—He adds the cause of their wonderment, saying, *He taught them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees*. But if the Scribes drove Him from them, seeing His power shewn in works, how would they not have been offended when words only manifested His power? But this was not so with the multitude; for being of benevolent temper, it is easily persuaded by the word of truth. Such however was the power wherewith He taught them, that it drew many of them to Him, and caused them to wonder; and for their delight in those things which were spoken they did not leave Him even when He had done speaking; but followed Him as He came down from the mount. They were mostly astonished at His power, in that He spoke not referring to any other as the Prophets and Moses had spoken, but everywhere shewing that He Himself had authority; for in delivering each law He prefaced it with, *But I say unto you*. JEROME.—For as the God and Lord of Moses himself, He of His own free will either added such things as seemed omitted in the Law, or even changed some; as above we read, *It was said by them of old. . . . But I say unto you*. But the Scribes only taught the people what was written in Moses and the Prophets. ‡ GREGORY.—Or, Christ spoke with especial power, because He did no evil from weakness, but we who are weak, in our weakness consider by what method in teaching we may best consult for our weak brethren. HILARY.—Or, they measure the efficacy of His power, by the might of His words. AUGUSTINE.—This is what is signified in the eleventh Psalm, *I will deal confidently in his regard; the words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried by the fire, purged from the earth, refined seven times*. The mention of this number admonishes me here to refer all these precepts to those seven sentences that he placed in the beginning of this Sermon; those, I mean, concerning the beatitudes. For one to be angry with his brother, without cause, or to say to him Racha, or call him fool, is a sin of extreme pride, against which is one remedy, that with a suppliant spirit he should seek pardon, and not be puffed up with a spirit of boasting.§ *Blessed, then, are the poor in*

* The Saint's treatment of what he considered a work of his great authority, S. Chrysostom, is strong evidence of his firm hold of dogma. "Die aus verschiedenen Autoren angeschobenen Stellen nahm er unverändert in sein Werk auf, höchstens dass er, um sie und da eine Stelle dem Contexte anzupassen, die Worte in eine andere Ordnung stellte, als sie beim Autor vorkommen. Von diesem Verfahren wich er einzig in Benützung des dem Chrysostomus unterschobenen, zu seiner Zeit aber für nicht gehaltenen *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum* ab, dessen arianisch lautende Stellen er für blosse Textesfälschungen hielt und demgemäß in orthodoxem Sinne corrigiren zu müssen glaubte." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 219—220.)

† Had the author but space, he might here compare portions of the writings of Origen and S. Chrysostom with the Angelical's *résumé* of them. The reader then would perceive how the Saint seized on the exact thought of each, and without altering it a single shade, reproduced it in a short and handy form.

‡ One of the principal guides used by S. Thomas in his study of the Latin Fathers, of S. Gregory and S. Augustine for instance, appears to have been Rabanus Maurus.

§ Of the fidelity of the Saint's references, Mr. Pattison speaks very highly:—"Putting aside the connective Glossæ . . . there are very few which it has not been possible to find." (*See Catena Aurea, Vol. I., S. Matthew, Part I., Preface*, p. 6.)

spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. He is consenting to his adversary, that is, in showing reverence to the word of God, who goes to the opening His Father's will, not with contentiousness of law, but with meekness of religion, therefore, *Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land.* Also whosoever feels carnal delight rebel against his right will, will cry out, *Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* And in thus mourning he will implore the aid of the consoler; whence *Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.* What is there that can be thought of more toilsome than in overcoming an evil practice to cut off those members within us that hinder the kingdom of heaven, and not be broken down with the pain of so doing? * To endure in faithful wedlock all things even the most grievous, and yet to avoid all accusation of fornication. To speak the truth, and approve it not by frequent oaths, but by probity of life. But who would be bold to endure such toils, unless he burned with the love of righteousness as with a hunger and thirst? *Blessed, therefore, are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall have their fill.* Who can be ready to take wrong from the weak, to offer himself to any that asks him, to love his enemies, to do good to them that hate him, to pray for them that persecute him, except he that is perfectly merciful? Therefore, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* He keeps the eye of his heart pure, who places the end of his good actions not in pleasing men, nor in getting those things that are necessary to this life, and who does not rashly condemn any man's heart, and whatever he gives to another gives with that intention with which he would have others give to him. *Blessed, therefore, are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.* It must needs be moreover, that by a pure heart should be found out the narrow way of wisdom, to which the guile of corrupt men is an obstacle; *Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.* But whether we take this arrangement, or any other, those things which we have heard from the Lord must be done, if we would build upon the rock." †

Or take the words—

" 'And the word was with God.' CHRYSOSTOM.—Because it is an especial attribute of God, to be eternal and without a beginning, he laid this down first: then, lest any one on hearing *in the beginning was the Word*, should suppose the Word Unbegotten, he instantly guarded against this; saying, *And the Word was with God.* HILARY.—From the beginning He is with God: and though independent of time, is not independent of an Author. BASIL.—Again he repeats this, *was*, because of men blasphemously saying that there was a time when He was not. Where then was the Word? Illimitable things are not contained in space. Where was He then? With God. For neither is

* The Angelical gives, in his *Prefatio*, a succinct view of the Gospel of S. Matthew, according to the Pseudo-Chrysostom. For instance:—"Corpus autem suae narrationis ordinavit Matthaeus: primum ergo nativitatem, deinde baptismum, tertio tentationem, quarto doctrinam, quinto miracula, sexto passionem, septimo resurrectionem et ascensionem ipsius; non solum historiam de Christo exponere volens per hoc, verum etiam evangelicæ vitæ statum docere, quoniam nihil est, quod ex parentibus nascimur, nisi iterum per aquam et spiritum renati fuerimus ex Deo. Post baptismum autem necesse est contra diabolum stare; post hoc quasi omni superata tentatione factus idoneus ad docendum, siquidem sacerdos est docent, et doctrinam suam bonæ vitæ quasi miraculis factis commendat; si laicus est, operibus doceat fidem. Deinde necesse est exire nos de hoc stadio mundi, et tunc restat, ut tentationum victoriam resurrectionis merces sequatur et gloria." (Vid. *Catena Aurea, Prefatio in Matthæi Evangelium*, p. 4, Vol. XI.)

† *Catena Aurea, S. Matthew, Part I., Vol. I., p. 293—296.* Oxford, 1841. The author has taken the liberty of substituting the Catholic for the Protestant version, when the words of Holy Scripture are quoted.

the Father bounded by place, nor the Son by aught circumscribing. ORIGEN.—It is worth while noting, that, whereas the Word is said to come [to be made] to some, as to Osee, Isaias, Jeremias, with God it is not made, as though it were not with Him before. But, the Word having been always with Him, it is said, *and the Word was with God*: for from the beginning it was not separate from the Father. CHRYSOSTOM—He has not said, was *in* God, but was *with* God: exhibiting to us that eternity which He had in accordance with His Person. THEOPHYLACT.—Sabellius is overthrown by this text. For he asserts that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one Person, Who sometimes appeared as the Father, sometimes as the Son, sometimes as the Holy Ghost. But he is manifestly confounded by this text, *and the Word was with God*; for here the Evangelist declares that the Son is one Person, God the Father another.”*

And these:—

“‘And the Word was God.’ HILARY.—Thou wilt say that a word is the sound of the voice, the enunciation of a thing, the expression of a thought; this Word was in the beginning with God, because the utterance of thought is eternal, when He who thinketh is eternal. But how was that in the beginning, which exists no time either before, or after, I doubt even whether *in* time at all? For speech is neither in existence before one speaks, nor after; in the very act of speaking it vanishes; for by the time a speech is ended, that from which it began does not exist. But even if the first sentence, *in the beginning was the Word*, was through thy inattention lost upon thee, why disputest thou about the next; *and the Word was with God*? Didst thou hear it said ‘*in* God,’ so that thou shouldst understand this Word to be only the expression of hidden thoughts? Or did John say *with* by mistake, and was not aware of the distinction between being *in*, and being *with*, when he said, that what was in the beginning, was not *in* God, but *with* God? Hear then the nature and name of the Word; *and the Word was God*. No more then of the sound of the voice, of the expression of the thought. The Word here is a Substance, not a sound; a Nature, not an expression; God, not a nonentity. HILARY.—But the title is absolute, and free from the offence of an extraneous subject. To Moses it is said, *I have given thee for a god to Pharaoh*: but is not the reason for the name added, when it is said, *to Pharaoh*? Moses is given for a god to Pharaoh, when he is feared, when he is entreated, when he punishes, when he heals. And it is one thing to be given for a god, another thing to *be* God. I remember too another application of the name in the Psalms, *I have said ye are gods*. But there too it is implied that the title was but bestowed; and the introduction of, *I said*, makes it rather the phrase of the Speaker, than the name of the thing. But when I hear *the Word was God*, I not only hear the Word said to be, but perceive It proved to be, God. BASIL.—Thus cutting off the cavils of blasphemers, and those who ask what the Word is, he replies, *and the Word was God*. THEOPHYLACT.—Or combine it thus. From the Word being with God, it follows plainly that there are two Persons. But these two are of one Nature; and therefore it proceeds, *In the Word was God*: to shew that Father and Son are of One Nature, being of One Godhead. ORIGEN.—We must add, too, that the Word illuminates the Prophets with Divine wisdom, in that He *cometh* to them; but that with God He ever is, because He is God.

For which reason he placed *and the Word was with God* before *and the Word was God*. CHRYSOSTOM.—Not asserting, as Plato does, one to be intelligence, the other soul; for the Divine Nature is very different from this. . . . But you say, the Father is called God with the addition of the article, the Son without it. What say you then, when the Apostle writes, *The great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ*; and again, *Who is over all, God*; and *Grace to you and peace from God our Father*, without the article? Besides, too, it were superfluous here to affix what had been affixed just before. So that it does not follow, though the article is not affixed to the Son, that He is therefore an inferior God.”*

Once again—

“That was the true Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.”

“AUGUSTINE.—What Light it is to which John bears witness, he shews himself, saying, *That was the true Light*. CHRYSOSTOM.—Or thus: Having said above that John had come, and was sent, to bear witness of the Light, lest any from the recent coming of the witness, should infer the same of Him who is witnessed to, the Evangelist takes us back to that existence which is beyond all beginning, saying *That was the true Light*. AUGUSTINE.—Wherefore is there added, *true*? Because man enlightened is called light, but the true Light is that which lightens. For our eyes are called lights, and yet, without a lamp at night, or the sun by day, these lights are open to no purpose. Wherefore he adds: *which enlighteneth every man*: but if every man, then John himself. He Himself then enlightened the person, by whom He wished Himself to be pointed out. And, just as we may often, from the reflection of the sun's rays on some object, know the sun to be risen, though we cannot look at the sun itself; as even feeble eyes can look at an illuminated wall, or some object of that kind: even so, those to whom Christ came, being too weak to behold Him, He threw His rays upon John; John confessed the illumination, and so the Illuminator Himself was discovered. It is said *that cometh into this world*. Had man not departed from Him, he had not had to be enlightened; but therefore is he to be here enlightened, because he departed thence, when he might have been enlightened. THEOPHYLACT.—Let the Manichean blush, who pronounces us the creatures of a dark and malignant creator: for we should never be enlightened, were we not the children of the true Light. CHRYSOSTOM.—Where are those, too, who deny Him to be very God? We see here that He is called very Light. But if He lighteneth every man that cometh into the world, how is it that so many have gone on without Light? For all have not known the worship of Christ. The answer is: He only enlighteneth every man, so far as pertains to him. If men shut their eyes, and will not receive the rays of this light, their darkness arises not from the fault of the light, but from their own wickedness, inasmuch as they voluntarily deprive themselves of the gift of grace. For grace is poured out upon all; and they, who will not enjoy the gift, may impute it to their own blindness. AUGUSTINE.—Or the words, *enlighteneth every man*, may be understood to mean, not that there is no one who is not enlightened, but that no one is enlightened except by Him. BEDE.—Including both natural and divine wisdom; for as no one can exist of himself, so no one can be wise of himself. ORIGEN.—Or thus: We must not understand the words, *enlighteneth*

* *Catena Aurea*, S. John, Part I., Vol. IV., p. 8—10. Oxford.

*every man that cometh into this world of the growth from hidden seeds to organized bodies, but of the entrance into the invisible world, by the spiritual regeneration and grace, which is given in Baptism. Those then the true Light lighteneth, who come into the world of goodness, not those who rush into the world of sin. THEOPHYLACT.—Or thus: The intellect which is given in us for our direction, and which is called natural reason, is said here to be a light given us by God. But some by the ill-use of their reason have darkened themselves.”**

This *Catena Aurea* may be regarded as a sort of *tour de force*, by which the Angelical's extraordinary mastery of the Fathers of the Church is made manifest.† No test could be invented which would show more strikingly the depth and accuracy of his knowledge of the classics of theology. There were no books of reference—no dictionaries and encyclopedias in the days of the Angelical. The Saint had to study the originals themselves; and he did so with advantage. Each Father's special way of viewing a dogmatic or moral truth is seized by him: whilst the very style, in the condensation of the *Catena*, is artfully preserved. And so accurately does the Saint appear to appreciate and reproduce the native cast of thought of each writer, that one would be led to believe that he had had an intimate and personal acquaintance with the mind of each one of them. It seems to have been one of his singular gifts to be able to throw himself into the intellectual position of another, whether he were an adversary or a friend, and to bring out with startling clearness the views or arguments which he adopted. There is little doubt that the Saint had thoroughly mastered the minds of the great classic writers of the Church; and that the richness of his dogmatic and moral teaching, its solidity and security, are owing to his having possessed himself of all the deepest thoughts of the deepest thinkers of Catholic antiquity. His acquaintance with their doctrine and with their lives gives a stability and steadiness to the whole character of his theology, which attracts, at the same time that it subdues the mind.‡

* *Catena Aurea*, S. John, Part I., Vol. IV., p. 26—27. Oxford.

† Werner gives a good idea of the general tendency of the Angelical's method. Speaking of his work on Scripture, this writer says:—"Die allen seinen geistigen Bestrebungen eigene Tendenz nach höherer, zusammenfassender Einheit verlingnet sich auch hier nicht; er steht über den Gegensätzen von grammatischer und pneumatischer, historischer und dogmatischer Auslegung, indem ihm jede an ihrem Orte und in ihrer Weise als berechtigt gilt, weil auch in der Kirche das christliche Lehrwort nach Geist und Buchstabe unverbrüchlich zu gelten hat, und Geschichte und Lehre sich wechselseitig stützen und tragen. Wohl aber muss man sagen, dass er nach den erhabenen Neigungen seines Geistes im Gegensatz zur irdanlichen Auslegung die doctrinelle Auslegung wählt, und Geist und Wort der lehrenden Kirche im Texte der heiligen Schrift nachzuweisen, als seine erste Aufgabe verfolgt." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 218.)

‡ It stands to reason that this cannot be fully realized by one who has not studied the works of S. Thomas as a whole. After having done so, one feels amazed at the width and accuracy of the Angelical's mind no less than at his memory. His power of remembering and comparing the views of various Fathers on delicate theological points, and of seizing the exact shade of

Indeed so masterfully does the Angelical fasten upon the peculiar note of each columnal Father, and incorporate it into his *Catena*, that any theologian who took the pains to study this golden work would be able to form a fairly just estimate, not only of the method, but also of the special characteristic of each separate writer as he falls under observation. No more striking proof than this could be advanced of the Angelical's grasp of the lives and methods of the early saints. And lest it might be imagined that this assertion is somewhat fanciful, a case in point shall be submitted to the attention of the reader. Nor shall a Father be selected whose characteristic is so pronounced that there is little possibility of missing it. S. Augustine, for instance, or S. Jerome, or S. Basil, or even S. Gregory the Great, might be discovered in almost any disguise, and the note of each might be pointed out. But what, for instance, is the marked and distinctive feature of S. Chrysostom? His specialty is neither obvious, nor easy all at once to seize. But it comes out with luminous clearness, as does the character of each several Father, in the various extracts incorporated in the *Catena Aurea*.

In case the reader might feel inclined to demur to the writer's estimate of the characteristic of S. John, the very words of one shall be quoted, before whose authority all scholars bow with readiness, in questions which have to do with the lives and teaching of "the Ancient Saints."

In drawing out the special charm of S. John Chrysostom, he writes as follows :—

"That charm lies, as I have said, in his habit and his power of throwing himself into the minds of others, and of imagining with exactness and with sympathy circumstances or scenes which were not before him. This is why his mode of writing is so peculiar, and why, when once a student enters into it, he will ever recognize it wherever he meets with it. I could not explain in a few sentences what I vividly feel; yet I will refer in illustration to two or three of his remarks on S. Matthew, as they stand in the *Catena Aurea*."

"I turn, almost at hazard, to the beginning of the seventeenth chapter, in which the Transfiguration is related. Our Lord took three Apostles up into the mountain, six days after He had said, that some of those then present should not die before they had seen His glory. Now Remigius observes on this, that the Transfiguration is the fulfilment of this announcement. S. Jerome reconciles these six with S. Luke's eight. Raban observes, that the six days stand for the six ages which precede the resurrection. Origen, that the six days carry us back to the six days of creation. But Chrysostom views them as illustrating our Lord's tenderness towards his half-trained Apostles;

meaning in each, is excessively remarkable. His *Opuscula* in defence of the Religious Orders is sufficient in itself to prove his acquaintance with the private lives of many of the early Saints.

thus: 'He does not take them up at once, but after six days, to avoid making the other disciples jealous,' or that the three favoured disciples might by the delay 'become kindled with a more eager desire.'"

"Again; our Lord takes with Him three Apostles, to signify, says S. Hilary, the three stocks of Sem, Cham, and Japhet;—because many are called,' says Raban, 'and few chosen,' and to remind of the Holy Trinity;—to show that those who seek God must mount up, says Remigius. But Chrysostom is led from it to remark, 'how S. Matthew does not conceal that three others were preferred to himself, just as John records the pre-eminent honour given by our Lord to Peter.'"

"And so, again, as to the appearance of Moses and Elias in the glory, Origen says, that it denotes that there is a hidden Christian wisdom in the Law and the Prophets. Hilary, that the Israelites will be judged in the presence of those who preached to them. Jerome, that the Apostles gained what the Pharisees were refused, viz. Elias a sign from heaven above, Moses a sign from the depth beneath, as the prophet proposed to Achaz. But Chrysostom gives, among other reasons, this, viz. that it was to comfort Peter and the others who were so much frightened at the thought of His death, with the example of Moses and Elias who had witnessed before tyrants, yet were now in glory."

"'It is good for us to be here,' &c., shows, says Remigius, that S. Peter, transported by the vision, wished to remain on the mountain for ever. S. Jerome says, 'Thou art wrong Peter; if thou must build them tabernacles, build for Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and let their dwelling-place be, not on the mountain, but in thine own bosom.' Raban observes that the Apostle was wrong in thinking there could be tabernacles in that abiding city, in which is no temple. But Chrysostom says, 'Peter fears for Christ, when Moses and Elias speak of his death at Jerusalem; so, shunning a second rebuke, if he should say again, *Lord, be it far from Thee!* he insinuates the same sentiment in the words, *It is good to be here.*'" *

Thus by selecting, "almost at hazard," a few sentences from S. Chrysostom, as they stand in the *Catena Aurea*, the special characteristic of that great expounder of the Sacred Word is brilliantly illustrated and brought out into clear relief. If the charm of one Church Father can be made to display itself so luminously by the accidental selection of a few passages, and if a trait which is by no means obvious can, with so little ingenuity, be thrown into so strong a light from chance extracts from the *Catena*, with how much greater ease could not the bias of the other Fathers be elicited, whose peculiarities lie more upon the surface, and whose leading features are less difficult to grasp.

If the Angelical has proved himself so great a master in the case even of S. John Chrysostom, how marvellously deep an insight must he not have had into the methods, lives, and characters of such men as S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great!

* *The Ancient Saints*, Chap. V., p. 341—342; see the *Rambler*, Vol. III., 1860.

Added to his keen perceptive powers and his extraordinary grasp, S. Thomas was endowed with a memory equally uncommon and remarkable. The *Catena* of the Four Gospels—the smooth continued flow of patristic quotations which makes up the entire work—appears to have issued direct from the chambers of his memory. The whole was written down, so Tocco says, from previous readings. In travelling from one Convent to another, the Saint had spent some portion of his time in perusing the great Church authorities.* What he once had read he never again forgot. And hence he was ready, at any moment, through the activity of his association of ideas, to pour out the full wealth of his capacious mind, and flood the world with light. Then, besides the *Catena Aurea*, his “Commentary” on the Lombard, his “*Contra Gentiles*,” his “Expositions” on the Sacred Scriptures—all testify to his wide and intimate acquaintance with the intellects of the classic Fathers of the Church; the *Catena Aurea* simply brings this out in so startling a manner as to impress it with greater vividness upon the mind. But it is only by studying the work itself, and by comparing the quotations with the originals, that the discriminating powers of the Angelical can be fully realized. Had he not possessed this deep acquaintance with S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Chrysostom, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose S. Augustine, and Pope Gregory, he never would have been able to have built, upon so deep and immovable a basis, the splendid fabric of the *Summa Theologica*.† And had not a slight sketch of these great classic Fathers been given in this volume, the richness of his mind, and the texture of his work, would have remained, in a great measure, hidden from the reader. The Angelical was a scholastic, but he was a scholastic who lived in the company of “the Ancient Saints.”

And his mastery over the Sacred Scriptures was no less

* These are Tocco's words:—“Scripsit prædictus Doctor opus super quatuor Evangelia, Sanctorum auctoritatibus miro modo contextum, ex quibus sic evangeliorum continuavit historiam, quasi minus Doctoris videatur esse Postilla; in quo opere mirandum creditur Deus ostendisse miraculum; quia discernens per diversa monasteria, et diversorum Sanctorum legis volumina, pro majori parte ipsorum auctoritates mente retinuit, quas in exponendo notavit; nun eodem ægebat spiritum, quo legendo Doctor colligeret, quæ scribendo servaret.” (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. IV., n. 18, p. 663, Vol. VII.)

† Bærellé fully appreciates the patristic love of the Angelical; he says:—“Depuis le premier jusqu'au douzième siècle, on compte plus de quarante auteurs différents dont les ouvrages, souvent immenses, ont été fouillés par saint Thomas, et dont les citations textuelles forment les anneaux de sa *Chaîne d'or*. Au premier siècle, saint Denis l'Aréopagite; au troisième, Origène, Jules l'Africain, saint Cyprien et Denis d'Alexandrie; au quatrième, Tite de Bostra, saint Hilaire de Poitiers, Eusèbe de Césarée, saint Athanase, saint Didime d'Alexandrie, saint Grégoire de Nazianze, saint Basile, Josèphe de Jérusalem, saint Grégoire de Nysse, saint Epiphane de Salamine, saint Jean Chrysostôme, saint Damase, pape, saint Ambroise de Milan, Séverien de Gabale; au cinquième, Théophile d'Alexandrie, saint Jérôme, saint Augustin, saint Prosper, saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie, saint Isidore de Pélsine, Théodore, saint Léon et saint Maxime; au sixième, saint Fulgence; au septième, saint Grégoire, pape, et saint Isidore de Séville; au huitième, saint Jean Damascène, le vénérable Bède, Alcuin; au neuvième, Haymon, Raban-Maur et Remigius; au dixième, Théophylacte; au douzième, Pierre Alphonse et le moine Entymius.” (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XX., p. 236.)

remarkable than his wide and accurate knowledge of the Fathers. This was the second of his three great studies preparatory to the scientific construction of the *Summa Theologica*.*

Those who have mastered the Angelical's Expositions on the Sacred Text can well believe that he had learnt it off by heart when imprisoned at San Giovanni.† It would seem almost an impossibility for one who had not done so to have made use of it as the Saint has done in the course of his various Expositions. His extraordinary gift of seeing analogies, and perhaps his still more remarkable readiness in illuminating Scripture by means of Scripture, the exuberant richness of his applications, and the facility with which he brings texts to bear from all parts of the Sacred Volume, upon the point he has in hand, from the book of Genesis to the last chapter of S. John—all this speaks of the width of his reading, the marvellous retentiveness of his memory, and of that special genius he was endowed with, of being able, as it were by one intuition, to grasp and look steadily upon vast fields of thought—losing nothing in his microscopic appreciation of the detail, on account of his complete comprehension of the whole.‡ What man has ever been gifted with the combination of so vast a memory, and a mind so exquisitely logical—so overwhelming in the security and the severity of its processes of reasoning, and yet so full of mystic tenderness and deep poetic feeling?

The Saint's mastery of the traditional teaching of the Church exhibits itself in all his Commentaries on Scripture. In his treatment of the Pauline Epistles,§ for instance, he so draws

* See Chap. III., p. 565.

† Werner sums up his methods in his various Expositions thus:—"Eine gewiegte doctrinelle Anslegung stützt sich auf eine reiche exegetische Tradition; dem Rechte dieser Forderung wird auf grossartige Weise in der *catena aurea* Genüge geleistet. Auf Grund der exegetischen Traditionen soll die doctrinelle Anslegung die kirchliche Lehrformel nach ihrer vollen Schärfe und Prägnanz aus dem Texte der Schrift deduciren; diess geschieht in den Commentarien zu den Paulinischen Briefen, namentlich in der tiefseeligen Anslegung des Römerbriefes. Wie die Doctrin mit Beziehung der aus Natur und Geschichte geschöpften Erkenntnisse die erhabenen Worte der Schrift zu beleuchten habe wird im Commentare zum Buche Job gezeigt. In der Anslegung des Hohenliedes endlich schwingt sie sich zu den Höhen der contemplativen Mystik empor und dolmetscht in lehrhafter Weise die Geheimnisse der heiligen, gottinnigen Liebe. Er zeigt sich, mit Einem Worte, in seiner Anslegung ganz als denselben, als welchen er in seinen systematischen Werken sich darstellt; dass er die philologische und historische Auslegungskunst der neuen Zeit nicht kennt, thut seiner eigenthümlichen Grösse und dem theologischen Werthe seiner Commentarien so wenig Abbruch, als es der Erhabenheit seiner speculativen Conceptionen Eintrag thut, dass ihm der Gedanke einer subjectiv psychologischen Vermittelung derselben noch fremd ist. In beiden Beziehungen tritt dafür die strenge Objectivität seiner Denkrichtung desto imposanter hervor; er macht sich zum unmittelbaren Organ der ersten Majestät der Kirche und ihrer heiligen Lehre." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 218.*)

‡ One of the striking differences between S. John Chrysostom's Homilies, and the Expositions of S. Thomas, consists in this, that S. Chrysostom ever appears to aim at the practical edification of his hearers—speaking either to exhort, or to warn, or to encourage, or to terrify, or to soothe them; whilst the Angelical ever seems to strive after scientific unity, bent upon confirming, not so much man, as dogma and tradition, by means of numberless independent arguments or illuminations, gathered from various Fathers or places in Holy Scripture, and concentrated upon the truth which is brought under discussion. One was the Doctor of practical moral teaching; the other of constructive theology.

§ Having given the skeleton of these Expositions, Werner sums up:—"Schon diese kurzen Skizzen genügen zu zeigen, wie sehr Thomas darauf ausieht, überall einen klaren übersichtlichen Zusammenhang der Gedanken des commentirten Autors hervorzustellen. Er verfolgt dieses Streben bis in's Einzelne und Kleinste, kein einzelnes Satzglied kann sich

out the words of the Apostle, as to illuminate the moral and dogmatic teaching of theology, and illustrates that teaching with such a prolific richness of allusion, with so many authorities from every portion of the Sacred text, as to throw a new light upon, and to give a fresh significance to the words of the Apostle. Then his statement of objections is so lucid; his solutions are so precise, and often so ingenious; there is so much matchless simplicity combined with so powerful a logic, that the reader is both overpowered and fascinated as he proceeds—overpowered by the mental force which he continually encounters, and fascinated by the beauty of illustration, by the ingenuity of analogy, and by those sudden flashes of light produced by the juxtaposition of portions of Scripture, which, at first sight, to the ordinary reader, appear to have no relation whatever with one another.*

Perhaps of all the Expositions of the Angelical on the Sacred Text, that on the Epistle to the Romans is the most admirable. Its depth of thought, the singular clearness in which the teachings of tradition are laid down, and the general interest of the subject-matter, lend to it a special charm. In the Commentary on Job, nature and history are used in the illumination of the Inspired Word; whilst in that on the Canticle of Canticles, the Saint finds himself in his own native element, as he traces the relationship between the Soul and the Beloved, and ascends into the highest regions of mystic union with God.

Let us now briefly consider in detail the labours of the Angelical on the Sacred Text. He expounded in the schools the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. John.† We have his Commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul,‡ on Job,§ on a portion of

dieser sorgfältigen logischen Umnetzung entziehen. Durch diese stete Reflexion auf den logischen Zusammenhang werden häufig Worte und Sätze, welche für sich von minderer Bedeutung zu sein scheinen, in eine überraschende Beleuchtung gerückt und tiefere Blicke in den reichen Schatz der Schriftweisheit erschlossen." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 251.)

* "Dabei lässt er niemals von jener streng objectiven Haltung, wie sie dem ächten Anseher des Gotteswortes ziemt; die ganze Spürkraft seines exegetischen Scharfsinnes ist vielmehr einzig darauf gerichtet, den im geschriebenen Worte enthaltenen Sinn nach den allgemein gültigen Grundsätzen einer rationalen Hermeneutik zu erheben, diess aber in vollständigster und umfassendster Weise. Da ist ihm kein Wort bedeutungslos, keines umsonst gesagt; man braucht in die Paulinische Lehrweisheit keine fremden Gedanken hineinzugetragen, es genügt, an das gegebene Wort sich mit voller unbedingter Treue und Hingebung anzuschließen, um eine Fülle von Gedanken und Bezeichnungen zu entdecken, in welchen bereits die ganze traditionelle Kirchenlehre mit ihren später formulirten Sätzen und Dogmen vorliegt. Die logische Preisurtheilung des biblischen Ideengehaltes gibt dem heiligen Thomas die Formeln des kirchlichen Lehrbegriffes; in der kunstgemässen Ablösung dieses Begriffes von der Hülle des biblischen Wortes besteht ihm die Aufgabe des Hermeneuten." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 251.)

† Sancti Thomae Aquinatis in *Mattheum Evangelistam Expositio*, p. 1—278; in *Joannem Evangelistam Expositio*, p. 279—645; *Opera Omnia*, Vol. X. See the critical Dissertation of Rubels, which enters into the question of date and authorship, p. 647—656.

‡ Sancti Thomae Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes Sancti Pauli Epistolas*, p. 3—790. For full information on their integrity, &c., see *Dissertatio De Commentariis in Epistolas Sancti Pauli Apostoli, earumque Integritate*, ac *Editionum Fide*, p. 791—804; *Opera Omnia*, Vol. XIII.

§ *Expositio in Librum Beati Job*, p. 1—147; in *Psalmos Davidis Expositio*, p. 148—353; in *Canticum Canticorum Expositio*, p. 354—386; in *Isaiam Prophetam Expositio*, p. 467—576; in *Jeremiam Prophetam Expositio*, p. 577—685; *Opera Omnia*, Vol. XIV.

the Psalms, upon the Canticle of Canticles, and upon the Prophets Isaias and Jeremias. And if this is not enough to show the Saint's wide acquaintance with the Inspired Writings, the *Summa Theologica* may be referred to, which testifies to a deep mastery of many other portions of the Ancient Law.

The Exposition on S. Mathew's Gospel, was taken down from the Saint's lips, by his familiar disciple, Brother Peter Andrea, who studied under him when occupying the post of *Regens Primarius* in the school of S. James's. Any one comparing the first five chapters of the Commentary on S. John, with any portion of that on S. Matthew, will at once perceive a difference of style. The Treatise on S. Matthew, however, possesses this interest, namely, it shows the reader how accurately the students were able to follow their professors, and how little was lost through the *viva voce* method of the schools. To hear the living voice, and then to go through the labour of writing down the words of wisdom as they flowed fresh from the lips, must have greatly tended to fix truth within the mind. The student, in this day, was forced out of his position of being a mere passive recipient, and was, as it were, compelled to bring his own mind actively to bear upon the matter of the lecture.*

The Exposition of S. Matthew occupies two hundred and seventy-seven pages of the Parma edition. Its division follows the twenty-eight chapters in the Gospel. The Prologue of S. Jerome is given at the commencement, as an "*argumentum*;" and upon this the Angelical makes a short comment. The first chapter of the Gospel is then given, and this is divided into a certain number of paragraphs. For instance, the first chapter contains six, the second four, the third two, and so of the rest. Following each Gospel chapter comes the Angelical's Exposition, which is thrown into numbers corresponding to the paragraphs of the Gospel chapter. By this means the Commentary on any portion of the matter in hand can be hit upon without difficulty; for the numerals of the paragraphs in the Gospel are made to correspond with those in the Exposition.

In this Commentary the traditional dogmatic and moral teaching of the Church is brought into full relief, not only by the Angelical's method of handling the text itself, but by the weight of patristic authority which he advances in its support. Here also he manifests his singular gift of marshalling an array of

* It stands to reason that it is impossible in this volume to treat at length of any of the great works of the Angelical; all that is possible is to indicate—as the title of this book promises—his labours. What may fairly be expected is to find sign-posts which honestly point the way to an intimate acquaintance with his various masterpieces.

Scriptural quotations in support of the point he is elucidating, and of so placing various groups of truths as to make them shed a light upon each other.

The Gospel of S. Matthew, according to S. Thomas, is principally concerned with the humanity of Christ. He divides it into three portions. The first part treats of the coming of our Lord into the world; the second, of His progress through the world; and the third, of His out-going from the world.* The reader who takes the trouble to study this Exposition will at once observe how great a tendency is manifested, throughout its structure, towards that unity of conception which was one of the Angelical's greatest gifts.

The Exposition on S. John's Gospel is of a considerably later date. The five first chapters were written out by the Saint's own hand. The remainder was dictated by his disciple, Reginald of Piperno; but was finally revised, corrected, and approved of by himself. This Gospel would perhaps be one of the fairest tests of the powers of the Angelical. Its subject-matter, especially the first portion, would elicit those exceptional gifts with which he had been endowed. Here the deepest philosophy, the most abstract metaphysical speculation, would be called into play; as well as the highest theories of religion, and the cardinal principles of contemplative life.†

The entire Commentary occupies three hundred and sixty-five pages. It begins with a Prologue by the Saint, which is followed by that of S. Jerome, upon which the Angelical gives an Exposition. The Gospel of S. John contains twenty-one chapters. These chapters are subdivided, and upon each subdivision or "*Lectio*" the Exposition is made. For instance, the first chapter contains sixteen "*Lectiones*;" the second, three; the

* In the first part, including the three first chapters, the human generation and birth of our Lord are treated of; then the title of the Gospel is dwelt upon at length, and difficulties are solved with regard to its imperfect mode of expression and its seeming contradiction to the words of the prophet Isaias. Then the words of the Sacred Text are taken one by one, and are explained and illuminated by other portions of Holy Writ; whilst the heresies advanced against the true doctrine concerning Christ are stated, and the genuine teaching of the Church is given. The genealogy of our Lord is next considered, and is shown to have proceeded from Abraham to David, through the Prophets; from David to the transmigration of Babylon, through the Kings; and from the transmigration of Babylon to Joseph, which begins with leaders of the people, and ends with private individuals. Then the Nativity is expounded, and the testimony of the Magi and the Innocents, the Birthplace and the Star, are carefully considered.

† Werner gives a detailed, though excessively dry skeleton of this Exposition. He begins thus:—Dem Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis ist eine Vorrede vorausgeschickt, welche sich über die Bedeutung dieses Evangeliums im Allgemeinen auslässt. Die Synoptiker leiten uns zum activen Leben an, das Johannesevangelium aber zur Contemplation. Was der Apostel selber erschaute, lässt sich mit den Worten bei Jesai. 6, 1. ausdrücken welche zugleich die Eigenschaften der Johannesehen Contemplation: Höhe, umfassender Weitblick und vollkommenes Eindringen in den Gegenstand, charakterisiren. Sie schwingt sich über alles Geschaffene, über alle Berge, Himmel und Engel bis zu Gott empor: *Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum* (vgl. Jesai. 40, 26); unter diesem Herrn ist aber laut Joh. 12, 41. Christus zu verstehen. In dieser Anschauung des heiligen Johannes ist eine vierfache Höhe zu erkennen: die Höhe der Macht (darum *Vidi Dominum*); der Ewigkeit (*sedentem*); der Würde (*super solium excelsum*); der Unbegreiflichkeit des Erschauten (*elevatum*). (Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 231—232.)

third, six; and so on. The whole Commentary bears upon it signs of great care in the composition, and the Prologue gives evidence of the greatness of the work which the Angelical must have felt he had before him.

Besides his Expositions on the Gospels, S. Thomas wrote fourteen Commentaries on the Epistles of S. Paul, which occupy seven hundred and ninety pages of the Parma Edition.* The method is much the same as that adopted in the previous Expositions. The Prologue, which introduces the whole subject, is in the Angelical's best manner. Each Epistle, however, besides this general one, has a Prologue to itself. The Epistles are commented on chapter by chapter, and are divided into "*Lectiones*," like the Expositions on S. Matthew. The Fathers are more seldom used than in the works on the Gospels; nor are heresies so prominently discussed. The Manicheans, however, form an exception; and possibly because they represented a phase of error which was excessively active in the thirteenth century. And though the Fathers are less frequently alluded to here than elsewhere—except perhaps in the Commentary on the Galatians, they are by no means overlooked. S. Athanasius, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, S. Isidore, S. Hilary, the Damascene, as well as Haymo, Rabanus, Denis, Gelasius, Seneca, and the *Gloss*, are referred to from time to time. The "*Magister*," and the "*Philosophus*," are also made use of to confirm dogmatic or philosophical positions, as the case may be.†

The General Prologue gives the best possible index to the seven hundred pages of which the Commentary is made up. It hangs from the following text:—

"This man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel."‡

"Men are found in Sacred Scripture to be compared to vessels for four reasons: first, on account of make; for a vessel is dependent on the will of

* "*Commentationum ab Angelico Doctore Thoma Aquinate elucubratarum opus in Epistolas omnes Sancti Pauli, recentium Criticorum nemo unus est qui Thomæ nostro non adjudicet.*"

Guillelmus de Tocco in Vita Aquinatis hæc habet pauca et simplicia verba capite IV.: "Scriptis super Epistolas Pauli omnes, quarum scripturam præter Evangelium super omnes commendabat." Hinc ratio patet, cur Evangelica Historia commentario explicata, cæteris Novi Testamenti libris prætermittis, neutem operamque Thomas applicuerit, ut Paulinas Epistolas elucidaret. Etenim quas Commentationes proprio stylo scripserit ille in eandem Epistolas Pauli, quos etiam a suggestu legerit, exceperintque alii, silentio præterit Guillelmus." (Vid. J. Bernardi Mariæ de Rubels Dissertationes, *Dissertatio I. De Commentariis in Epistolas S. Pauli Apostoli, Earumque Integritate, ac Editionum Fide*, Opp. S. Thomæ. p. 791, Vol. XIII.)

† As an example of his method of solving difficulties:—"Videtur quod Epistola ad Romanos non sit prima: prius enim videtur scripsisse ad Corinthios, secundum illud Rom. ult. 1: 'Commendo autem vobis Phœben sororem nostram, quæ est in ministerio Ecclesiæ quæ est Cenchris,' ubi est portus Corinthus. Sed dicendum, quod Epistola ad Romanos præmittitur tum propter dignitatem Romanorum, qui aliis Gentibus dominabantur: tum quia hic confutabatur superbia quæ est initium omnis peccati, ut dicitur Eccl. 10; tum quia etiam hoc exigit ordo doctrinæ, ut prius gratia consideretur in se quam ut est in sacramentis. Item queritur unde Apostolus hanc Epistolam scripsit. Augustinus dicit quod de Athenis, Hieronymus quod de Corinthis. Nec est contradictio: quia forte Athenis incepit eam scribere, sed Corinthi consummavit." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas, Prologus*, p. 3, Vol. XIII.)

‡ Acts, Chap. IX., v. 15.

the artificer. 'He made another vessel, as it seemed good in his eyes to make it.'^a So the making of man is dependent on the will of God, of Whom in the Psalm, 'He made us and not we ourselves.' Hence, 'Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it What art thou making?'^b And in Romans, 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?'^c And, hence, it is that, according to the will of God the Artificer, there are formed vessels of different makes. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth.'^d What sort of a vessel Blessed Paul was, who is called a vessel of election in the words above-mentioned, appears by what is said in Ecclesiasticus, 'As a massy vessel of Gold, adorned with every precious stone.'^e For he was a golden vessel on account of the effulgence of wisdom, concerning which can be understood what is said, 'the gold of the land is very good';^f because, as it is said, 'She is more precious than all riches.'^g Hence, Blessed Peter also gives testimony to him, saying, 'As also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you.'^h And he was massy through the virtue of charity, of which it is said, 'Love is strong as death.'ⁱ Hence he says himself, 'For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God.'^k And he was adorned with every precious stone, that is, every virtue, of which it is said, 'If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, &c.'^l Hence too he says, 'For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity of heart, and sincerity of God, and not in carnal wisdom, but in the grace of God, we have conversed in the world.'^m What kind of vessel this was is clear from the things it has furnished; for he taught the mysteries of the most exalted Divinity, which appertain to wisdom, 'We speak wisdom among the perfect.'ⁿ He praised charity in a most excellent manner.^o He instructed men in divers virtues: 'Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy, and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience,'" ^p

"Secondly, this seems to be the object of vessels, that they may be filled with some liquor, according to that, 'They brought her the vessels, and she poured in.'^q And there is found to be a diversity in vessels with regard to the contents: for some are vessels of wine, some of oil, and different ones of different kinds. So men also are divinely filled with godly graces, as with various liquors. 'To one indeed, by the Spirit is given the word of wisdom; and to another, the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit.'^r But this vessel with which we are concerned was full of a precious liquor, that is of the name of Christ, of whom it is said, 'Thy name is as oil poured out.'^s Hence it is said '*to carry my name.*' For it seemed to have been full of this name: 'I will write upon him my name.'^t He possessed that name in the knowledge of the intellect, 'For I judged not myself to know anything among you, but Christ.'^u He possessed that name in the love of the affections:

(a) Jeremias, Chap. XVIII., v. 4.

(c) Romans, Chap. IX., v. 20.

(e) Ecclesiasticus, Chap. X., v. 20.

(g) Proverbs, Chap. III., v. 13.

(i) Canticles, Chap. VIII., v. 6.

(l) I. Corinth., Chap. III., v. 12.

(n) I. Corinth., Chap. II., v. 6.

(p) Colossians, Chap. III., v. 12.

(r) I. Corinth., Chap. XII., v. 8.

(t) Apocalypse, Chap. III., v. 12.

(b) Isaias, Chap. XLV., v. 9.

(d) II. Timothy, Chap. II., v. 20.

(f) Genesis, Chap. II., v. 12.

(h) II. S. Peter, Chap. III., v. 15.

(k) Romans, Chap. VIII., v. 38.

(m) II. Corinth., Chap. I., v. 12.

(o) I. Corinth., Chap. XIII.

(q) IV. Kings, Chap. IV., v. 5.

(s) Canticles, Chap. I., v. 2.

(u) I. Corinth., Chap. II., v. 2.

'What then shall separate us from the love of Christ.'^a If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.'^b He possessed it in the whole conversation of his life, hence he said, 'And I live, now not I; but Christ liveth in me.'^c

"Thirdly, with regard to use, it is to be considered that all vessels are destined for some use: but some for an honourable, some for a vile use, 'Or hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?'^d And so men, according to divine ordination, are destined for different uses, 'and all men are from the ground, and out of the earth, from whence Adam was created. With much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and diversified their ways. Some of them hath he blessed and exalted . . . some of them hath he cursed and brought low.'^e Now this vessel is set aside for a noble use; for it is the vessel for carrying the divine word; for it is said '*to carry my name*:' and it was necessary that the word should be carried, because it was far off from men. 'Behold the name of the Lord cometh from afar.'^f And it is far off from us on account of sin, 'salvation is far from sinners.'^g It is also far from us on account of obscurity of the intellect: hence it is said of certain men, that they were beholding afar off,^h and 'I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not near.'ⁱ And just as the angels bear to us as if distant from God, divine illuminations; so the Apostles bring the Evangelical Doctrine to us from Christ: and as in the Old Law, after the Law of Moses, the Prophets are read, who gave the doctrine of the Law to the people, 'Remember the law of Moses my servant,'^k so, also, in the New Testament, after the Gospel, the doctrine of the Apostles is read, who gave to the people what they had received from the Lord, 'I have received of the Lord that which also I deliver unto you.'^l Blessed Paul, in the first place, carried Christ in his body by imitating his conversation and his Passion, 'I bear the marks of the Lord Jesus in my body.'^m Secondly, in his mouth: which is evident from this that he is ever and again naming Christ in his Epistles: 'From the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.'ⁿ Hence, it can be signified by the dove of which is said that she came to the ark carrying a bough of an olive tree in her mouth.^o Since the olive signifies mercy, the name of Jesus Christ, which also signifies mercy, is fitly understood by the bough of the olive, 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'^p And he brought this bough of green leaves to the altar, that is to the Church, when he expressed its virtue and significance in a manifold manner, by showing forth the grace and the mercy of Christ, hence he himself says: 'For this cause have I obtained mercy: that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all patience.'^q And hence it is said that, as amongst the writings of the Old Testament the Psalms of David, who obtained pardon after sin, are most used in the Church; so in the New Testament the Epistles of Paul, who gained mercy, are used; that thus sinners may be lifted into hope; although there might be another reason namely, because in both these writings almost the whole teaching of theology is contained. Thirdly, he carried (the word) not only to those present, but to those absent, and those to come, committing it to

(a) Romans, Chap. VIII., v. 35.
(c) Galatians, Chap. II., v. 20.
(e) Ecclesi., Chap. XXXIII., v. 12.
(g) Psalm CXVIII., v. 155.
(i) Numbers, Chap. XXIV., v. 17.
(l) I. Corinth., Chap. XI., v. 23.
(n) Matthew, Chap. XII., v. 34.
(p) Matthew, Chap. I., v. 21.

(b) I. Corinth., Chap. XVI., v. 22.
(d) Romans, Chap. IX., v. 21.
(f) Isaiah, Chap. XXX., v. 27.
(h) Hebrews, Chap. XI.
(k) Malachias, Chap. IV., v. 4.
(m) Galatians, Chap. VI., v. 17.
(o) Genesis, Chap. VIII.
(q) I. Timothy, Chap. I., v. 16.

writing, 'Take thou a great book, and write in it with a man's pen.'^a His excellency is shown in three ways in this office of carrying the name of God. First, with regard to the grace of election; wherefore it is said, vessel of election. 'He chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world.'^b Secondly, with regard to fidelity, because he sought nothing of his own, but Christ's, 'For we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ.'^c Hence he says, '*to me a vessel of election.*' Thirdly, with regard to singular excellency: hence he says himself, 'I have laboured more abundantly than all they.'^d Wherefore he says with emphasis, '*to me a vessel of election:*' as if more especially to me than to others."

"With regard to fruit it is to be considered that some persons are like useless vessels, either on account of sin, or on account of error, 'He hath made me as an empty vessel.'^e But Blessed Paul was pure from sin and error: hence he was a useful vessel of election, 'If any man therefore shall cleanse himself from these [viz. errors and sins] he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and profitable to the Lord.'^f Hence the utility or fruit of this vessel is expressed by the words '*before the Gentiles*' of whom he was the Doctor, 'a Doctor of the Gentiles in faith and truth';^g '*and Kings*' to whom he announced the faith of Christ, as to Agrippa,^h and also to Nero and his princes: hence he says, 'The things which have happened to me have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel; so that my bonds are made manifest, in Christ, in all the court';ⁱ 'Kings shall see, and princes shall rise up';^k and '*the children of Israel*' against whom he argued concerning Christ. 'But Saul increased much more in strength, and confounded the Jews who dwelt at Damascus, affirming that this is the Christ.'^l

"Thus, from the aforesaid words we can draw four divisions of this work, that is of the Epistles of S. Paul which we have in hand. Firstly, the author is a vessel. Secondly, the subject-matter is the name of Christ, which is the fulness of the vessel, because all this doctrine is concerning Christ. Thirdly, the method,—in the way of carrying: for this doctrine is given by means of letters which used to be borne by messengers, 'and the posts went with letters by command of the king, and his princes.'^m Fourthly, the division of the work according to the usefulness above-mentioned: for S. Paul wrote fourteen epistles; nine of which teach the Church of the Gentiles; four, Prelates and Princes of the Church, that is Kings; one, the people of Israel, that is the Hebrews who are the children of Israel. . . . And this doctrine is wholly concerning the grace of Christ: which may be considered in a threefold manner.ⁿ One way, according as it is in the Head itself, namely in Christ; and so it is commended in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In another way, according as it is in the principal members of the mystical body: and so it is commended in the Epistles written for Prelates. In a third way, according

(a) Isaias, Chap. VIII. v. 1.

(c) II. Corinth. Chap. IV. v. 5.

(e) Jeremias, Chap. LI. v. 34.

(g) I. Timothy, Chap. II. v. 7.

(i) Philippians, Chap. I. v. 13.

(l) Acts, Chap. IX. v. 22.

(b) Ephesians, Chap. I. v. 4.

(d) I. Corinthians, Chap. XV. v. 10.

(f) II. Timothy, Chap. II. v. 21.

(h) Acts, Chap. XXVI. v. 2.

(k) Isaias, Chap. XLIX. v. 7.

(m) II. Paral., Chap. XXX. v. 6.

(n) "Sic igitur ex verbis præmissis possumus accipere quatuor causas hujus Operis, scilicet Epistolarum Pauli, quas præ manibus habemus. Primo quidem auctorem in vase. Secundo materiam in nomine Christi, quæ est plenitudo vasæ; quia tota doctrina hæc est de Christo. Tertio modum in usu portationis: traditur enim hæc doctrina per modum Epistolarum, quæ per nuntios portari consueverunt, secundum illud 2 Paral. 30, 6: 'Perrexerunt cursores cum Epistolis, ex Regis imperio, et principum ejus.' Quarto distinctionem operis in utilitate prædicta: scripsit enim quatuordecim epistolas quarum novem instrunt Ecclesiam Gentium: quatuor prelatos et principes Ecclesiæ, idest Reges: una populum Israel, scilicet quæ est ad Hebræos, filios Israel." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas*, Prologus, p. 3, Fol. XLII.)

as it is in the mystical body, which is the Church, and thus it is commended in the Epistles to the Gentiles, which are distinguished according as the grace of Christ is considered in a threefold manner. In one way, it can be looked upon as it is in itself; and thus it is commended in the Epistle to the Romans; in another, as it resides in the Sacraments of Grace; and thus it is commended in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, in the first of which the Sacraments themselves are treated of, in the second, the dignity of the ministers; and in the Epistle to the Galatians, in which superfluous sacraments are excluded, in opposition to those who wished to associate the Sacraments of the Old Law with those of the New. ^a Thirdly, the grace of Christ is considered with regard to the effect of unity which it produced in the Church. First, therefore, the Apostle treats of the institution of Ecclesiastical unity in the Epistle to the Ephesians; secondly of its confirmation and advance in the Epistle to the Philippians; thirdly, concerning its defence against errors in the Epistle to the Colossians; against present persecutions in the first to the Thessalonians; and against future ones, principally in the time of Antichrist, in the second. He also teaches both spiritual and temporal Prelates of the Churches; spiritual Prelates concerning the instruction and government of ecclesiastical unity, in the first to Timothy; concerning constancy against persecutors, in the second; thirdly, concerning defence against heretics, in the Epistle to Titus; whilst he teaches temporal lords in the Epistle to Philemon. And thus comes out the meaning of the distinction and order of all the Epistles." ^b

The Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is the most important of the number, and occupies one hundred and fifty-six pages. The Saint's treatment of Original Sin; ^c of Faith; ^d of the Universality of the Gospel Preaching; ^e of the difference between the Baptism of John and that of Christ; ^f as well as his remarks on the Negative and Affirmative Precepts of the Law; ^g on Scandal; ^h and on the Generosity of Christ; ⁱ are well worth careful perusal.

There are very many beautiful and instructive passages in the Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, for instance, on the words "Were you baptized in the name of Paul?" ^k on the preaching of the Gospel—"not in wisdom of

(a) "Est enim hæc doctrina tota de gratia Christi: quæ quidem potest tripliciter considerari. Uno modo secundum quod est in ipso capite, scilicet Christo; et sic commendatur in Epistola ad Hebræos. Alio modo secundum quod est in membris principalibus corporis mystici et sic commendatur in Epistolis quæ sunt ad prelatos. Tercio modo secundum quod in ipso corpore mystico quod est Ecclesia; et sic commendatur in Epistolis quæ mittuntur ad Gentiles: quarum hæc est distinctio. Nam ipsa gratia Christi tripliciter potest considerari. Uno modo secundum se, et sic commendatur in Epistola ad Romanos. Alio modo secundum quod est in sacramentis gratiæ; et sic commendatur in duabus Epistolis ad Corinthios; in quarum prima agitur de ipsis sacramentis, in secunda de diglitate ministrorum: et in Epistola ad Galatas, in qua excluduntur superflua sacramenta contra illos qui volebant vetera sacramenta novis adungere." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas*, Prologus, p. 3, Vol. XIII.)

(b) The Prologue ends with this objection, and its reply:—"Obijciunt contra id quod in Glossa dicitur quod aliqui fideles, antequam Petrus, Romanis prædicaverunt; in ecclesiastica vero Historia dicitur, quod Petrus primus prædicavit eis. Sed intelligendum est primus inter Apostolos, et cum sequenti magni fructus. Ante vero prædicaverat Romæ Barnabas, ut habetur in Itinerario Clementis." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas*, Prologus, p. 3, Vol. XIII.)

(c) See *Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinat. Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos*, Cap. V., Lect. III., p. 51, Vol. XIII.

(d) Cap. X., Lect. II., p. 105.

(e) Cap. XI., Lect. IV., p. 117.

(f) Cap. XIV., Lect. II., p. 140.

(g) Cap. XV., Lect. I., p. 146, seq.

(h) *Expositio in Epistolam I. ad Corinthios*, Cap. I., Lect. II., p. 161, Vol. XIII.

(i) Cap. X., Lect. III., p. 107.

(j) Cap. XII., Lect. II., p. 132.

speech,"^a on the spiritual man being the judge of all things, yet being judged by none himself.^b Then in the Sixth Lesson of the Seventh Chapter the Saint shows his ability in pointing out the fallacies in popular objections. The sharpness and incisiveness of the answer, the flow of quotation, the exhaustless power of illustration, affords great gratification to the mind.^c There are also some very interesting points spoken of in the eleventh chapter, regarding for instance—the relation of man and wife;^d the veiling of women in the church;^e heretics;^f transubstantiation;^g vision (*visio imaginaria*); and so on through the Exposition. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians offers much matter for useful teaching. The Saint's treatment of the Son, as perfect image of the Father;^h of Satan, as an angel of light;ⁱ might be recommended. Then in Galatians, the explanation of the word "anathema,"^k and the analysis of the method of Scripture interpretation; and in Ephesians, the full treatise of the Order of the angels,^l in which the influence of the Areopagite becomes evident, could be perused with advantage.

Perhaps the most striking of all the Expositions of the Angelical, is that on the Book of Job. Here the illustrations and quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers are met less often than in the other Commentaries. True S. Paul and Ecclesiasticus now and then shed a gleam across the pages; whilst at distant intervals S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, as well as Denis, Boethius, and S. Isidore, Porphyry, Pliny, and Aristotle are to be met with, either as illustrating or recommending the point under discussion.^m

This Treatise occupies one hundred and forty-six pages. The Prologue, as usual, is full of ingenuity. The object of the work is to prove God's Providence over the world, and its argument is, in reality, an answer to many cardinal tenets of that Eastern philosophy which had eaten its way into the Paris schools.

The subject-matter is divided according to the forty-two

(a) Cap. I., Lect. III., p. 163.

(b) Cap. III., Lect. III., p. 173.

(c) In Epistolam I. ad Corinthios, Cap. VIII., Lect. II., p. 215—216.

(d) Cap. XI., Lect. III., p. 238; Cap. VII., Lect. III., p. 205.

(e) Cap. XII., Lect. III., p. 257.

(f) Cap. XI., Lect. IV., p. 240.

(g) Cap. XI., Lect. V., p. 243.

(h) In Epist. II. ad Corinthios, Cap. IV., Lect. II., p. 318.

(i) Cap. XI., Lect. III., p. 360.

(k) In Epist. ad Galatas, Cap. I., Lect. II., p. 385.

(l) In Epist. ad Ephesios, Cap. I., Lect. VII., p. 454.

(m) "Aus den alttestamentlichen Schriften commentirte Thomas das Buch Job, die Psalmen, das Hohelied, die Propheten Jesaias und Jeremias. Bezüglich des Buches Job erklärt er, dass er sich anschliesslich auf Darlegung des Literalsinnes beschränken wolle, indem die vortreffliche mystische Auslegung des heiligen Papstes Gregorius M. Alles erschöpft habe, was sich über den mystischen Sinn dieses heiligen Buches sagen lasse. Bei der lehrhaften Tendenz desselben wäre die Frage, ob Job eine geschichtliche Person sei, von untergeordneter Bedeutung, wenn er nicht in anderen Büchern der heiligen Schrift (Ezech. 14; Jac. 5) auf solche Weise erwähnt würde, dass ein Zweifel an seinem geschichtlichen Charakter einem Angriffe auf das Ansehen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der heiligen Schrift gleich käme." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 266.)

Chapters of the Book, and these are subdivided into the usual "*Lectiones*."

The unrivalled power of analysis possessed by the Angelical, gave him entire scope for bringing out into full expression the character of blessed Job. The way in which the intellectual position of this Patriarch is described—his former prosperity, his abject misery, his vision of the future, his trust in God—exhibits great dramatic power in the commentator. Then come the groaning of his inferior nature; the maledictions which proceed from "the lower parts of his soul;" the approach of his friends, of Eliphaz, Baldad, and Sophar, who are so occupied with their own ideas that they seem incapable of comprehending his state of mind; then his obstinate persistence in his own way of seeing things, in spite of their determination to the contrary;—all this is brought out with extraordinary vividness by the Angel of the Schools.^a

And no less brilliantly does he develop the main argument, in illustration of which the Exposition was principally written. Job, in his position of profound misery, still trusting in and proving the over-ruling providence of God; and his friends, by the very method they adopt, all the more firmly clenching his conclusions;—these different dramatic elements are so made use of in the argument, as to imprint, as much upon the imagination as upon the intellect, a persuasion that, in spite of all external signs, there is an unseen Hand and an all-wise Intelligence, which are over-ruling and directing each minutest detail as well as the general order of the world.

Since space will not permit long extracts, certain passages may be referred to as singularly able, and as illustrating in a striking manner the mind of the Angelical. See for instance his treatment on the limits of Satan's power;^b on the lawfulness of sorrow;^c on the nature of visions;^d on stability;^e on the life of man;^f on the power of human reason;^g on contentions;^h on the testimony of conscience;ⁱ on God's knowledge;^k

(a) Werner speaks thus:—"Ueber den Zweck des Buches erklärt sich Thomas, anknüpfend an die verschiedenen Ansichten der alten Philosophie über den Lauf der Welt und die Schicksale der Menschen. Die zuerst ausgesprochenen Meinungen waren die rohesten und unvollkommensten; die ältesten griechischen Physiker (Naturphilosophen) kannten keine Vorsehung und hielten den Zufall für das Princip alles Geschehens in der Welt, worin ihnen auch einige Später (Demokrit, Empedokles) wenigstens theilweise beistimmten. Die ihnen nachfolgenden Philosophen konnten sich die strenge Gesetzmässigkeit in der Ordnung der Natur nicht verbergen, und wurden zur Ueberzeugung hingedrängt, dass es wenigstens im Bereiche des natürlichen Geschehens eine göttliche Providenz gebe; aber sie hielten fast alle darüber im Zweifel, ob auch in den menschlichen Erlebnissen eine solche Providenz walte. Einige glaubten, dass in denselben lediglich nur so viel vernunftgemässer Zusammenhang sei, als der Mensch durch die Kraft seines Willens und Erkennens in sie bringe; Andere glaubten, dass alles menschliche Geschehen durch siderische Einflüsse oder andere fatalistische Ursachen bestimmt sei." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 266.)

(b) S. Thomas Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Expositio in Job*, Cap. I., Lect. II., p. 5—6, Vol. XIV.

(c) Cap. III., Lect. I., p. 12.

(d) Cap. IV., Lect. III., p. 20.

(e) Cap. VII., Lect. IV., p. 33.

(f) Cap. IX., Lect. III., p. 41.

(g) Cap. IV., Lect. III., p. 19.

(h) Cap. VII., Lect. I., p. 29.

(i) Cap. IX., Lect. I., p. 37.

(k) Cap. XII., Lect. II., p. 53.

on tendency towards an end;^a on the Resurrection—which is treated with great mastery;^b on immortality;^c on the prosperity of the wicked;^d on astronomy;^e on metals and precious stones;^f birds;^g asses;^h reverence;ⁱ temperature;^k on wisdom;^l on Platonism;^m on Satan;ⁿ on sleep;^o on the Leviathan;^p on the motion of the heavens, and on the great Behemoth.^q Besides his Commentary on Job, the Angelical wrote an Exposition on the first fifty Psalms. This occupies about two hundred pages. The care with which the *Prooemium* is composed, shows that the author looked upon this as an important work.^r It consists in an ingenious, not to say profound application of the words: “In all his works he gave thanks to the Holy One, and to the Most High with words of glory.”^s

In this Exposition the Angelical enters, more perhaps than in any of his other works, into the full meaning of each word, and follows out its signification into the minutest detail. It is not at all an uncommon thing for him to devote half a column, or more, to the elucidation of a single adjective, substantive, or pronoun. He brings various portions of Scripture to bear, as in a focus, upon the elements of thought; and after having displayed them in different lights, draws out and manifests their proper meaning with a facility which is all his own.^t The “*Gloss*,” is here often brought into requisition. At times, a Hebrew expression gives a clue to the true signification; sometimes the force of the Greek appears to recall a thought;

(a) Cap. IX., Lect. IV., p. 42.

(b) Cap. XIV., Lect. IV., p. 61.

(c) Cap. XIV., Lect. V., p. 61—62; Cap. XIX., Lect. II., p. 76.

(d) Cap. XVI., Lect. I., p. 67; Cap. XXI., Lect. I., p. 81; Lect. III., p. 82.

(e) Cap. IX., Lect. II., p. 39; Cap. XXIII., Lect. I., p. 87; Cap. XXXVIII., Lect. II., p. 130.

(f) Cap. XXVIII., Lect. II., p. 98.

(g) Cap. XXXIX., Lect. I., p. 133.

(h) Cap. XXXIX., Lect. I., p. 133.

(i) Cap. XXXII., Lect. I., p. 109.

(k) Cap. XXVI., Lect. I., p. 93.

(l) Cap. XXVIII., Lect. II., p. 98.

(m) Cap. XXXVII., Lect. I., p. 125.

(n) Cap. XL., Lect. II., p. 135—9.

(o) Cap. XXXIII., Lect. II., p. 113.

(p) Capp. XLIII.—XLI., Lect. I., p. 141, Vol. XIV.

(q) Cap. XI., Lect. II., p. 137—139.

(r) The *Prooemium* begins thus:—“In omni opere suo dedit confessionem sancto et excelso in verbo glorie. Eccl. 47.” Verba hæc dicuntur de David ad litteram et satis convenienter assumuntur ad ostendendam causam hujus operis. In quibus ostenditur quadruplex causa hujus: scilicet materia, modus seu forma; finis et agens. Materia est universalis; quia cum singuli libri canonice Scripturæ speciales materias habeant, hic liber generalem habet totius Theologiæ; et hoc est quod dicit Dionysius 3 lib. Cælest. Hierar. *Divinarum odarum, idest Psalmorum, sacram Scripturam intender, est, sacras et divinas operationes universas decantare.* Unde signatur materia in hoc quod dicit: *In omni opere, quia de omni opere Dei tractat.* Est autem quadruplex opus Dei: scilicet Creationis: Gen. I. Cap.: *Requievit Deus die septimo ab omni opere, &c.* Gubernationis: Joan. 5: *Pater meus usque modo operatur, &c.* Reparationis: Joan 4: *Mens cubus est ut faciam voluntatem ejus qui misit me, ut perficiam opus ejus.* (Vid. *Prooemium* S. Thomæ in *Psalmos*, p. 148, Vol. XIV.)

(s) Eccl. XLVII., v. 9.

(t) The *Prooemium* continues thus:—“Glorificationis: Eccl. XLII.: *Gloria Domini plenum est opus ejus.* Et de his omnibus complete in hac doctrina tractatur. Primo de opere creationis: Psal. VIII.: *Videbo celos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum.* Secundo gubernationis: quia omnes historię veteris testamenti tanguntur in hoc libro: Psal. LXXVII: *Aperiam in parabolis os meum, &c.* Tercio reparationis, quantum ad caput, scilicet Christum, et quantum ad omnes effectus gratiæ: Psal. III.: *Ego dormivi et somnum, &c.* Omnia enim quæ ad talem lucrationis pertinent, sic dilucide traduntur in hoc opere, ut fere videantur evangelium, et non prophetia. Quarto est opus Glorificationis: Psal. 149: *Exultabant sancti in gloria, &c.* Et hæc est ratio, quare magis frequentatur *Psalterium* in Ecclesiâ quia continet totum Scripturam. Vel secundum Glossam, ad dandum nobis spem divini misericordię: quia cum peccasset David, tamen per penitentiam est reparatus.” (Vid. *Prooemium*, S. Thomæ in *Psalmos*, p. 148, Vol. XIV.)

or S. Augustine, or S. Chrysostom, or Denis, is called in to settle, by means of his authority, texts which of themselves might be explained in different ways. Then, difficulties suggested by other portions of Holy Writ are advanced—passages which seem to contradict the Psalm: these are solved, either by a principle of moral or a principle of dogma, or by the light of some telling sentence in Scripture, or by the traditionary teachings of the Fathers, or finally, by that gift of intuition by means of which master-minds are enabled to cut the Gordian Knot, or to unravel a tangle, with an ease which is one of the attributes of genius.^a

Perhaps the most valuable portion of this Exposition is that which brings out the relation of the Psalms to the Redemption by our Lord. No possible point of resemblance is omitted. Christ lives in the Psalms, and his tender loving Voice is ever and anon heard, speaking with clear articulation of His sufferings, His patience, His love, and His most merciful atonement for the sake of man. On the full treatment of so large a subject this is not the place to dwell. But the detailed method of the Saint will be clearly seen by one or two examples, which are selected as being interesting in themselves.

For instance, take the words—

“‘Truths are decayed from among the children of men.’^b Why does he say truths in the plural? ‘There is no truth of God in the land.’^c The answer is that the primeval Truth is one, and is the Divine Intellect. But, as the one face of a man produces many reflections in many mirrors; and many also in one broken mirror; so many truths are produced in many souls through the influence of one Divine truth. So, manifold truths appear in our soul which does not reach divine simplicity; and this is the effect of that one Truth, by which a devout soul is illuminated: and these truths diminish as the soul, through sin, recedes from God.”^d

(a) The Prooemium ends thus:—“Sed circa ordinem Psalmorum sciendum est, quod Psalmi quidam tangunt historias, sed non sunt ordinati secundum ordinem historie. Nam *Diligam te Domine*, pertinet ad historiam Saulis, sed *Domine quid multiplicati sunt*, ad historiam pertinet Absalonis; et hæc est posterior; unde aliquid aliud significant præter historiam tantum. Prima ergo quinquagena pertinet ad statum penitentis, et ideo figuratiter tractatur in ea de tribulationibus et impugnationibus David, et liberatione ejus. Et ut divisio fiat secundum litteram, David in regno suo existens, contra duplicem impugnationem vel persecutionem orat. Primo contra eam quæ fuit contra totum populum Dei; et hoc in quinta decade, *Psalm. XLI.*: *Quemadmodum desiderat, &c.* Universaliter autem justus in persona sua dupliciter affligitur: quandoque a temporaliter persequentibus, quandoque ab aliquibus injuste viventibus, &c.” (Vid. Prooemium, S. Thomæ in *Psalmos*, p. 150, Vol. XIV.)

(b) Psalm XI., v. 1.

(c) Osee, IV., v. 1.

(d) Psalm XI., p. 180.

Take the word “*In Petra exaltavit me.*” being v. 5 of *Psalm. XXVI.*
“*In Petra.* Hic proponit aliud beneficium promotionis in bonum; et est duplex. Unum exaltationis quantum ad se. Secundum quantum ad hostes, ibi, *nunc exaltavit caput meum*. Dicit ergo, *In petra exaltasti me.* Secundum litteram alludit ad ea quæ circa eum sunt gesta; quia quando persecutionem pertiebat, ibat per petras invias [vel pervias] I. Reg. XXIV.: ‘Sed quando evasit!’ *Tunc exaltavit cor meum super inimicos meos.* Sed mystice exponitur, *In petra exaltasti me*, id est in Christo; I. Cor. X.: ‘Petra autem erat Christus.’ Vel, *In petra*, id est in Deo: II. Reg. XXII.: ‘Dominiis petra mea!’ Psalm. LX.: ‘Dum anxietetur cor meum, in petra exaltasti me.’ Et nunc jam exaltavit: quasi dicat, istud feci in spe, sed nunc in re. *Exaltasti caput meum*, id est mentem meam, id est super omnes appetitus meos: Gen. IV.: ‘Subtus te erit appetitus tuus.’” (In Davidem, *Psalm. XXVI.*, p. 233, Vol. XIV.)

Once more :—

“In Thy light we shall see light.’^a The rational creature has two privileges: one, is that of seeing in the light of God; and because other animals do not see by the light of God, he says, ‘In Thy light.’ This does not refer to the light created by God, because in this sense the words ‘*Fiat lux*,’ of Genesis are understood. But ‘in Thy light’ (by which viz. Thou enlightenest), which is a similitude of Thy Substance. Brute animals do not participate in this light; but the rational creature first participates in it in natural cognition: for the natural reason of man is nothing else than the refulgence of the divine brightness in the soul, by reason of which brightness it is said to be made to the image of God: ‘The Light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us.’^b The other, is the light of grace: ‘Arise thou that sleepest.’^c The third is the light of glory: ‘Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come.’^d Or, ‘In Thy light,’ that is, in Christ, Who is light of light: and so is the light which is true God. Christ therefore is the light, inasmuch as he proceeds from the Father: He is the fountain of life, inasmuch as He is the principle of the life-giving Spirit. The other privilege is that the rational creature alone sees this light: hence he says, ‘we shall see light.’^e This light is the created truth, that is Christ, according as He is man: or it is the uncreated Truth, by which we know some true things. For spiritual light is truth; and as a thing, inasmuch as it is lucid, is known by means of the light: just so is a thing known inasmuch as it is true. Brute animals know some true things well, for example, ‘This sweet,’ but not the truth of this proposition ‘this is true’; for to do so would be to adequate the intellect to the thing, which brutes cannot do. Therefore brutes have not created light. And in the same way, they have neither the uncreated light, because man alone was made to see God by faith and hope; and as now we see by faith in light; so shall we see Him face to face when we enter into heaven.”^f

The next Exposition is that on the Canticle of Canticles. It follows in the main the plan adopted in other Commentaries. But Scripture references occur here less frequently than in the Treatise on Job. The Fathers are more sparingly used. Aristotle’s Ethics can be felt in many places, as fixing a basis on which is built some beautiful and stable superstructure. The ardent words of the Spouse are taken up with the same warmth in exposition, by the Saint, as they are poured out by the Inspired Lips. The Angelical was at home in this train of thought.^g His soul, ever present with his Lord, could run

(a) Psalm XXXVI., p. 270.

(c) Ephesians, Chap. V., v. 14.

(d) Isaiah, Chap. LX., v. 1.

(e) On the seeming contradiction in the words: “Quoniam tacei . . . dum clamarem tota die,” the Angelical speaks thus:—“Respondeo. Tacebat ab eo quod dicendum erat, sed clamabat quod dicendum non erat, nedom clamandum. Et in utroque est peccatum. De primo Isa. VI.: ‘Vas mihi quia tacei.’ Debet enim peccator dicere peccata sua: Job XVI.: ‘Si tacerem, non recedit a me: nunc autem etc.’ Ergo quoniam tacei peccata mea, *Inveteraverunt ossa mea*: Baruch III.: ‘Quid est Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es, inveterasti etc.’ De secundo Isa. V.: ‘Expectavi, ut faceret iudicium, et ecce iniquitas: iustitiam, et ecce clamor.’ Et hoc est quod dicit. *Dum clamarem tota die*. Clamabat enim se iustum, clamabat de pena, et tacebat de culpa.” (*In Davidem, Psal. XXXI., p. 257, Vol. XIV.*)

(f) *In Davidem, Psal. XXXV., p. 279, Vol. XIV.*

(g) Werner speaks thus:—“Der Commentar zum hohen Liede wird mit den Worten Hohel. 2. 14 eingeleitet. *Sond nur tua in auribus meis: vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora*. Diese Worte können entweder als Wort des Bräutigams an die Braut, d. i. Christi an die Kirche,

along the course of the glowing canticle; and, without any difficulty, keep pace with the exuberance of joy therein displayed. Continually, as if inspired himself, he takes up the rapture of Holy Writ, and pours it forth, following with a commentary thrown into rapture too, flowing with a like rapidity of love; and evidently proving that under the quiet calm exterior of the man, there lived a very volcano of seraphic tenderness and charity. Then the swift comment stops, and the Saint draws out the requisites for some important office, or the ingredients of some mighty gift, stating all calmly and with measure, like a deep philosopher. Now comes the application to the words of the Canticle; next, an analysis of various expressions; then a knitting together of Scripture phrase,—the writer making his own thought flow with equal stream, text running into comment, and then losing itself, till the Angelic Doctor's mind, and the inspiration of the Spirit, seem to combine in one shining current of purest psalmody.* Yet all this is done in order; all is subservient to a common purpose; all adds light to the guiding thought contained in the customary magic text, which here is cast in the following words:—"Let thy voice sound in my ears: for thy voice is sweet, and thy face comely."†

Two more works of the Angelical complete his Scripture preparation for his master undertaking, namely, his Expositions on the Prophecies of Isaias and Jeremias. The former occupies about one hundred and fifty pages; and is divided, according to the chapters of the prophecy, into sixty-six portions, varying greatly in length. The Scripture illustrations are in harmony with the usual method of the Saint. S. Gregory, S. Bernard, and S. Augustine are made use of; the last often, the others seldom. S. Jerome and Rabanus‡ are touched upon, and there is one reference to Homer. The best way of giving

oder als Worte der Kirche an Christus genommen werden. Im ersteren Sinne erklären sie uns den Titel, im letzteren Sinne die vier *causas* des heiligen Buches. Dieses ist 'Lied der Lieder' betitelt. Damit ist kein sinnlich vernehmbarer, sondern vielmehr ein geistiger und geistlicher Hochgesang gemeint. Denn wie es ein zweifaches Wort gibt, ein äusseres und ein inneres, so auch eine zweifache Harmonie, eine sinnlich hörbare und eine geistig vernehmbar. Böthius lehrt in seinem Werke über Musik, dass Alles Harmonie sei insofern Alles nach bestimmten Maassverhältnissen geordnet sei; Augustinus findet die musikalischen Maassverhältnisse auch in den Vorgängen und Thätigkeiten des Seelenlebens, und specificirt sie als *numeros judicales, progressivos, occurrentes, recordabiles, consonales*. (Der heilige Thomas von Aquin, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 286—287.)

* How beautifully he speaks:—"Pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata. Luna a sole illuminatur; et Ecclesia pulchra est ut luna, quia claritate sponsi Christi illuminatur, et ejus gratia resplendet. Sive pulchra est ut luna in presenti vita, ubi aliquando concessa sibi pax et securitate crescit, aliquando adversitatibus obscurata decrevit; electa ut sol, in alia vita, ubi perpetuo splendet visione Conditoris sui. Sive electa est ut sol, quia illum verum solum imitari nititur, de quo scriptum est, Malach. IV.: 'Vobis timentibus nomen meum, orietur sol justitie.' Hunc solem imitatur vivendo in omni humilitate et justitia et pietate. Terribilis, acies potestatis, ordinata ut castrorum acies, id est caritatis militie unita, ut nullis tentationibus penetrari valeat." (In Cant. Cantic., Cap. VI., p. 377, Vol. XIV.)

† Canticle of Canticles, Chap. II., v. 14.

‡ Expositio in Isaiam, Cap. LX., p. 367, Vol. XIV.

an idea of this Exposition is to select one or two passages. For instance:—

“Note, with regard to those words, ‘there shall come forth a rod,’ that the Blessed Virgin is called a rod; first, as consoling in tribulations: ‘But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch forth thy hand over the sea, and divide it: that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on dry ground,’ Secondly, as fructifying: ‘And Moses found that the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi, was budded: and that the buds swelling it had bloomed blossoms, which spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds.’^a Thirdly, *b* as satiating: ‘When Moses had lifted up his hand, and struck the rock twice with the rod, there came forth water in great abundance, so that the people and their cattle drank.’^c Fourthly, as scourging: ‘A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel, and shall strike the chiefs of Moab.’^d Fifthly, as watching: ‘I see a rod watching.’^e

Then, the words:

“‘He shall pass in peace.’^f Note, upon the words, ‘he shall pass in peace,’ that Christ passed in peace. First, in peace of the flesh with the spirit which He experienced: ‘Knowing that thy Tabernacle is in peace.’^g Secondly, in the peace of man towards his neighbour, which He taught: ‘How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace.’^h Thirdly, in the peace of the world towards the Lord, which he brought about: ‘Making peace, and reconciling both to God in one body.’ⁱ

Once more:

“Note, upon the words, ‘I will pour out my spirit,’^k that the Spirit is given to beginners; first, in the beginning of their life: ‘And the spirit came into them and they lived.’^l Secondly, in the laver of regeneration: ‘By the laver of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost.’^m Thirdly, in the privilege of adoption: ‘You have not received the spirit of bondage in fear; but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons of God.’ⁿ Secondly, it is given to those who are progressing: first, to instruct the intellect: ‘The Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will

(a) Numbers, Chap. XVII., v. 8.

(b) Here is an interesting solution:—“Videtur quod augurium non sit peccatum. Aves enim meliorem aestivationem habent quam pisces qui sunt magis agnosi; sed marinarii ex motu quorundam piscium accipiunt conjecturas de tempestate futura: ergo etiam per aves potest aliquid pronosticari de futuris. Et dicendum, quod Deus providit unicuique rei ea quibus possit conservari in esse, secundum sue nature capacitatem: et ideo homini dedit rationem per quam conferendo potest sibi advenire remedia contra noelva. Et quia in brutis deficit ratio, ordinavit ut quod ex ratione deficit, natura suppleret; et ideo talibus data sunt arma et opera mentis naturaliter, quae homo per artem sibi acquirit. Similiter creata est eis quaedam vis naturalis aestivationis, impellens eas ad operandum opera sua speciei. Unde potius augurium quam agniti, ut dicit Damascenus. Et cum natura inferior reguletur per naturam superiorem et moveatur, relinquuntur in ipsis impressiones superiorum motuum fructuum huiusmodi motum per quem moventur ad providendum sibi in necessariis. Et in talibus accipere conjecturam ab avibus, vel avium motibus, vel aliorum animalium, non est peccatum; sed tantum de his quae habent causam ex libero arbitrio, quod non operatur necessitate stellarum.” (In *Isaiam*, Chap. II., p. 439, Vol. XIV.)

(c) Numbers, Chap. XX., v. 11.

(d) Jeremias, Chap. I., v. 11.—See Opp. S. Thomas Aquinatis, *Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam*, Chap. XI., p. 474, Vol. XIV.

(e) *Isaias*, Chap. XLII., v. 3.

(f) *Isaias*, Chap. LII., v. 7.

(g) Ephesians, Chap. II., v. 15.—*Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam*, Chap. XLII., p. 530.

(h) *Isaias*, Chap. XLIV., v. 3.

(i) Titus, Chap. III., v. 5.

(d) Numbers, Chap. XIV., v. 17.

(g) Job, Chap. V., v. 24.

(f) Ezechiel, Chap. XXXVII., v. 10.

(n) Romans, Chap. VIII., v. 15.

teach you all things.'^a Secondly, to refresh the affections: 'My spirit is sweet above honey.'^b Thirdly, as help in action: 'The spirit helpeth our infirmity.'^c Thirdly, it is given to the perfect; first, for the benefit of Liberty: 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.'^d Secondly, for a bond of unity: 'Careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'^e Thirdly, as a pledge of inheritance: 'You were signed with the holy spirit of promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance.'^f

Again:—

"He was wounded for our iniquities.'^g Here is stated the fruit of His humiliation or passion, and first he mentions the effective reason, 'But He' not as we thought, 'was wounded,' with thorns, nails, lance, to take away 'our iniquities.'^h 'He was bruised,' with scourges, smittings; or, 'wounded,' in reference to 'struck;' 'bruised,' in reference to 'afflicted.'ⁱ 'The breath of our mouth Christ the Lord is taken in our sins.'^k Secondly, he shows the utility consequent on the reconciliation of peace: 'The chastisement of peace;' that is, for our sakes he bore the chastisement of correction, by which peace we have access to God: 'For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life.'^l And in the restitution of lost health through the 'bruises,' which he received from the scourges: 'By whose stripes you were healed.'^m 'Who forgiveth thy iniquities: who healeth all thy diseases.'ⁿ Thirdly, he shows the imminent necessity on our part, because we are all sick, and we all need the physician, and no one else can offer a sufficient remedy.^o 'For there is no distinction; for all have sinned: and do need the glory of God.'^p

And finally, the words:—

"Be enlightened O Jerusalem.' Note, upon the words, 'Be enlightened O Jerusalem,'^q that the Church is enlightened by the light, first, of sacred doctrine: 'The commandment is a lamp, and the law a light.'^r Secondly, of spiritual intelligence: 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus.'^s Thirdly, of grace: 'If we walk in the light, as he also is in the light; we have fellowship one with another.'^t Fourthly, of glory: 'In thy light we shall see light.'^u Fifthly, of joy: 'What manner of joy shall be to me, who sit in darkness, and see not the light of heaven.'^v Sixthly, of the Divine Substance: 'Who only hath immortality, and inhabiteth light inaccessible.'^w

The Exposition on Jeremiah is an unfinished composition, the Angelical having died before he had time to complete the fifty-

(a) John, Chap. XIV., v. 26.

(c) Romans, Chap. VIII., v. 26.

(e) Ephesians, Chap. IV., v. 3.

(f) Ephesians, Chap. I., v. 13.—*Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam*, Cap. XLIV., p. 537.

(g) Isaias, Chap. LIII., v. 5.

(i) "As one struck by God, and afflicted."—Isaias, Chap. LIII., v. 4.

(k) Lament., Chap. IV., v. 20.

(m) I. Peter, Chap. II., v. 24.

(o) See Opp. S. Thomas Aquinatis, *Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam*, Cap. LIII., p. 553.

(p) Romans, Chap. III., v. 22.

(r) Proverbs, Chap. VI., v. 23.

(t) I. John, Chap. I., v. 7.

(v) Tobias, Chap. V., v. 12.

(w) I. Timothy, Chap. VI., v. 16.—*Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam*, Cap. LX., p. 568.

(b) Eccles., Chap. XXIV., v. 27.

(d) II. Corinth., Chap. III., v. 17.

(h) Isaias, Chap. LIII., v. 5.

(j) Isaias, Chap. LIII., v. 4.

(l) Romans, Chap. V., v. 10.

(n) Psalm CII., v. 3.

(q) Isaias, Chap. LX., v. 1.

(s) II. Corinth., Chap. IV., v. 6.

(u) Psalm XXXV., v. 10.

second chapter.^a In fact, the whole has more the character of an *imbozzo*, than of a perfect piece. There is, indeed, the same wealth as elsewhere, of Scripture illustration; and S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, and the *Gloss*, are alluded to in a passing way. Take one or two examples of our Saint's method; first on various kinds of Circumcision:—

"Note, that circumcision is manifold, of the mind and of evil thoughts: 'Until their uncircumcised mind be ashamed.'^b Of the heart from evil affections: 'Circumcision is that of the heart, in spirit, not in the letter.'^c Of the mouth, from evil speech: 'I am of uncircumcised lips.'^d Of the ears, from detraction and evil words: 'Their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hear.'^e Of the flesh, signifying circumcision from carnal desires: 'You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, that it may be for a sign of the Covenant between me and you.'^f

"Note, moreover, that the heart is washed with the water of Baptism: 'I washed Thee with water, and cleansed away thy blood from Thee.'^g With the tears of compunction: 'Every night I will wash my bed; I will water my couch with my tears.'^h With the wine of Divine love: 'He shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grapes.'ⁱ With the milk of the Divine word: 'His eyes are as doves upon brooks of waters, which are washed with milk.'^k With the ardour of correction: 'If the Lord shall wash away the filth of the daughters of Sion, and shall wash away the blood of Jerusalem out of the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning.'^l With the blood of the Lord's passion: 'They have washed their robes, and have made them white in the blood of the lamb.'^m

Again:—

Note, that mystically some wine is good and some bad. There is good wine of the wisdom of contemplation: 'Drink the wine which I have mingled for you.'ⁿ of divine love: 'I will give thee a cup of spiced wine and new wine of my pomegranates.'^o of compunction: 'Thou hast made us drink the wine of sorrow.'^p And there is an evil wine of fraudulent deception: 'Their wine is the gall of dragons, and the venom of asps, which is incurable.'^q of carnal delight: 'All nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with

(a) Es erübriget noch eine kurze Erwähnung des Commentars über Jeremias, dessen charakteristische Eigenthümlichkeiten als prophetischen Schriftstellers im Vorworte zum Commentar mit Anknüpfung an die Stelle 2 Macc. 15, 14 geschildert werden. Jeremias ist der heilige Mann, der auf den Trümmern der heiligen Stadt über das Elend seines Volkes weint, und betend zwischen ihm und Gott steht. Dieser Gedanke wird durch eine schöne, mit reichen biblischen Auführungen ausgestattete kurze Erörterung durchgeführt. Inhalt seiner Prophetie ist, im historischen Sinne aufgefasst, die Gefangenschaft seines Volkes. Sie zerfällt in drei Theile; im ersten Theile sagt er die Gefangenschaft als eine zukünftige voraus; in den Klagehiedern beweist er sie als eine bereits geschehene; im Buche Baruch führt er die in die Gefangenschaft Abgeführten redend ein. Thomas hat nur die ersten zwei Parthien dieses dreitheiligen Ganzen commentirt, und auch da nicht vollständig; der Commentar zu den Propheten des Jeremias reicht bis Cap. 42, die folgenden zehn Capitel bleiben unerklärt. Er fasst sich in diesem Commentar weit kürzer, als in allen seinen übrigen exegetischen Schriften." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 301—302.)

(b) Leviticus, Chap. XXVI, v. 41.

(c) Romans, Chap. II, v. 29.

(d) Exodus, Chap. VI, v. 30.

(e) Jeremias, Chap. VI, v. 10.

(f) Genesis, Chap. XVII, v. 11.

(g) Ezechiel, Chap. XVI, v. 9.

(h) Genesis, Chap. XLIX, v. 11.

(i) Genesis, Chap. IV, v. 4.

(k) Canticles, Chap. V, v. 12.

(l) Isaias, Chap. VII, v. 14.—*Expositio in Jeremiam Prophetam*, Chap. V, p. 590.

(m) Apocalypse, Chap. VII, v. 14.—*Expositio in Jeremiam Prophetam*, Chap. V, p. 590.

(n) Proverbs, Chap. IX, v. 5.

(o) Canticles, Chap. VIII, v. 2.

(p) Psalm LIX, v. 5.

(q) Deuteronomy, Chap. XXXII, v. 33.

her:’* of the riches of indignation: ‘If any man shall adore the beast and his image, and receive his character in his forehead, or in his hand, he also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is mingled with pure wine in the cup of his wrath.’”†

To enter further into the Angelical’s labours on the Sacred Scriptures would occupy too much space. It would fill a volume to indicate all his merits, and to show the influence upon him of the great Classical Fathers of the Church. Any one, sufficiently interested, would speedily detect the difference between his method and theirs, by taking parallel passages of Scripture from S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and S. Augustine, and comparing them with the Exposition of our Saint.‡ The schools of Antioch and Alexandria have made an equal mark upon him; he is as theological as Origen, when it answers the purposes of truth; and as practical and concrete as Chrysostom, when the literal treatment is more in keeping with his scope, or with his subject-matter: whilst he surpasses all in the precision of his grasp of Faith and Morals, and in his special gift of throwing into an organic form the apparently heterogeneous elements of dogma or revelation which he meets with in the course of his exposition. S. Thomas appears incapable of touching any order of Church knowledge without at once detecting new bearings, and bringing the various portions into harmony. No man in the whole range of ecclesiastical biography knew, as he did, how to reduce chaos into order.§ The Holy Spirit seems to be painting his picture when He says—

“The wise man will seek out the wisdom of all the Ancients, and will be occupied in the Prophets. He will keep the sayings of renowned men, and will enter withal into the subtilties of Parables. He will search out the hidden meaning of proverbs, and will be conversant in the secrets of Parables. The Lord will fill him with the spirit of understanding, and he will pour forth the words of his wisdom in showers. The Lord shall direct his counsel and

* Apocalypse, Chap. XIV., v. 8.

† Apocalypse, Chap. XIV., v. 9.—*Expositio in Jeremiam Prophetam*, Cap. XIV., p. 612, Vol. XIV.

‡ Tournon says distinctly, what is evident to a student of the Angelical’s expositions,—that he had learnt the sacred text off by heart:—“Il y lut dès-lors, et il relut souvent, avec cette joie intérieure, qui est le fruit, ou la marque de la parfaite charité, que tous ceux qui veulent vivre dans la piété, à la suite de Jesus-Christ, seront exposés à la persécution du monde; mais qu’une couronne de justice sera le prix de leur persévérance. Pour avoir ces vérités toujours présentes à son esprit, il apprit par cœur tout le texte de l’Ancien et du nouveau Testament; et il voulut que ce qui devoit être la règle de toute sa conduite, fût aussi le sujet ordinaire de ses plus sérieuses réflexions, prenant ainsi pour lui-même, ce que S. Jérôme écrivoit autrefois à S. Paulin, pour l’animer à la méditation continuelle des Ecritures: *Oro te inter hac vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nosse, nihil querere.*” (*Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas*, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., p. 330—331.)

§ Frigerio speaks strongly of the supernatural help given to the Angelical in his Scripture studies:—“Convien per necessità confessare, che gli fossero di sopra interamente svelati e rivelati i sensi più profondi, e misterij più reconditi della sacra Scrittura vecchia e nuova, la quale egli in gran parte felicemente commentò, portando con non minor pietà ch’ordinazione i veri sentimenti del testo e secondo la lettera e secondo lo spirito. Onde a ragione Eubiano Giustiniano Vescovo d’Alace nel suo comentario sopra la sacra Scrittura hebbe a dire: *Sanctus Thomas Aquinas. &c. in sacra Scriptura interpretatione adeo excelluit, ut omnes penè sensus literales et mysticos, vestigijs Patrum inhærens, assequutus fuisse videatur.*” (*Vita di S. Tomaso d’Aquino*, Lib. III., Cap. I., n. 4, p. 126.)

in his secrets he shall meditate. Many shall praise his wisdom : and it shall never be forgotten. The memory of him shall not depart away, and his name shall be in request from generation to generation.”*

It was thus, by the help of prayer, meditation, and the illumination of Truth, that the Angelical was enabled to penetrate into “ the subtilties of Parables,” and to “ search out the hidden meaning of Proverbs ;” he was “ filled with the spirit of understanding,” and therefore “ his name shall be in requisition from generation to generation.” It was at the foot of the crucifix, and in the rapture of ecstasy, that his intellect was replenished with the fulness of Light.

Having seen what kind of preparation was made by our Saint, in Tradition and in Scripture, for his master-work ; now we must consider the third point, and mark how Reason also, or Philosophy, was enlisted in his service for carrying out the same design.

* *Ecclesiasticus*, Chap. XXXIX., v. I.

CHAPTER VII.

GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

THE mightiness of the columnal Fathers of the Church grew out of their abiding communication with the Unseen World; and they were built up into such strong and sublime moral characters through their intense personal love of a personal Saviour and Model.* In proportion as they became one in will with Him, they became one in character with Him also. His divine grace, working in their beings, gradually transformed them into Christians in the highest sense of the word;—into men full of love and reverence towards the Author of their salvation, filled with a spirit of genuine adoration, and spotless with a purity which alone can proceed from the free Hand of the Almighty. They understood the meaning of sin and of salvation; they knew the significance of the word “creation,” and they believed in an Eternal World to come. The mind and heart naturally turn towards them, and spontaneously adore the Power which made them what they were. They exhibit the highest types of what can be produced by Christianity, and their teaching is the genuine doctrine of the New Law.† From them the Angelical drew the traditions of the Universal Church,

* Melchior Canus (*De locis Theologicis*), Natalis Alexander (*Dissert.*), and Father Perrone (*Prælectiones Theolog.*), have said so much on the position of the great Fathers, that it is not necessary to dwell any further on their importance in building up a theological system. “Les Pères de l’Eglise,” says Alzog, “forment comme le fleuve de la vie divine dont la source est en Jésus-Christ; ce sont eux qui, avec l’enseignement verbal du ministère infallible qui réside dans les évêques, perpétuent leurs écrits d’une manière ininterrompue, le dépôt de la doctrine chrétienne; en sorte que leurs ouvrages constituent une partie de la tradition écrite (παράδοσις ἐκκλησιαστική).” (*Manuel de Patrologie*, trad. par P. Bélet, § 3, p. 6—7.)

† Dr. Huber, who, unfortunately, cannot be safely followed, says well:—“Die Zeitalter der Kirchenväter bezeichnet der Uebergang der alten Geschichte in die neue und sie selbst sind es, welche diesen Uebergang bewerkstelligen. Sie verhelfen dem christlichen Gedanken der alten Welt gegenüber zum Sieg, entwickeln ihn aus seinen anfänglichen Grundzügen zu einem überlieferten darin der Zukunft eine Ideensaat, worin ein neues Weltalter angelegt war. So sind sie nicht blos die Väter der Kirche, die an ihnen die Stützen ihrer Dogmen und Institutionen besitzt und erst durch sie ausgebaut wurde, sondern, insofern sich an diese die christliche Kultur knüpft, die Väter der christlichen Zeiten überhaupt.” (*Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter*, p. 360—361; München, 1859.)

and with the assistance of their master-minds he constructed his immortal synthesis of Catholic Theology.

But it is evident at a glance, that, if the substance of the Angelical's writings be identical with the teaching of the Fathers, the form is not so. The logical precision, the brevity, the scientific formality of the Angel of the Schools, were unknown to the more emotional and rhetorical minds of the classic Doctors. If he gained so large a portion of his substance from them, whence came so great a difference in his method?

To answer this question the reader must, for a short time, leave the influences of the Christian Church, and turn to the Fathers of Greek philosophy.*

To comprehend the position of the great pagan thinkers, a rapid outline must be given of the spiritual polity of the Greeks, and of the nature of their initial attempts at creating a religion.

After the fall of Adam, man, weakened in will, fell under the dominion of lust and passion. Still, the voice of his conscience was not entirely extinguished; the yearning after an object to adore was not wholly quenched in his heart. But his spiritual sight being weakened, and sometimes altogether obscured, instead of fixing itself on the unseen God of Heaven, Spiritual, Personal, One, Everlasting, was arrested by the sensible phenomena of the universe; and, with fear and trembling, he knelt down and worshipped the sun, the moon and the stars.†

Those tribes and communities which went to form what is called the Greek people, introduced each its own special worship; and the fusion of the various divinities to which men offered sacrifice, formed a confused medley of idolatry, rather than an intelligible system of religion.

Homer and Hesiod wrote the Bible of the Greeks. Selecting, as they thought best, the traditions and superstitions of the different races amongst which they moved, they created a sys-

* Stückl appreciates the Angelical like a true philosopher. "Was Augustinus in der patristischen Zeit und für dieselbe war, das ist Thomas in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik und für dieselbe. Wie in Augustinus alle Radien der patristischen Wissenschaft sich concentrirten und so in seinen Schriften zu Einem herrlichen Lichte aufleuchteten, so gilt das Gleiche von Thomas von Aquin in Bezug auf die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. Mit Recht haben ihm seine Zeitgenossen den Ehrentitel 'Doctor Angelicus' beigelegt. Diese Tiefe des Gedankens, diese Schärfe des Urtheils, diese Feinheit der Unterscheidung, diese Fülle von Inhalt, welche in seinen Schriften uns überall entgegentritt, berechtigte sie wohl gewiss dazu, den grossen Denker in solcher Weise anzudeuten." (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung*, § 120, p. 422.)

† How profoundly true are not these words:—"Die Philosophie konnte nicht einmal die Reform des religiös-sittlichen Lebens bewirken; wohl haben sie nach Weisheit gesucht, aber indem sie suchten, weise zu sein, sind sie Thoren geworden." Dieses scheinbar allzu harte Urtheil des Apostels wird in noch schrofferer Weise bestätigt durch Cicero, wenn er sagt: 'es gibt nichts so Absurdes, was nicht von einem der Philosophen wäre geglaubt worden.' Und doch hatte er mit hingebender Liebe sich den philosophischen Studien geweiht, und in seinen Schriften die Resultate aller Forschungen, die Systeme der verschiedenen Schulen unparteiisch und vollständig niedergelegt." (Hettinger, *Der Beweis des Christenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Bülfer Vortrag*, p. 472-473.)

tem of belief, which, by means of exquisite poetry, and through the activity of wandering minstrels, was soon fixed in the mind of the entire population. Then, the enthusiastic rhapsodists did their share. Dressed in bright attire, and wearing crowns of gold, they appeared in the thronging assemblies, and by means of their marvellous gift of simulating passion, and striking the "cords of Adam" in the heart, speedily carried away with them, in the *élan* of their inspiration, the admiring multitudes who hung upon their lips. The sweet music of the voice, the touching concord of melting sounds, beauty appealing to the eye and to the ear, and lighting up the intellect, made rhapsody one of the most powerful instruments of education amongst the Greeks, one of the most telling means of popularizing the theology of Homer.*

The forces of nature were converted into immortal men; and the gods of the Greeks became simply the transcripts of their own passions, drawn out on a larger scale, embellished by the help of art, and thrown into epic and dramatic form by the highest masters of fascinating verse. There was not a form of lust or impiety, of thieving, perjury, imposture, and debauchery, or of any other kind of abomination, to which the Greeks could not appeal as sanctioned by the refined lewdness or gross immorality of their gods.† Simply to read the history of the Hellenic priests and of their divinations, of their oracles and purifications, their sacrifices and festivals, their temples and their mysteries, is enough to make the face flush with horror.‡ So ashamed were some poets and philosophers of these gods, that they endeavoured to give a mystic turn to the poems of

* Herodotus distinctly says, that the religion of the Greeks was put together by Homer and Hesiod. Of course this does not imply that there was no dissimilarity between the two poets. Homer knew nothing of the strange cosmogony of Hesiod. They had this in common, however: that their gods were equally debauched, and represented the passions of mankind, magnified by the imagination of the poet, and coloured by the imagery of the most seductive verse. Hesiod's Titans were simply a set of violent revolutionists. Cronos, Uranus, and Zeus, conquered each other in turns. Love of combat, skill in feats of arms; to eat, drink, and laugh; to enjoy all the pleasures that sense could offer;—these are the passions and propensities of both Greeks and gods.

† Even these divinities who loved the "passionless bride, divine Tranquillity," were little calculated to be models of human energy and action.

"The Gods, who haunt
The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounds to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm!"

are simply patterns of rich and elegant idleness, and, with all the poet's touch of heaven, are mere sleek, refined, and cultivated animals. The exquisite education of the senses does not tend to anything like male and lasting virtue.

‡ And the reason of this is simple: because the Pagans seemed fond of turning into divine action what was strongest and showed the most energetic life. The human passions of love and hatred, violence of all kinds, deeds of daring, strength of arm, and feats of prowess mixed with sensuality—are ever recurring in the histories of the gods. True virtue and self-forgetfulness, pardon of injuries, humility, obedience—in fact many virtues which men from the uprightness of original nature practised in the world below—were seldom found amongst the deities. The Pagans only turned that into godly action, which best corresponded with the sensuous and passionate side of human nature.

Homer and of Hesiod, and to explain away the wickedness of their divinities by a system of historico-allegorical interpretations.*

But the inquisitiveness of the Grecian mind was not satisfied with putting down everything to allegory. Men were anxious to trace the multiplicity of life to some primary existence; so that, whilst the people were worshipping the impure creations of their poets, the philosophers—who were to the Greeks what the Fathers are to the Christians—were feeling in gross darkness after truth. Like the rest of their pagan countrymen, they did not rise above material things. Their lives were spent in seeking and never finding: in great yearnings, accompanied by obscurity of intellect and sadness of spirit. They prove what mere philosophy, with no other help than human ingenuity, is able to effect for man.†

For instance, Thales the Milesian (B.C. 600), discovered that water was the ultimate cause of all things; Anaximenes, his disciple, evolved all things out of chaos; his successor, Anaximander (B.C. 502), made air the first principle; Diogenes of Apollonia added life to air; Heraclitus, the Ephesian (B.C. 500), declared that caloric was all in all; Pythagoras traced everything to the primal monad; Xenophanes of Colophon (B.C. 617) was a material pantheist; Parmenides (B.C. 500) denied the world of sense altogether, and believed simply in pure being; Empedocles of Agrigentum (B.C. 492—432) was a pantheist; Democritus of Abdera (B.C. 460), the most learned naturalist before Aristotle, declared the human soul to be a fiery atom; Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ in Lydia (B.C. 500), maintained an Eternal Matter penetrated by an Eternal *Nous*; Protagoras of Abdera, the Sophist (B.C. 480—410), held the doctrine of perpetual flux; Gorgias of Leontium (B.C. 494—400), the most famous orator of his day, taught that nothing had any existence whatever.

Then Sophists took the place of the poets and the rhapsodists. They were essentially rhetoricians, who, with a vast store of

* Döllinger shows very clearly that, even as early as B.C. 520, Theogenes taught that there was a hidden and internal meaning in the writings of Homer and Hesiod. He turned the quarrel amongst the gods, in the *Iliad*, into an allegory. Heraclitus did in like manner. The first, however, to systematize the doctrine thoroughly, was Metrodorus of Lampsacus. Plato was too pure-minded to approve of the scandals of the gods in any form. (*Cf. Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book V., § 1, p. 281—282.*)

† And in fact, Greek philosophy, instead of making an advance as it gained in experience, evidently grew not towards light, but towards darkness. True, Socrates, Aristotle, and especially Plato, illuminated the lower world for a time. But even their teachings were too high and pure for the tendencies of fallen man; or, at all events, they had not the power to give man an assurance of a certain future, or the key to cardinal problems of human destiny. What were the teachings of Carneades, and of the later Academy, but testimonies to the world that philosophy, as a religion, or as a directive power amongst men, had failed? What do they tell us else than that neither the drastic mind of Socrates, nor the sagacity of the Stagyræ, nor the high musings of Plato, had been able to make man certain of his destiny, or to keep sensualism from degrading and darkening his mind?

self-assurance and mother-wit, professed to prepare the young for the battle of life. They undertook to popularize philosophy; to have an answer ready-made for every difficulty, and to lay down the law off-hand on every subject. Gorgias, Protagoras, Prodicus, and other such brilliant speakers—like the scholastics of the days of Abelard,—travelled from city to city throughout Greece, and fascinated the eager and impressionable minds of their restless countrymen, by the dash of their rhetoric, by their assumption of knowledge, and by the readiness of their resource.

Their irreverence and rationalism speedily introduced elements of unbelief.* Many of them looked with contempt on the indecent mythologies, and the crude theogonies, which had been the favourite theme of poets. Protagoras spoke with undisguised contempt of them. Prodicus said the gods were set up by the egotism of man; Critias declared that they were the invention of the lawyers; the comic poets joined the chorus, and with all the inconsistency of Aristophanes, turned upon the philosophers for simply doing that which they themselves were doing every day. Yet the masses of the population were desperately attached to the odious practices of their diabolical religion. Cruelty and superstition are the constant associates of sensual debauchery.† Recall the frequent religious prosecutions in Athens; the power of the priests over Alcibiades; the trial of Aspasia; the exile of Protagoras; the accusation directed against Æschylus; the imprisonment of Anaxagoras; or the danger in which Pericles himself stood of being branded with impiety; and the truth of this assertion becomes evident at a glance.

What a fearful state of moral and intellectual confusion must not the Greek world have been in, during the full bloom of its highest cultivation! The heavens darkened with families of disgusting gods; the earth poisoned by the impurity of their worship; philosophers doubting of all things, and, when dogmatizing, teaching a code of error contradictory to the first

* Of course the Greek religion, being founded in error, and not in truth, could not stand the application of any test. The two great standards to which the Greeks appealed, were tradition and the authority of their priests. The piety of the Athenians generally ended in cruelty, and always bred intolerance; for whilst they appealed to the past in support of their worship, they were excessively sensitive to anything like dissension on matters of belief. They felt, no doubt, that their system was not made to be cross-questioned, and that when the curious human mind began to tamper with it, it would speedily come to pieces. Though they may not have believed in it themselves, they would often support it on grounds of political expediency.

† I need simply refer to the Eleusinian mysteries, the wild orgies in worship of Bacchus, with their violence, lust, and frenzy; and to the readiness with which the most popular rulers were accused of "impiety," "sacrilege," or "profanation." Doubtless the same love of excitement, and of the "sensational," which made them invent their nuclear mysteries and rites, gave the Greeks a taste for persecuting, with unmitigated cruelty, those who ridiculed their gods.

principles of natural and moral truth.* What a deep contrast between the "Fathers" of Christian and of Greek philosophy!—between men who, on the whole, were equal in intellect and culture, but were distinguished by this one note: that the former possessed Christ, whilst the latter had no Christ at all!†

In place of S. Anthony look on Heraclitus. He was a confirmed misanthrope. He was eaten up with a devouring melancholy, and nourished supreme contempt for his fellow-man.

"He fled to the mountains, there, in secret, to prey on his own heart. He was a misanthrope, and misanthropy issues more from the morbid consciousness of self, than from the sorrowful opinion formed of others."‡

In place of S. Athanasius, look upon Parmenides:

"Born to wealth and splendour, enjoying the esteem and envy which always follow splendour and talent, it is conjectured that his early career was that of a dissipated voluptuary."§

Diocætes taught him to despise riches, and he devoted himself to philosophical pursuits. The result of his meditations issued in the construction of a theory which opened the door to universal doubt.

In place of S. Basil, look on Empedocles.¶ He was of a haughty and passionate character:—

"His love of distinction showed itself in priestly garments, a golden girdle, the Delphic Crown, and a numerous train of attendants. He proclaimed himself to be a god whom men and women reverently adored."‡

His death does not resemble that of S. Basil any more than his life. He plunged headlong into the crater of Mount Ætna.**

* Even Plato, the purest of the Greeks, as will be seen later on, manifests the blindness of his mind. Providence has allowed these great men, it would seem, to testify by their very nobleness of character to the fact, that man, with the highest of human gifts, is not self-sufficing; that nature has been struck; that man cannot be his own physician; that the best and purest that he can do, when endowed with the most perfect natural qualities, witnesses to his imbecility, and calls for a higher light. The very contrast, for example, between some portions of the *Republic* and others, would lead the mind at first to imagine that the same soul could not have conceived such contradictory ideas. To talk so divinely on "Justice," and then to advocate abortion, is quite unintelligible, except on the supposition of original sin.

† Speaking merely æsthetically, how far more beautiful and touching, how much more refined, the gentle humility of a Christian martyr, trusting in himself not at all, but in God alone, giving up his body to the torture through the power of Christ who strengthens him, and putting down all he does with any virtue in it, not to himself, but to another;—how much more perfect in its conception is not this, than the defiance of Socrates, and the self-reliance of those who were simply supported by philosophy! There is something so coarse and vulgar in pagan heroism—something which speaks so strongly of the animal man, that, in comparison with the beautiful refinement of Christian devotedness, it becomes absolutely distasteful to one's conception of the beautiful in morals.

‡ I quote the words of Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, in order that the reader may be quite certain that I am not "making out a case" against the Greek philosophers, in order to set off Christianity the more. The contrast is so great, I admit, that it might easily be imagined that dramatic effect had been aimed at. (See Vol. I., *Second Epoch*, Chap. I., § 1, p. 66, *Third Edition*.) Heraclitus was born about the 69th Olympiad (B.C. 503).

§ Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., *First Epoch*, Chap. III., § 3, p. 50—51. Parmenides was born at Elea, B.C. 536.

¶ Born at Agrigentum, in Sicily, B.C. 444.

‡ Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., *Second Epoch*, § 3, p. 88.

** "Hippobotus vero illum ait ubi exsurrexit Ætnam petivisse: quo cum pervenisset, in ignis crateras se injecisse, ibique, dum famam cupit adstruere, quod Ætna sit, ignibus consumtum esse, postea ut sese res haberet agnatum esse, una ex illius crepidis vi flammæ ad

In place of S. Gregory *Theologus*, look on Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaics.* He was so enslaved to lust, which he had learnt to indulge in at Minyæ, that some say he disgusted even Socrates.

"Socrates with such men as Aristippus and Alcibiades reminds one of Dr. Johnson with the 'young bloods' Topham Beauclerk and Bennet Langton: he was wise enough and tolerant enough not to allow his virtue to be scandalized by their love of pleasure. . . . From Athens he went to Ægina, where he met Laïs the world-renowned courtesan, whom he accompanied to Corinth."†

In a word, Aristippus was a gay, brilliant, and prudent debauchee, who preserved his health in order to prolong his pleasure, and raised up delight into a philosophic system.‡

In place of S. Jerome, look upon Antisthenes:—§

"He was stern, and his doctrine was rigid; he was proud, and his doctrine was haughty; he was cold, and his doctrine was unsympathising and self-isolating. . . . Even whilst with Socrates he displayed his contempt of ordinary usages, and his pride in differing from other men. He used to appear in a threadbare cloak, with ostentatious poverty. Socrates saw through it all, and exclaimed, 'I see your vanity, Antisthenes, peering through the holes in your cloak.' . . . Antisthenes thought he could only preserve his virtue by becoming a savage. He wore no garment except a coarse cloak; allowed his beard to grow; carried a wallet and a staff; and renounced all diet but the simplest. His manners corresponded to his appearance. Stern, reproachful, and bitter in his language; careless and indecent in his gestures; . . . as he grew old, his gloomy temper became morose; he became so insupportable that all his scholars left him, except Diogenes of Sinope. . . . In his last agony, Diogenes asked him whether he needed a friend: 'Will a friend release me from this pain?' he replied. Diogenes gave him a dagger, saying, 'This will.' 'I wish to be freed from pain, not from life,' was the reply."||

He was often called "The Dog." ¶

exteriora relecta, quippe calcari solebat aere. Huic famæ Pansaniæ reluctabatur." (See Diogenes Laertii de Vita, Dogmatibus et Apophthegmatibus Clarorum Philosophorum Libri V. posteriores Græce et Latine recensiti cum Indicibus a Paulo Daniele Longolio: Curis Regiis apud Gothard, Joannem Püttnerum, Vol. III., Tom. II., Lib. VIII., Cap. II., n. 11, p. 937.) If the story of Ætna be not true, still it shows the character of men's opinion of the philosopher.

* Diodorus gives B. C. 366 as the date of this philosopher.

† Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Fifth Epoch, Chap. II., p. 180. If the reader would know more of the wickedness and evil courses of this man, let him open Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and read Plato's hint about him in the *Phædo*.

‡ Diogenes Laertius gives a comparatively full account of this philosopher. (See Vol. II., Lib. II., Cap. VIII., nn. 1—19, p. 200—239.) "Erat autem ei ingenium facile, ut se accommodaret et loco, et temporis, ac personæ. Noverat omnem convenientiæ simulare rationem. Quamobrem et Diogenes plus cæteris probabatur, quia omne, quod emergeret, bene disponere nosset. Nam libenter percipiebat præsentium voluptatem, ita ut absentibus frueretur, non laborabat unde et Diogenes ipsum regium appellabat canem; eumque Timon ut nimis delicatum acriter mordet, cum ait:

'Qualis Aristippi molis natura sophista,
Quæ potuit tactu a falso discernere verum.' "

(*Loc. Cit.*, Vol. II., Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 3, p. 201—202.)

§ Flourished B.C. 366.

|| Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Fifth Epoch, Chap. III., p. 185.

¶ The school of the Cynics was so called, probably, on account of the dog-like habits, shameless insolence, obstinacy and vehemence of those who belonged to it. The attacks of Antisthenes on Alcibiades show the violence of this man's character.

In place of S. John Chrysostom, look at Diogenes.* Diogenes of Sinope embraced poverty as a profession, and the contempt of his fellowman as his end in life. His language was coarse and brutal, he lived in a tub, his only garment was a cloak.

"In public he performed all those actions which decency has condemned to privacy. Decency of every kind he studiously outraged. . . . Diogenes was so feeble in doctrine, so brutal in manner, that we doubt whether the debauchery of the first profligate in the profligate city [Athens] were more reprehensible, than the debauchery of pride which disgraced the Cynic. . . . One day he called out, 'Approach all men!' When some approached, he beat them back with his club, saying, 'I call for men; ye are excrements.' . . . Thus he lived till his ninetieth year, bitter, brutal, ostentatious, and abstemious. . . . One day his friends went to see him. On arriving at the portico under which he was wont to sleep, they found him still lying on the ground wrapped in his cloak. He seemed to sleep. They pushed aside the folds of his cloak: he was dead,"†

And so, did space permit, I might draw out the characters of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and they would present a very miserable picture by the side of S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great.

Where Christianity does not exist to maintain the balance, the moral and intellectual world ever swings restlessly between extremes. One extravagance gives birth to another. Superstition is the first-born of scepticism; and even luxury itself at length creates its contrast in the brutal asceticism of an Antisthenes or Diogenes. Zeno and Epicurus are simply examples of kicking the beam on either side.‡

It was, in great measure, the influence of a reaction which brought out the genius of the father of Greek philosophy. The

* A Cynic of Sinope, born about B.C. 412. Dissolute and extravagant in youth, he eventually became morose, and fantastically austere. In summer he would roll in hot sand, in winter embrace frozen statues. Doubts are thrown by some on the tradition of his having taken up his residence in a tub. He is about the most disgusting and anti-Christian manifestation of human pride that is to be met with in pagan history.

† Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Fifth Epoch, Chap. III., p. 186—192. His energy of character was most remarkable. His *Life*, by Diogenes Laertius, is full of curious anecdotes. For example:—"Cum vero Athenas concessisset, ad Antisthenem se adplicavit. Eum ille cum repelleret, quippe ex constituto suo neminem recipiat, vicit perseverantia sua. Illo siquidem aliquando intenteantem baculum, subiecto capite, 'Cede,' inquit, 'non enim ita durum baculum reperies, qui me abs te, quamdiu aliquid dixeris, arcere possit.' Hinc jam auditor illius factus est, ac, veluti profugum ex patria, se ad victum simplicem contulit." (*De Vitiis, Dogmatibus et Apophthegmatibus Clarorum Philosophorum Libri recensiti cum Indicibus a Paulo Daniele Longolio: Curia Regni-tarum apud Gotthard, Joannem Püttnerum, Vol. III., Lib. VI., Cap. II., n. 2, p. 581—582.*) His cynical character seems to have shown itself to the last: at least Diogenes Laertius says:—"Alunt quidam, illum, dum moreretur, mandasse, insepultum proici cadaver, ut omnes bestie participes ipsius essent." (*Vol. III., Lib. VI., Cap. II., n. 11, p. 637.*)

‡ And whilst they are absolute opponents, they unite in falling into greater mist and obscurity regarding the highest interests of man than the philosophers from whom they ought to have learnt a lesson. Zeno (B.C. 340—260) taught complete materialism, or pantheism, which is the same thing—making matter and divinity to be one. Thus there is no such thing as freedom or evil: faults are "mistakes," and "natural proportion" is the highest end of man. Epicurus (B.C. 342—270). Diogenes Laertius shall speak of him. He gives a full account of this philosopher. (*Vol. IV., Lib. X., p. 1093—1234.*) Love of sensual pleasure was his philosophy of life:—"In Libro quoque de Fine sic scribere: 'Nam equidem nihil habeo, quod bonum intelligam, si saporum voluptates, et quæ ex Venereis constant, et quæ auribus percipiuntur, quæque ex formæ venustate blandiuntur oculis, auferam.'" (*Loc. Cit., Vol. IV., Lib. X., n. 3, p. 1089.*)

pantheistical absurdities, the materialism and atheism, of the philosophers who preceded him, gave a powerful impetus to the faculties of Socrates. Then the ignorance and conceit of sophists, rhetoricians, and grammarians—who dealt in fine words and sonorous phrases, but had nothing solid or serious about them,—disgusted an intellect like his, naturally keen, accurate, and observant.

Socrates (B.C. 469) was the son of a sculptor (Sophroniscus), and his mother was a midwife.* At first he worked in his father's studio, and is said to have carved a statue of the Graces.† But he soon threw down his chisel, and feeling himself divinely called, began to advocate the cause of true philosophy. His education was not conducted by the Sophists, he was too poor for that; but he was trained in the open air of Athens, in the agora, the gymnasia, and in the market-place; and in the company of poets, philosophers, and statesmen, his keen and penetrating intelligence received a stimulus which it is out of the power of books to give.‡

But it was not an impulse in the direction of the sophistry of the rhetoricians. Socrates saw through all their hollowness, and loathed the acrobatic display of dexterity by which they imposed on the volatile Athenians, who were "*contentionis avidiores quam veritatis*." Nor was he dazzled or subdued by the philosophers. He had studied their physical, moral, and dialectical systems, and discovered that they had undertaken to treat on subjects which were beyond their depth.§ His feeling was rather to combat than to follow them. He perceived how their vanity and arrogance had undermined the first principles of stability, and how his impressionable countrymen were practised upon, and injured, by the extravagances and unrealities of their favourite teachers. He perceived how debauched the beautiful city had become, and that truth and honesty were

* Phænarete.

† "Porro Dnris, serviisse illum ait, et sculpsisse lapides. Opus illius esse gratias, quas sunt in arce, vestitas, plerique adserunt. Unde illum et Timon in Silis ita deplugit his versibus:

'Fluxit ab his legumque loquax, lapidumque politor
Græcorum vates, imposturasque mugister,

Derisor, rhetorque subatticus, et simulator.'"

(Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 4, p. 152—153.)

‡ "Von seiner Jugend wissen wir wenig, und schliessen daraus, dass seiner Bildung sonst keine Hilfsmittel zu statten kamen, als solche, deren jeder Athener seiner Zeit sich erfreuen konnte. Zwar wird uns gesagt, er sei Schüler des Anaxagoras oder des Archelos des Physikers gewesen; aber das erstere ist erweislich falsch, und das andere wegen des Stillschweigens der älteren Zeugen wenigstens sehr unwahrscheinlich." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Zweiter Theil, Vol. II., Zweites Capitel, p. 18—19: *Zweite verbesserte Auflage*: Hamburg, 1837.)

§ "Animadvertens autem naturalem speculationem ad nos non admodum pertinere, de morali disciplina philosophari inceptit, et in officinis, et in publico quotidie: idque inquirendum hortabatur,

'Quid tibi in ædibus pravum aut bonum fuerit.'

Sæpe vero inter loquendum, agente id orationis vehementia, talitrum ferire solebat, et crines vellere, ita ut a plerisque rideretur, habereturque despectui, quas tamen omnia ferebat æquo animo. Unde et cum fuisset a quodam calce percussus, admirantibus illius tolerantiam dixit: 'Quid enim? si me astutus calce impertisset, num illi diem dixissem?' (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 6, p. 154—155.)

little revered by the vain and frivolous frequenters of its agora, gymnasia and public places.

He felt a divine call to become the apostle of truth in a world of delusion, hollowness, and rhetorical inflation.* He saw clearly that the Sophists did not know what they were discoursing about; and that this species of self-deception was the ruin of all true wisdom, and a peril to the State.†

He was a genius. He did not require to travel, like other philosophers, into foreign lands, to learn the just and true.‡ His store of knowledge lay in the circumference of his own teeming brain. Unless when forced to serve the army, he hardly once went outside the walls of Athens. He was even a stranger to the cool and classic banks of the Ilyssus.§ His life was spent in the free open air, amidst the crowds of the busy city. He sought men; he freely conversed with all; all loved to hear him. He was a novelty in Athens so different to the shallow grammarian and the empty Sophist. Though of repulsive personal appearance, his intellect was so crystal clear, his reason so exquisitely accurate, his vision so swift and keen, his readiness so remarkable, his agility in throwing an opponent, in twisting him into some unbearable position, so astounding,—there was something so preternatural about these powers of his mind,—that he speedily became, amongst a city of famous men, of all the most distinguished.||

The rhetoricians had been the centre of attraction. Now the charm was to witness Socrates upset these vain pretenders. They dealt in the sentimental, in phrases which were full of rhetoric, but had little point or logic. Socrates showed the world that such displays were exhibitions at once of emptiness and ignorance: that ignorance was the mother of every vice, and that the really learned man could not be vicious.¶ He

* "Nitebaturque summo ingenii acumine, non tam illorum sententiam refellere, quam ipse, quid verum esset, invenire. Fertur cum Euripides ei legendum Heracliti opusculum dedisset, rogaretque, quid sibi videretur? dixisse: 'Ea quidem, que intellexi, fortia sunt: puto item et que non intellexi: verum Delio quopiam uatatore indigent.'" (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 7, p. 155—156.)

† Sophists went by the name of their inventors, such as the *Crocodile*, the *Nobody*, the *Electra*, the *Tumbler*, the *Baldpate*, the *Heap of Sand*, the *Covered Head*, &c.

‡ "Peregrinatione vero illi opus non fuit, quemadmodum plurimis, nisi cum militare incumbere. Alias enim semper eodem in loco manens, contentius cum familiaribus, ac studiosis disputabat." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 7, p. 155.)

§ Socrates was also a man of extraordinary courage:—"Denique ad Amphipolim armatus militiam secutus est, atque prelo commisso circa Delium, lapsum equo Xenophontem apprehendit, atque servavit. Ac fugientibus tum Atheniensibus ceteris, ipse lento passu abibat, sepe clam retrospectens, et ulcisci paratus, si quis se invadere tentasset." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 7, p. 156.)

|| Diogenes Laertius gives several examples of his great influence over men:—"Aequa illi et hortandi et debortandi facultas fuit. Etenim Theaetetum cum de disciplina disliceret, ut ait Plato, mirifice immutatum divinumque ferme remisit. Enthyphrona, qui patri peregrinitatis diem dixerat, quodam de justitia et pietate loquens, ab Instituto revocavit. Lysidem autem hortando maxime moralem fecerat, &c." (Loc. Cit., n. 12, p. 162—163.)

¶ "Optima, ut possessionum omnium pulcherrimum laudabat," ut et in Symposio testatur Xenophon. Dicebat, "et unicum esse bonum, scientiam; et malum contra unicum, inscientiam. Opes ac nobilitatem non solum nihil in se habere honestatis, verum et omne malum ex eis oboriri." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 14, p. 165.)

looked with contempt upon the chosen pastimes of the wrangling Athenians, and proved, by means of his matchless gift of logic, the utter inanity of those mental puzzles which seemed so greatly to fascinate the people. They never appeared happy except when in the midst of spiritual or physical conflict; the stage, the arena, the law courts, the supper-table, the rostrum, and the cock-pit,—all were made to minister to this abnormal craving, and to supply materials for an endless round of intellectual dissipation. Socrates showed what all this was worth. He, as no other, could snap their sophisms; and the “quibble,” the “hook,” the “labyrinth,” and the “snare,” and all that family of logical abortions, held out no mystery to him. He was a master of destructive as well as constructive philosophy; and his very keenness tended to lessen in the minds of the people their overweening admiration for the jugglery of sophistical contention.*

Still, he appeared amongst them without boast of philosophy. He did not profess to be wise, but to be ignorant. To examine,† to scrutinize, to sift the teachings of men; to weigh his own words, to get to the bottom of them, and by means of a series of drastic questions to eliminate all foreign matter, till he came to the inner core of truth,—such was the design which Socrates had in view. Thus it was that, as with the point of a pin, he touched the inflated and dithyrambic rhetoric of the pretentious Sophists, and it collapsed at once.‡

It is little surprising that men of great mind should have been struck and dazzled by the simplicity and directness, by the solidity and honesty, of the method of this man. His fundamental maxim was “Know thyself.” His object was ethical; his instruments were dialectics, definition, and induction. He set on foot, and may be considered the father of, the theory of scientific knowledge.§ Anaxagoras, in all probability, suggested

* He seems to have possessed all the logical adroitness of Abelard, and at the same time to have been attracted by a more serious object in life. See their points of likeness, *Vol. I. of this work*, Chap. X., p. . . . Note.

† “Adirebat et daemouum sibi futura praeedicere. ‘Ac bene incipere, parvum non esse, sed magno proximum. Et scire ac nihil praeter hoc ipsum, quod nihil sciret. Eos item, qui aetivos fructus magno emerent, desperare, nescire,’ ‘se longevos fore.’ Rogatus aliquando, quoniam sit juvenis virtus? ‘Nihil minus,’ inquit.” (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V.,* n. 16, p. 166.)

‡ Are we much better than the Athenians? Would not a Socrates be useful now, if men would listen to him? “Such terms as nature, law, freedom, necessity, body, substance, matter, church, state, revelation, inspiration, knowledge, belief,” says Max Müller, “are tossed about in the wars of words as if everybody knew what they meant, and as if everybody used them exactly in the same sense; whereas most people, and particularly those who represent public opinion, pick up these complicated terms as children, beginning with the vaguest conceptions . . . but never taking stock, never either enquiring into the history of the terms which they handle so freely, or realizing the fulness of their meaning according to the strict rule of logical definition.” (*Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series*, p. 526–527.)

§ Ritter touches the principle or root of his philosophy in these words:—“Wir können also nur voraussetzen, dass die Idee des Wissens, welche den Sokrates leitete, in dem Ganzen seines unternehmenden Verfahrens sich ausgedrückt haben werde. Und im Allgemeinen finde ich zweierlei hierüber zu bemerken, erstens, dass er an dem Unscheinbarsten am trüglichen und

to him his high view on the objective nature of love, beauty, and truth; Zeno must have influenced him with regard to dialectics. But he it was who clipped the wings of ignorant presumption, turned men's minds from the physical world upon themselves, and encouraged a spirit of accuracy and analysis, of testing and dissecting, of the rigorous and the precise, in place of the rhetorical, the emotional, and the unreal.*

It is impossible to consider the career and character of this extraordinary genius, without being affected with a sense of sadness and admiration; of admiration, on account of his earnestness, his gifts, and his hatred of sham; of sadness, on account of the blighting influences of his pagan education.

His pride came out during his memorable defence. His views on purity discover his taint in nature; the highest and noblest of pagans here witnesses sadly of Christianity. The aspirations of such men, their theories, their soaring intuitions, at times appear to be almost divine; but look at their actual lives. Theory, however beautiful and chaste, is too ethereal to counteract the emotional violence of passion; the concrete only can confront the concrete.† If man's life is to be spotless, it must be through the personal power of One more mighty than himself. Here it is that the greatest pagan is inferior to the lowliest saint. Banishing the accusation that Socrates was guilty of bigamy, and of corrupting the mind of youth, it is certain that he was the friend and familiar of dissolute courtesans. He was the intimate of Theodota, and he acknowledges himself that he learnt rhetoric from the beautiful and profligate Aspasia, and looked with an approving eye on the irregular courses of her life.‡ Hence it is not so surprising that he should support the worship of gods hardly more abandoned

liebensten anknüpfte, um von ihm aus den philosophischen Gedanken zu entwickeln oder wenigstens das Streben nach ihm zu erzeugen, und zweitens, dass er zur Prüfung eines Gedankens ihm die jede mögliche Verknüpfung brachte." (*Geschichte der Philosophie aller Zeit, Zweiter Theil, Zweites Capitel*, p. 55.)

* The great principle of intellectual honesty which ruled his life and formed his speciality was little known to the philosophers who preceded him. See Ritter's treatment of his principle of "self-knowledge." (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 52—53.)

† Xenophon's picture of him certainly is most beautiful:—"As to myself, knowing him of a truth to be such a man as I have described; so pious towards the gods, as never to undertake anything without first consulting them; so just towards men, as never to do any injury, even the very slightest, to any one, whilst many and great were the benefits he conferred on all with whom he had any dealings; so temperate and chaste, as not to indulge any appetite or inclination at the expense of whatever was modest and becoming; so prudent, as never to err in judging of good and evil, nor wanting the assistance of others to discriminate rightly concerning them; so able to discourse upon, and define with the greatest accuracy, not only those points of which we have been speaking, but likewise every other, and, looking as it were into the minds of men, discover the very moment for rectifying vice, or stimulating to the love of virtue." (*See Lewes' History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Fourth Epoch, § 1, p. 151. Third Edition.*)

‡ There is little doubt that the method of Socrates did tend to produce scepticism in many minds. That is to say, unreality and untruth could not withstand the power of his direct cross-questioning. Whilst his enemies declared that he was a corrupter of youth, he declared that it was society which did the work. The more corrupt society became, so much the more would his teachings have a sceptical effect; for so much the less would those who listened to him believe in the governors of the state, and in those traditional theories and ingrained beliefs which formed the religious code of Hellas. The Socratic method was too negative to

than his tenderest friends. He offered sacrifices on their altars, and joined in the sacred rites. He protested his belief in them, and ordered an oblation to be made to one of them when he was on the point of death.*

These are the words of Phædo ;

"And Socrates also touched himself, and said that when the poison reached his heart he should then leave us. But now his lower belly was almost cold : when, uncovering himself (for he was covered), he said (which were his last words), 'Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Discharge this debt for me, and dont neglect it.'"†

Such was the end of the most original, forcible, and logical thinker of pagan times. Men of high genius, when deprived of the light of revelation, with ardent longing, yearn after the Unseen : like strong swimmers in a rough sea, they may battle bravely for a time, but at last their vital force becomes exhausted, and they sink back prostrated into that coarser and stifling element which belongs to the senses and the flesh.

The influence of Socrates on the Athenian mind can hardly be exaggerated. He almost emptied the school of the Sophists. His exposition of their hollowness was too thorough, and too brilliant, to be passed over by so emotional a people as the Greeks.‡ There was something almost preternatural in the fascination of his conversation. Zeno, the great master of dialectic, travelled twenty miles by night, disguised as a woman, in order to attend his teaching. The wealthy Crito was his intimate friend. The beautiful Euthydemus was won over in spite of himself. Antisthenes walked four miles each day to be with Socrates. Cebes and Simmias followed him from Thebes. Isocrates and Aristippus were his disciples ; Alcibiades said he would "grow old in listening to his talk," if he did not fly away ; whilst all know the enthusiasm of Xenophon for the great master of "philters and incantations."§

offer a substitute for what it destroyed. To lift man right out of sense, and set him in a world of fantasy, was the scope of Plato, with his exquisite prose-poetry.

* Diogenes Laertius speaks very plainly of the saying that Socrates had "utraque simul." (*Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 10, p. 159.*)

† See Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Fourth Epoch, p. 151. Third Edition.

The accusation against Socrates is spoken of thus by Diogenes Laertius:—"Ceterum calumnies iururandum huiusmodi fuit. Servatur enim adhuc, inquit Phavorinus in Metro: 'Accusavit Melitus Meliti filius Pitheensis, Socratem Sophronisci filium Alopecensium, de hisce criminibus. Jura violat Socrates, quos ex malorum instituto suscepit civitas, deos esse negans, alia vero nova daemonia inducens. Contra Jus et fas juvenes corrumpit. Poena illi mors.'" (*Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 19, p. 173-174.*)

‡ Not even in his own immediate interest could he overcome his antipathy to the arts of the rhetorician. "Philosophus vero, cum illi Lysias, quam pro eo scriperat, apologiam recitasset: 'Bona,' inquit 'et præclara est oratio, Lysia, mihi tamen minus congruit.' Erat enim illa iudiciali instituto vicinior, quam ut philosopho convenire videretur. Percutanti Lysias, Cur si bona esset, non sibi congrueret oratio: 'Nonne,' inquit, 'et ludimenta, et calceamenta speciosa esse possent, neque tamen mihi convenire?'" (*Diogenes Laertius, Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 20, p. 174-175.*)

§ But he also made his enemies. "Pythiæ testimonio laudatus est, quæ Chaerephonti id oraculum edidit, quod in omnium ore est:

'Mortalium nunc Socrates vere sapit.'

Ex quo magna in illum invidia conflata est &c. . . ." Diogenes then gives several examples. (*Loc. Citat., Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n. 18, p. 171-172.*)

What a contrast between Socrates and many of his disciples ! See them all listening to him, as he upsets a Sophist, or plays with some foolish young Athenian who imagines he has learnt the art of government, and the hidden secrets of life. What a new sense for the Greek mind of that day, to find a man protesting he knew nothing, and at the same time showing himself superior to all ! *

See that young man hanging on the words of the philosopher ; he is, in every way, a contrast to his master. Graceful and noble in appearance, his fine *physique* looks as if it had been developed by the trainer's skill in the gymnasium. His brow is broad and fair, his expression supremely spiritual and deeply sad ; he is evidently a rare type of Greek intellectual beauty, manifest in Hellenic gracefulness of form. His whole mind seems absorbed by the thoughts suggested by his master, his eyes are riveted upon him in eager admiration. He cannot be taken by the personal beauty of Socrates, for " in appearance he resembled a Silenus ; his flattened nose, with wide and upturned nostrils, his projecting eyeballs, his thick and sensual lips, his squab figure, and unwieldy belly, were all points on which ridicule might be fastened." † But the youth does not dream of ridicule, for there is something so fascinating in his master's conversation, so bewitching in his direct and trenchant logic, so full of genius in his easy sovereignty of mind, that the very splendour of his gifts of intellect seems almost to throw a halo over his unfortunate countenance and figure. Who is this youthful admirer of Socrates ? He is no other than Aristocles the Athenian, son of Aristo and Potona, now known by the name of " Plato the divine." This was he on whose infant lips the bees are said to have dropped their honey. ‡ Some declared his father was Apollo ; others traced his parentage to Neptune ;

* Xenophon thus speaks of his habit of seeking out society in order to instruct it :—" He was constantly in public. For early in the morning he would go to the walks and the gymnasia ; and when the agora was full, he was to be seen there ; and constantly, during the remainder of the day, he would be wherever he was likely to meet with the most persons ; and for the most part he would talk, and all that would might hear him." (*Cf. Hampden's Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 317.)

† See Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Fourth Epoch, § 1, p. 127. The following highly-celebrated passage from the Symposium, is said to contain the combined perfection of wit and humour. It loses little in Professor Jowett's translation.—" I shall praise Socrates," says Alcibiades, " in a figure which will appear to him to be a caricature, and yet I do not mean to laugh at him, but only to speak the truth. I say then that he is exactly like the masks of Silenus, which may be seen sitting in the statuaries' shops, having pipes and flutes in their mouths ; and they are made to open in the middle, and there are images of gods inside. . . . Mankind are nothing to him ; all his life is spent in mocking and flouting at them. But when I opened him, and looked within at his serious purpose, I saw in him divine and golden images of fascinating beauty." (See the original *Platonis Opera*, ex *Recensione R. B. Hirschigii*, Vol. I., *Convivium*, Cap. XXII., p. 690. *Parisii*.)

‡ Here is another legend (referred to, indeed, in Vol. I., Chap. I., p. . . of this work) :—" Fortur et Socrates vidisse per somnium oloris pullum sibi super genibus plumescere, qui continuo exortis alis in altum evolans anavissimos cantus ediderit. Postridie enim Plato sibi a patre commendatus esset, hunc cygnum quem viderat, dixisse." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 7, p. 286—287.)

all admitted that the blood of Codrus, the patriot-king, and of Solon, the great law-giver, flowed within his veins.*

He was twenty years of age when he listened first to Socrates. His education had been carefully attended to; both mind and body had been exercised, so as to become supple and strong—capable of great and sustained exertion in their respective spheres. Dionysius the grammarian, Draco and Metellus the musicians, and Aristo the trainer, were his early masters. Poetry, the lyre and the flute, wrestling, boxing and running, occupied his early years.† His versatility displayed itself from the first. He seems to have excelled as a boy in poetry and in gymnastics. He is said to have entered the lists at the Isthmian games, and only began to despair of poetry after he had read the masterpiece of Homer.‡

Thus was his mind prepared to receive whatever impressions might be made upon it. The influence of Socrates was at the zenith. He had given an impetus to philosophy quite new amongst the Greeks. Ambition, curiosity, love of novelty, as well as desire after truth, drew the city round that grotesque-looking philosopher. The very originality of his system was in itself sufficient attraction to a people proverbially frivolous and volatile. Here was the "wisest of men" publicly declaring the first principle of his philosophy to be, that "he knew nothing." Plato speedily perceived that a deep and pregnant truth lay hidden from the multitude, in this *dictum* of his master. His mind was just of that texture, of that breadth and elasticity, which would appreciate the fine irony, the inimitable analytical skill, and the thorough intellectual honesty of Socrates.§ Then his own natural talent for dramatic effect, his expanded imagination, and emotional nature, would find a special comfort in listening to those dialogues in which Socrates proved, with a witchery all his own, that they who professed themselves skilled in everything, were either stone blind with

* These are the words of Diogenes Laertius:—"Plato, Aristonē patre et matre Perictiona, Athenis natus est. Mater a Solone genitis deducebat. Solonis quippe frater Dropides, Critiam genuit, cuius filius Calmachrus; huius autem Critias filius, qui unus fuit ex triginta, Glauconique pater: ab eo Charmides et Perictione geniti sunt, atque ex ea et Aristonē Plato sextus a Solone nascitur. Porro Solon ad Neleum et Neptunum genus refert." (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 282—283.)

† "Literasque apud Dionysium didicit, cuius et in Anterastis meminist. Exercitationeque est apud Aristonem Argivum palæstritam." (*Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 5, p. 285—286.*)

‡ He also loved painting:—"Pictura quoque fuisse studiosum, ac poemata scripsisse; primo quidem dithyrambos, deinde melos ac tragœdias. Denum cum tragicam certamen esset futurus, ante Dionysiacum theatrum, audito Socrate, igni poemata exussit, dicens:

'Huc ades O Vulcane, Plato nam te eget in hac re.'

(*Ibid.*, *Lib. III.*, n. 6, §, p. 286—287.)

§ There is little doubt that this *dictum* was the foundation of the *prestige*, as well as the philosophy of Socrates:—"The influence of Socrates upon metaphysical science arises from his peculiar method of instruction. This was based upon the general workings and principles of his own mind. 'Know thyself,' was the key-stone to his philosophy. The first step in the pursuit of useful knowledge, was a rigid examination into man's nature. This he ever steadfastly kept in view." (*See Blakey's History of the Philosophy of Mind, Vol. I., Chap. VII., p. 52.*)

self-conceit, or inflated with mental vapour.* Then, again, the very system itself must have stimulated so exuberant and energetic a mind as his. It opened to him, no doubt, vast fields of thought. It pointed, unlike the majority of systems which had gone before, to some steady and spiritual truths; and lifted the mind out of the flux and flow, the darkness and the obscurity of gross material things, into a higher and purer world.

Thus the great work done by Socrates for Plato, was to give him a bias towards the Good and the True; and to engage his curiosity, by artistic display of dialectic, definition, and induction.

But Plato was far too universal in his tendencies to be content, as his master had been, with the voice of his own reason, and the responses elicited by its conflict with other intellects. Socrates possessed no erudition. His was simple impact, and native force of mind. He had been influenced, doubtless, by independent thinkers, but he had never been to school; the vigour of his own intelligence was sufficient for itself.

Plato, on the contrary, studied with avidity the philosophical systems of other men. At an early age he had mastered the Ionic view and the teachings of Parmenides and Zeno.† It is clear from the *Phaedrus* and the *Lysis*, which were written before the death of Socrates, that the doctrines of the Pythagoreans had already informed his mind.‡ How far the theories of those monks of the pagan times influenced his philosophical career, and purified his mental vision, by encouraging him to love a mystic life, has never yet been fully realized.§ Of the impress of Anaxagoras, and the Eleatic School, there is abundant evidence in the "*Dialogues*." Heraclitus, also, with his doctrine of eternal flux, was introduced to him by Cratylus in early youth.

* Professor Jowett comes to the conclusion that Plato, when he speaks so strongly against the Sophists, is drawing rather from an ideal type than from any living examples. Speaking of Plato's description of these men, he says:—"We are not to suppose that Plato intended by such a description to depict Protagoras or Gorgias, or even Thrasymachus, who all turn out to be 'very good sort of people' when we know them, and all of them part on good terms with Socrates. But he is speaking of a being as imaginary as the wise man of the Stoics, and whose character varies in different dialogues. Like mythology, Greek philosophy has a tendency to personify ideas; and the Sophist is truly a creation of Plato's, in which the falsehood of all mankind is reflected." (See *The Dialogues of Plato, Introduct. to Soph. III.*, p. 448. *Four Vols.*; London, 1871.)

† Diogenes Laertius gives the following account:—"Philosophari cepit primum in Academia, inde se in hortum, qui juxta Cololum est, contulit, ut Alexander in Successionibus scripsit, Heraclitum adducens testem . . . Hinc annum vicesimum etatis agens Socratem audivit. Illo decedente, Cratylus Heracliti discipulo, et Hermogeni Parmenidis Philosophiam tuenti operam dedit. Deinde cum esset annorum duodeviginti, ut ait Hermodorus, Megara se ad Euclidem cum aliis aliquot Socraticis contulit. Hinc Cyrenem profectus Theodorum mathematicum audivit; atque inde in Italiam ad Pythagoricos, Philolaum atque Eurytum concessit." (*De Vitis. &c.*, Lib. III., n. 8, p. 287-288.)

‡ See Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Zweiter Theil, Erstes Capitel, p. 162.

§ Pythagoras divided virtue into two distinct branches—to seek truth and to do good. "The whole school of Pythagoras made chastity one of its leading virtues, and even laboured for the creation of a monastic system." (See Lecky's *European Morals*, Vol. I., Chap. I., pp. 54, 109. *Second Edition*.)

At the death of its founder (B.C. 399) the Socratic school broke up. It possessed no badge, or bond of union. Socrates maintained no theory; he simply stimulated thought, and taught intellectual honesty.*

And Plato, with his vast creative mind, with the marvellous richness of his fancy, and his power of dialectic, was destined to confer on Socrates an immortality, which he deserved indeed, but which, in all probability, would never have been his, had it not been for the genius of his disciple.

The training of Plato was not yet complete. Having learnt all that could be taught him by the greatest mind at home, he was now fit to profit by travelling abroad. He wished to have the widest education which men and things could give. In his "*Laws*" he clearly indicates how great a benefit he derived from seeing many famous men, and visiting many celebrated cities.† He was now eight and twenty years of age. First, he set out for Megara. Here, under Euclid, he studied dialectic, and read greedily the writings of Zeno and Parmenides. Then he went to Cyrene, where he continued his course of geometry, most likely under the renowned Theodorus, who, when at Athens, had listened with delight to the skilful dialogues of their common master.

Next, he betook himself to Italy and Sicily,‡ and here it was that he appears to have received his deepest mark. It was in Italy, Sicily, and Magna Græcia, that the children of Pythagoras had established their *Synedria* or colleges.

What could have had greater charm for a noble mind, than a generous love of wisdom? And what were these colleges or monasteries, but homes, in which men spent their lives in the abiding contemplation of what they looked upon as truth? There is something sadly grand in these high strivings of the nobler part of man, even in pagan darkness, after light. The special characteristic of the Pythagorean was, that he loved wisdom, not for profit, but simply for wisdom's sake. His one end in life was to make himself one with it. He abhorred and

* Still his influence lived on. If Plato was so deeply impressed, how much must not others have been moved. "Es ist glaubhaft," says Ritter, "dass Sokrates eine solche Gewalt über ihn ausübte, da Platon selbst in seinen Gesprächen nirgends die sokratische Grundlage seiner Philosophie verleugnet und die Macht, welche Sokrates über die Gemüther der Menschen ausübte, mit den glänzendsten Farben schildert. Von nun an blieb er beim Sokrates bis zu dessen Tode als einer seiner treuesten Schüler, von seinem Lehrer geschätzt." (*Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Zweiter Theil, Erstes Capitel*, p. 162.)

† See *Platonis Opera ex Recensione C. E. Ch. Schneideri, Lib. XII.*, p. 263—501. *Parisiis.*

‡ "Inde in Italiam ad Pythagoricos, Philolaum atque Eurytum concessit." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III.*, n. 6, p. 268.) He was acquainted with Egypt and Sicily from personal observation, and was by far the most universal intellect of the ancients up to his own time. And yet his philosophy was a genuine growth of the Greek intellect. The Socratic doctrine of the absolute good and beautiful, and of the Deity revealing himself to man as a kind of providence, formed the basis on which he started." (Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book V.*, § 1, p. 307.)

stamped upon the idea, that science should be prostituted to gain.* To facilitate their life-object, these earnest men instituted a species of monastic life. They fled the world. The Rule was most severe; its end was to exclude base and low-born minds, and to secure only such as were worthy of contemplation. Hence, the noviciate lasted five years. During this period, strict silence was enjoined; those who could not stand the test were deemed unfit.† They were tried by the "*dura*" and "*aspera*;" and like novices in a Benedictine house, they were practised in humiliations and self-denials. The Pythagoreans inculcated reverence, humility, a spirit of prayer and purity of thought, "and accustomed men to associate their moral ideas with the Deity, rather than with themselves."‡ They practised self-examination, held the doctrine of a future state; and chastity may be looked upon as the cardinal virtue of their school. They seem also to have entertained a deeper respect for human life than the majority of pagan philosophers. They appear to have believed in a purgative and illuminative way. When they had been sufficiently purified, they were permitted to chasten their minds by the contemplation of intellectual truth. Thus they passed their days, preparing themselves by severe asceticism for the apprehension of that object which all men seek after, but few men realize.

Such a system as this was quite a novelty amongst the Greeks. They could not understand any advancement, except such as was elicited through the social intercourse of daily life. And this very fact would cause the Pythagorean system to exert all the deeper influence on Plato.§ He found the monastic houses in full activity in Tarentum, Crotona, and Magna Græcia. He was captivated by what he saw and heard.

* There is very little doubt that it was from the Pythagoreans that Plato learnt to despise the Sophists for taking stipends for their teaching. This venal practice was especially odious to his lofty and generous mind. The *Gorgias* is full of his anger against both Sophists and rhetoricians. He looked upon the whole class as shams, teaching sham knowledge. Socrates had taught him to see the hollowiness of all their mock wisdom, and to combat it with all the power he had. The Socratic *Elenchus* was the great instrument for detecting inflation. Division, classification, and definition, which were the strong points of Socrates, were also powerful elements for bringing vague notions to the test, and for arranging knowledge in some sort of scientific order.

† I am aware that Sir Lytton Bulwer speaks of the Pythagoreans as a political sect. They may, like the Trades' Unions, have turned their organization to special political purposes; but it still remains true that the primitive institution of the Pythagorean life was to give men facilities for the contemplation, first of mathematical and then of pure truth. "Now Pythagoras," says Lewes, "loved wisdom for its own sake. Contemplation was to him the highest exercise of humanity; to bring wisdom down to the base purposes of life was desecration. He called himself therefore a philosopher—a lover of Wisdom—to demarcate himself from those who sought Wisdom only as a power to be used for ulterior ends." (*History of Philosophy, First Epoch, Chap. II., § 2, p. 22.*)

‡ See Lecky's *History of European Morals, Vol. I., Chap. II., p. 356.*

§ "It may readily be imagined with what eager curiosity Plato undertook this voyage, what delight he promised himself in seeing the place itself where Pythagoras had taught, and in personal conference with the living successors of the mystic age, and in obtaining a greater insight into the doctrines of a school which had such charms for him. . . . He undoubtedly was greatly captivated by the Pythagorean doctrines, and has introduced them largely into his own speculations." (Hamptden, *Fathers of Greek Philosophy, p. 180.*)

Archytas, who was the deepest ascetic, and the noblest representative of that conventual school, came in contact with Plato at Tarentum;* and there is little doubt that the high principles of the pagan monk, his contempt of pleasure, his worshipping of wisdom, his intense love of the mystic life, must have left a lasting mark on his friend's impressionable and observant mind. Naturally sad and meditative, modest and gentle in demeanour, loving the world of thought and of spiritual entities, looking with a certain compassion, if not disgust, upon physical enquiry, mostly absorbed in the unseen, never married, loving retirement, Plato—had he been a Christian—would have been a monk, and one of the noblest Fathers of the Church.† Even as it is, it is pretty certain that much of his spiritual-mindedness, many of his highest intuitions and foreshadowings of truth, are the result of his monastic bias, and of the comparative purity of his mind and heart. It is as much Plato's character, as his system, which offers so indescribable a fascination to noble and generous minds, and acts with a species of dynamic influence upon man's loftier nature; drawing him, even though possessing the light of Christianity, into a still tenderer love and reverence of wisdom.

From Italy Plato travelled into Egypt. He is said to have disguised himself as an olive-merchant, that he might the more freely move amongst a class of men who regarded strangers with suspicion. If there was any country under the sun which would attract the attention of such a man, it certainly would be this fountain-land, it might almost be called, of Grecian civilization.‡ Greek colonies and Greek history had already made the Athenians, if not familiar, at least conversant with the manners and thoughts of the strange people of the East.§

Had it not been for the unsettled state of those countries, Plato would have visited India and Persia also. Prudence,

* "Archytas, nurtured in the reserve and mysticism of the Pythagorean discipline; Plato, formed to busy and inopportune discussion by the ever-colloquial Socrates,—two philosophers so contrasted with each other in many respects, and yet so concordant in their love of ancient wisdom and indefatigable research after truth." (*Ibid.*, p. 181.)

† So greatly were many Catholic writers impressed with the orthodox tendency of many of the teachings of Plato, that they tried to account for it in various ways. Some have imagined that he procured and studied a Greek copy of the Old Testament. Though there is no foundation for such an assertion, still it cannot be doubted that the Jews must have left their mark amongst some of the Eastern nations. Others have said that the philosopher met the Prophet Jeremiah, which is chronologically impossible. Another legend, finally, says that the body of Plato was found in the time of Constantine with a plate of gold fastened to his breast, having engraved on it his prophecy of the birth of Christ, and his belief in a future Redeemer. If they do nothing else, these imaginings point to the feeling entertained with regard to the greatest of pagan philosophers.

‡ "Theodorum mathematicum audivit; atque inde in Italiam ad Pythagoricos, Philolaum atque Eurytum concessit. Ab his se in Aegyptum ad prophetas recepit, quo et Euripidem alunt una secum profectum esse: atque ibi morbo comprehensum, a sacerdotibus marina curatioe fuisse restitutum; qua ex re postea dixerit: 'Mare universa prohibet hominum mala.' Quin et dixisse secundum Homerum, 'Aegyptios omnes medicos esse.' Decreeverat Plato Magia etiam congressi, verum propter Asiae bella proposito destitit." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 8, p. 288—289.*)

§ Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 8, p. 288.*

however, constrained him to journey homewards; and after spending some further time with his Pythagorean friends, he returned, after about ten years absence, to teach philosophy at Athens.*

With the exception of his journeys in search of wisdom, and his three fruitless visits to Sicily—which evince the immense influence which his Pythagorean friends exerted over him,—Plato passed the remainder of his life in his little house and garden at the Ciraicus.† It was a mile from Athens; and close upon the pleasant shady walks of that beautiful suburban spot to which his genius has given immortality. There is something sweet and pure in the thought of this great master-spirit of philosophy dedicating his whole energies to wisdom, travelling first to find her, and then returning home, and, far from the din of the city strife, passing away his quiet days in her companionship, and in teaching others to prefer the Supremely Good and the Sovereignly True before all the vulgarities of ambition, and all the thraldoms of the senses.‡

Quickly did his rich fame people the shady grove! Soon did the noblest and the fairest spirits of beautiful wicked Athens, flock to look on him and hear him. Unlike Socrates, Plato loved monastic solitude. He shrank from the whirl of men, and the sounds of strife; and the very Athenians themselves were not displeased to quit, for a time, their rivalries and intrigues, to listen to the sad and graceful Plato, descanting with his thin and gentle voice on the highest happiness of man.§ Old and young were equally attracted. The ambitious hoped to learn something which would teach them how to rule their fellow-men. The gay young Athenian, like some summer bird, all life and plumage, would flutter around him, dazzled for the moment; the wondering youth from some far province of Asia

* "Regressus vero Athenas in Academia commemorabatur. Est autem gymnasium in suburbano nemoroso, a quodam heroe Academi nomine adpellatum, sicut et Eupolis in Astrateius memorat dicens:

'In ambulacris Academi umbrosis Dei'

Sed et Timon in Platonem sermonem vertens inquit:

'Hos inter dux ille Plato celsissimus ibat.

Cujus ab ore melos manabat, quale Hecademii

Arbustis lepida modulantur voce cicadae.'

(Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 9, p. 289.)

† "He had a villa out at Heraclea," says Dr. Newman; "and he left his patrimony to his school, in whose hands it remained, not only safe, but fructifying, a marvellous phenomenon in tumultuous Greece, for the long space of eight hundred years." (*On Universities*, Chap. IV., p. 66.)

‡ The following anecdotes are characteristic of the man:—"Platonem tradunt, cum vidisset quendam aleis ludentem increpasse, et cum ille, quam me in parvis reprehendis, diceret, respondisse: 'At est consuetudo non parva res.' Rogatus, an ipsius celebre aliquod dictum, sicuti superiorum, futurum esset? 'Primum,' inquit, 'comparare oportet nomen, tum multa fore.' Ingresso aliquando Xenocrati, 'Cede,' inquit, 'hunc servum; nam ipse, quod iratus sim, nequeo.' Cuiusdam item servorum, 'Jam,' inquit, 'vapnassas, nisi iratus essem.' Cum equo insequisset, continuo descendit, dicens, 'Vereri ae, ne equi instar, fastu efferretur.'" (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 26, p. 318—319.)

§ "Vox illi gracilis fuit, ut ait Timotheus Atheniensis in libro de Vitis" (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 7, p. 286.)

Minor, from the wild woods of Cappadocia, or the rocky lands of Thrace, would hang spell-bound on the sage's lips, as if enthralled by some divinity, whilst the self-contained and haughty Lacedæmonian would feel himself compelled, though half unwillingly, to offer his proud testimony to the mastership of the Athenian mind.* Neither the fame of Isocrates, the celebrated rhetorician, nor the tenets of Aristippus, which flattered the lowest passions of mankind, were able to cast a shade on the unapproachable popularity of the divine Academy. Men who were learning to become Tyrants; future orators, governors, philosophers, and poets; men of acute intellect and restless temperament; nay, even accomplished courtesans, such as Aspasia, Lasthenea, and the profligate Axiothea, mixed with the general throng, testifying at once by their presence to the corruptions of the State, and to the hollowness of all philosophy which is simply founded on human genius and natural gifts. The whole of this picture, there is no doubt, is refined, is captivating, is sweet and soothing to the cultivated intellect of man. Nature can rise no higher. Plato manifests it at its brightest and its best. Elegance, culture, taste, delicacy, high thoughts, noble aspirations, beautiful conceptions of the mind and the imagination—all are here displayed in their most perfect grace and flower.† It is a charming dream, a lovely apparition, but it lacks substance and stamina. Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aristotle, Spensippus, Xenocrates, Dion,—all these lived on the lips of "Plato the Divine." But what is the best of them, but a specimen of weakness and impurity, compared with their master's highest theories? What is the best of them, compared with the humblest Father of the desert, but a contradiction of pride, self-love, and periodical unchastity?‡

* His advice was often very much to the point:—"Ebris consilere solitus erat, 'ut in speculo se studiosè intueretur: fore enim, ut ejusmodi fœditate detereretur. Potassa usque ad ebrietatem nunquam decere' monerat, 'preterquam in diebus festis dei largitoria viat.' Somnus item immodicus illi displicebat. In legibus aliquando ait: 'Dormiens autem nemo illius preti est. Veritatem anavilem auditu omnibus, quæ dicerentur.' Alii, 'vera loqui juvenudus est omnibus dixisse putant.' Sic autem et de veritate dixit in legibus: 'Præclarum quiddam est veritas, O hospes, atque durabile. Verum id persuadere non facile videtur.'" (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 26, p. 319—320.)

† Whether it came from culture, or from original nature, Plato possessed a generosity of soul which was one of the great causes of his fascinating influence. A man who could love with such ardour and disinterestedness the image of wisdom, the figure of the Sovereign Good and True, must have had a rare combination of high gifts. One would not be enough. Such devotion is the result of character, which is complex. Highly-wrought feelings, soaring imagination, a spontaneous yearning after something higher, as the flame flies up—these must have been some of the specialties of Plato. So great an admiration did a Corinthian agriculturist feel for him, after reading the *Gorgias*, that, abandoning his holding, he at once set out for Athens and became Plato's disciple. It is only the action of enthusiasm which can light up such fires as this.

‡ The difference comes from this: that the pagans, even the best of them, like Plato, rested on emotion and the human loveliness of a moral and spiritual life. The great power of Plato's dialogues is not, after all, so much their force of logic, as their power of appeal to the purest aspirations of the heart. They speak to the higher natural sense which is in man. They present a splendid picture of a moral hero, or of a just man, and the mind is at once subdued by the action of ethio loveliness, and the impress of those virtues which are at the root of true nobility. Who can read the *Gorgias*, without being deeply struck by the sublime conception

Philosophy may refine the feelings and educate the taste, but it cannot control the concrete—subdue pride in the intellect, and passion in the heart. And since philosophy was the highest, and certainly the purest religion of the Greeks, philosophy, as a moral guide, has proved herself to be an egregious failure.*

The reader must already have been struck by the resemblance between the Angelical and the master of the Academy. Both were nobly born; both were grave from youth; both loved wisdom with intensity of devotion; both followed her to the end. If Plato was instructed by Socrates, S. Thomas was taught by Albertus Magnus; if Plato travelled into Italy, Greece, and Egypt, S. Thomas went to Cologne, Naples, Bologna, and Rome; if contrary to his inclination Plato attended the court of Dionysius, S. Thomas, against his will, was Councillor to Louis, King of France.† If Plato was famous for his erudition and the breadth of his research, S. Thomas was no less noted for universal knowledge. Both were naturally meek and gentle; both in their respective measure professed monastic life; Plato, like S. Thomas, was never married; both loved solitude; both were celebrated for their self-control; both were brave; both held their audience spell-bound by their brilliant mental gifts; both passed their time in lecturing in schools. What the Pythagoreans were to Plato, that the Benedictines were to the Angelical. Both shrank from display of self. If the Angelical is extremely objective in his method, and never mentions self, Plato only alludes to self twice in all his *Dialogues*, and that for the sake of others.‡ Both men were ardent thinkers, deep dialecticians, keen in their power of analysis, overflowing with emotion well controlled. Both wrote on

which it represents! But, *vana est pulchritudo*; loveliness, without stern duty, and the personal love of a personal God, possesses little struggling power. Emotion, at its highest, is too flimsy to stand the wear and tear of working life.

* Hettinger, in his *Apologie des Christenthums*, has a chapter, *Das Bedürfniss der Offenbarung*, in which he proves these three propositions, bearing upon what has been advanced:—"Erstens: Die Menschheit, sich selbst überlassen, hat die Idee der wahren Religion nicht realisiert. Zweitens: Die Menschheit, sich selbst überlassen, kann die Idee der wahren Religion nicht realisiren. Drittens: Die natürliche Religion, an sich betrachtet, ist mangelhaft und schwach um die Menschheit in ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustande ihren Ziel entgegen zu führen." (*Der Beweis des Christenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Fölter Vortrag*, p. 464.)

† Of course, the style of the Angelical and of Plato cannot be compared; but their resemblance lies in the natural moral character. The style of the *Summa*, e.g., is not that of the man, S. Thomas, but of the scholastic. He cast self on one side when treating of science: when he left self, then he adopted Aristotle.

‡ It is quite curious how Plato, in the *Republic*, when sketching the picture of a true guardian of the State, gives those very qualities which one meets as specialities of the Angelical. It is but natural that they should recall Plato himself, and here the likeness between him and S. Thomas comes out again.

"Now let us enumerate the characteristics of the true philosophic disposition. They are (1) an eager desire for the knowledge of all real existence; (2) hatred of falsehood, and devoted love of truth; (3) contempt of the pleasures of the body; (4) indifference to money; (5) high-mindedness and liberality; (6) justice and gentleness; (7) a quick apprehension, and a good memory; (8) a musical, regular, and harmonious disposition." (See Davies' and Vaughan's *Republic of Plato, Analysis of Book VI.*, p. XXII.; or read the original, *Platou's Opera, ex Revisione C. E. Ch. Schneideri*; *Civitas, Lib. VI.*, p. 104-116. *Parisii.*)

morality, politics, and religion. Had Plato been a Christian he would have been a saint; had the Angelical been a pagan he would have been another Plato.

The gulf which separated them was this: the Angelical was formed on Christ. He was sound and pure throughout. He had the workings of a personal love of his Redeemer in him; he was a model of a spotless life. His faculties were sublimated by the supernatural. What the *Dialogues* of Plato are to the *Summa Theologica*, that the character of the master of the Academy is to the character of S. Thomas of Aquino. In one there is the perfection of human beauty; in the other, the human is enlarged, elevated, purified by the Divine.* In the one, we have guesses at truth, the forebodings of genius with its contradictions; in the other, the steady full-orbed revelation of Jesus Christ, in all its symmetry, concord, and scientific harmony. In one, we possess a test of how little, as well as how much, the human mind is capable of; in the other, a sample of how large a store of freedom, stability, and light, the Almighty can bestow on man. The former has pleased and amused the educated few; the latter has formed the minds of succeeding generations. Plato, compared with the other Greek philosophers, is beautiful to look upon; Plato by the side of the Angelical turns to earth, and almost falls to clay.† Man, though placed below, is made for heaven; his human gifts should be purified by a higher influence, and "clothed upon" by the grace of God.‡

Plato died the very day on which he completed his eighty-first birthday.§ Some say he expired during a marriage-feast;

* The enlightened Ozanam has the highest opinion of the Christian tendency of Plato's teaching:—"Entre toutes les conjectures par lesquelles les philosophes grecs tentèrent de s'élever jusqu'à la connaissance de la Divinité, aucunes ne s'étaient rencontrées plus heureusement que celles de Platon, si incomplètes qu'elles fussent, avec les révélations du christianisme: elles avaient obtenu le suffrage de ses plus graves apologistes; Dante n'avait pas le droit d'être plus sévère. Le Dieu que le disciple de Socrate adore est démontré non-seulement par les forces mécaniques de la nature, mais par l'ordre général qui y domine." (*Œuvres Complètes, Tome Seizième Deuxième Edition, Partie III., Chap. II., p. 269.*) The whole chapter would well repay perusing.

† Diogenes Laertius speaks of his doctrines thus:—"Miscuit Heracliteorum, Pythagoreorumque ac Socraticorum doctrinas. Atque in his quidem, quæ sensibus subiacent, Heracliti partes tuebatur. Porro in his, quæ ad intelligentiam pertinent Pythagore adulescebat. In rebus autem civilibus Socratem suum maxime amplectebatur. Aliant quidam, ex quibus Satyrus est, Dionem illum scripsisse in Siciliam, uti tres libros Pythagoreos sibi eueret, a Philolaus centum minis. Erat enim satis opulentus, acceptis a Dionysio plusquam octoginta talentis. Sicut etiam Onetor scribit in libro, cuius est titulus: An pecuniosum oporteat esse sapientem." (*Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 10, 11, p. 290-291.*)

‡ What a splendid mystic, in the highest Catholic sense, Plato would have been had he been a Christian! The *Phædrus* is sufficient proof of this. Of course, his treatment of the "Divine mania" is pagan; but through its paganism his soaring spirit can be seen, and his capability of seizing the highest emotions of the soul comes out with ineludible evidence.

§ Diogenes Laertius gives his Will:—"Hæc reliquit Plato atque legavit: Hephæstideum fundum, cui ab aquilone vicina via est, quæ dicit a templo Cephisiadum: ab austro Heraclium Hephæstiadum; ab ortu solis Arcestratus Phœreus; ab occasu Philippus Cholidensis. Hunc autem nemini licitum sit aut vendere, aut alienare, sed sit Adimanti filii, quantum fieri potest. Eueresiadumque fundum, quem emi a Callimacho, cui ab aquilone vicinus est Eurymedon Myrrhinusius; ab austro Demonstratus Xypetron; ab ortu Eurymedon Myrrhinusius; ab occasu Cephasus. Argenti minas tres, argenteam philam pendentem drachmas CLXV. Cymbium ponderis drachmarum XLV. Annulum aureum, et inaurum aureum, albo drachmas quatuor et tres obolos pendente. Euclides lapidea mihi debet minas tres. Dianam dimitto

others, in the very act of writing. Temperate in his habits, assiduous in his mental labours, he passed his life, says Cicero, "in quietness, and purity, and elegance;" and remains to this day the most favourable specimen of what human culture and natural gifts can do, unassisted by the vigorous realities of a Christian life.

His method was eminently Socratic. He did not take for granted, like the Sophist, and build a towering system on a postulate. He was a winnow and a sifter. He grasped a question firmly, and investigated and discussed it. In keeping with the genius of the Greek people, who loved to cross-question each other in the agora, gymnasia, and bright palæstra, he threw his philosophy into the form of brilliant dialogue and dialectic.* His whole tone is thoroughly in harmony with the Grecian mind. Grave and gay, flowing and figurative, now steeped in deepest thought, now bursting into play, sparkling with polished irony, at times overflowing with fancy, melody, and tenderest emotion, vivid and dramatic, cultivated and refined, so exquisite an art-work as to conceal art altogether,—the *Dialogues* of Plato, in spite of Plutarch, Cicero, and Xenophon, stand unrivalled as master-pieces of the most perfect culture of the Grecian mind.†

It is true that just as the *Dialogues* cannot be thrown into order, so there is no realization in the Platonic philosophy of any definite theory. Plato's method is mainly negative. He unravels a skein, and when he has finished, and the reader expects some grand result, he generally finds that the work is at an end. If he has not absolutely seized truth, at least he has not been deceived by falsehood; though this is by no means always the case. For instance, the *Hippias Major* is essentially dialectical, whilst the *Timæus* is a simple exposition of an important truth.

Though Plato has a strong philosophical bias, his principal aim was to liberate the mind from the trammels of ignorance,

liberam. Famulos relinquo, Tychonem, Bictam, Apolloniadem, et Dionysium. Supellectilem et vasa scripta, quorum habet exemplar Demetrius. Nulli autem quidquam debeo. Curatores erunt Sasthenes, Spensippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Enrymedon, Callimachus atque Thrasippus. Hoc testamenti ipsius exemplar." (*Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 30, p. 321–323.*)

* Diogenes Laërtius gives several epitaphs, or epigrams, of the great philosopher. Here is the inscription on his tomb:—

"Iustitia cunctis prestans, vitæque modesta,
Hoc situs in tumultu divus Aristoteles.
Si quonquam ad magnos sapientia vexit honores,
Hunc citra invidiam vexit et ipsa virum."

(*Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 30, p. 323.*)

† Professor Jowett's *Plato* gives the best possible idea of Plato's style. The smooth flow of the sentences, the inimitable simplicity, the fulness and the force are well preserved. Indeed most men, save the most finished scholars, would learn more of Plato in this translation, were they willing to admit it, than in their own reading of the text itself. What indeed does the best of scholars know of the Greek pronunciation, accent, or tone? And what, after all, can he who reads the Greek itself do, more than translate it as he goes along? To pretend to taste the exquisiteness of language which is too fine to be thrown into the vernacular, is to understand an unknown tongue. It is only in as far as we can translate a classic that we can understand its grosser meaning; is there a different law for the more volatile and refined?

and to open before its eyes a higher, more noble, and purer range of thought.* He not only looked to the beauty of abstract truth, but also to the requirements of the Greeks amongst whom he lived. The reaction created by the Sophists, the genius of Socrates, the political and moral corruption of the rulers, and the anarchical, fickle, and profligate characteristics of the people, drove the sensitive mind of Plato to seek out a method of philosophizing, which should produce that steadiness, refinement, and stability, without which society quickly falls away.

Though he undoubtedly contradicts himself in his various dialogues, not in minor questions only, but even in his master-principle of the ideal world, still on the whole it must be admitted that he set in motion a principle of unity, and invented a scientific stand-point to which the world, man, and thought, could be referred. The whole tendency of his mind was to live and believe in the Unseen World, and to account for what reality there was in material things by referring them to it.† Considering the moral and political condition of Athens, to live in Plato's atmosphere was like raising the head out of some dank and fetid marsh, and breathing the balmy atmosphere of heaven.

It was this expanding theory, which took root in Alexandria, which earned for it its world-wide reputation; and which alone seemed, for the time, capable of making a stand against the teachings of the Church.

To give a brief account of it, will be to indicate the principal influence which the Platonic mind exerted over the Angelical.‡

Plato's whole thought is vividly illustrated by a passage from the *Republic*, which is often referred to, but very seldom quoted :

* The fact of his contradicting himself in his cardinal theory shows that it must have sat lightly upon him. "If there is a doctrine which is the guide of his (Plato's) deepest speculations," says Mr. Mill, "which he invests with all the plausibility that his wonderful power of illustration can give . . . It is the theory of self-existent ideas,—the essential ground-work of some of his grandest dialogues, especially the *Phaedrus*, the *Phaedon*, and an important portion of the *Republic*. Yet there is in his writings no specimen of logical confutation more remarkable than that by which Parmenides, in the dialogue so called, overthrows this very doctrine, put into the mouth of the youthful Socrates." (*Dissertations and Discussions*, Vol. III., p. 333.) He is not consistent even in his criterion of true opinion, knowledge, or virtue. In fact, he is a classic prose-poet.

† Diogenes Laërtius gives a very interesting account of Plato's works. Plato was not the first to write in the form of dialogue:—"Dialogos itaque primum Zenonem Eleaten scripsisse ferunt. Aristoteles in primo de poetis, Alexandrum Styrium sive Telum, sicut et Phacorum in Commentariis tradit. Ceterum Plato meo quidem iudicio id genus excolvit, ut non solum ornate et expositæ orationis, verum et ipsius inventionis dignissime sibi primum vendicet. Est autem Dialogus ex interrogatione et responsione compositus, de ea re, quæ vel philosophiam vel reipublicæ partes attingat, cum decenti et congrua expressione personarum, quæ assumuntur, accurataque compositione verborum. Dialectica est disputandi ars, per quam aliquid aut probamus aut improbamus, ex interrogatione itidem, et responsione disserentium. Enimvero Platonicæ orationis geminus stylus est, uterque summus. Alter ex his, qui instituit atque imbuunt; alter, qui in loquendo versatur, &c." (*Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 32, p. 327-328.*)

‡ Diogenes Laërtius gives Plato's works thus:—"Sunt ex his quidam, qui ad Physicam pertinent, ut *Timæus*; ad Logicam, ut *Politicus*, *Cratylus*, *Parmenides* et *Sophista*. Sunt qui ad moralem, ut *Apologia*, *Criton*, *Phædon*, *Phædrus*, *Symposium*, *Meneceus*, *Clitophon*, *Epistolæ*, *Philæbus*, *Hippiarchus* et *Anterastas*. Ad civilem vero disciplinam pertinent *Respublica*, *Leges*, *Minos*, *Epinomis*, et *Atlantides*. Ad institutionem pertinent *Alcibiades duo*, *Thægeus*, *Lysis*, *Laches*. In tentando versantur *Euthyphron*, *Menon*, *Ion*, *Charmides*, *Theætetus*. In accusando, *Protagoras*. In evertendo *Euthydemus*, *Hippias duo*, *Gorgias*." (*Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 32, p. 329-330.*)

"Imagine a number of men living in an underground cavernous chamber, with an entrance open to the light, extending along the entire length of the cavern, in which they have been confined, from their childhood, with their legs and necks so shackled, that they are obliged to sit still and look straight forwards, because their chains render it impossible for them to turn their heads round; and imagine a bright fire burning some way off, above and behind them, and an elevated roadway passing between the fire and the prisoners, with a low wall built along it, like the screens which conjurors put up in front of their audience, and above which they exhibit their wonders.

I have it, he replied.

Also figure to yourself a number of persons walking behind this wall, and carrying with them statues of men, and images of other animals, wrought in wood and stone and all kinds of materials, together with various other articles, which overtop the wall; and, as you might expect, let some of the passers-by be talking, and others silent.

You are describing a strange scene, and strange prisoners.

They resemble us, I replied. For let me ask you, in the first place, whether persons so confined could have seen anything of themselves or of each other, beyond the shadows thrown by the fire upon the part of the cavern facing them?

Certainly not, if you suppose them to have been compelled all their lifetime to keep their heads unmoved.

And is not their knowledge of the things carried past them equally limited?

Unquestionably it is.

And if they were able to converse with one another, do you not think that they would be in the habit of giving names to the objects which they saw before them?

Doubtless they would.

Again: if their prison-house returned an echo from the part facing them, whenever one of the passers-by opened his lips, to what, let me ask you, could they refer the voice, if not to the shadow which was passing?

Unquestionably they would refer it to that.

Then surely such persons would hold the shadows of those manufactured articles to be the only realities?

Without a doubt they would.

Now consider what would happen if the course of nature brought them a release from their fetters, and a remedy for their foolishness, in the following manner. Let us suppose that one of them has been released, and compelled suddenly to stand up, and turn his neck round and walk with open eyes towards the light; and let us suppose that he goes through all these actions with pain, and that the dazzling splendour renders him incapable of discerning those objects of which he used formerly to see the shadows. What answer should you expect him to make, if some one were to tell him that in those days he was watching foolish phantoms, but that now he is somewhat nearer to reality, and is turned towards things more real, and sees more correctly; above all, if he were to point out to him the several objects that are passing by, and question him, and compel him to answer what they are? Should you not expect him to be puzzled, and to regard his old visions as truer than the objects now forced upon his notice?

Yes, much truer.

And if he were further compelled to gaze at the light itself, would not

his eyes, think you, be distressed, and would he not shrink and turn away to the things which he could see distinctly, and consider them to be really clearer than the things pointed out to him?

Just so.

And if some one were to drag him violently up the rough and steep ascent from the cavern, and refuse to let him go till he had drawn him out into the light of the sun, would he not, think you, be vexed and indignant at such treatment, and on reaching the light, would he not find his eyes so dazzled by the glare as to be incapable of making out so much as one of the objects that are now called true?

Yes, he would find it so at first.

Hence I suppose, habit will be necessary to enable him to perceive objects in that upper world. At first he will be most successful in distinguishing shadows; then he will discern the reflections of men and other things in water, and afterwards the realities; and after this he will raise his eyes to encounter the light of the moon and stars, finding it less difficult to study the heavenly bodies and the heaven itself by night, than the sun and the sun's light by day.

Doubtless.

Last of all, I imagine, he will be able to observe and contemplate the nature of the sun, not as it *appears* in water or on alien ground, but as it is in itself in its own territory.

Of course.

His next step will be to draw the conclusion, that the sun is the author of the seasons and the years, and the guardian of all things in the visible world, and in a manner the cause of all those things which he and his companions used to see.

Obviously, this will be his next step.

What then? When he recalls to mind his first habitation, and the wisdom of the place, and his old fellow-prisoners, do you not think he will congratulate himself on the change, and pity them?

Assuredly he will.

And if it was their practice in those days to receive honour and commendations one from another, and to give prizes to him who had the keenest eye for a passing object, and who remembered best all that used to precede and follow and accompany it, and from these data divined most ably what was going to come next, do you fancy that he will covet these prizes, and envy those who receive honour and exercise authority among them? Do you not rather imagine that he will feel what Homer describes, and wish extremely

‘To drudge on the lands of a master,
Under a portionless wight,’

and be ready to go through anything, rather than entertain those opinions, and live in that fashion?

For my own part, he replied, I am quite of that opinion, I believe he would consent to go through anything rather than live in that way.

And now consider what would happen if such a man were to descend again and seat himself on his old seat? Coming so suddenly out of the sun, would he not find his eyes blinded with the gloom of the place?

Certainly, he would.

And if he were forced to deliver his opinion again, touching the shadows aforesaid, and to enter the lists against those who had already been prisoners, while his sight continued dim, and his eyes unsteady,—and if this process of

initiation lasted a considerable time,—would he not be made a laughing-stock, and would it not be said to him, that he had gone up only to come back again with his eyesight destroyed, and that it was not worth while even to attempt the ascent? And if any one endeavoured to set them free and carry them to the light, would they not go so far as to put him to death, if they could only manage to get him into their power?

Yes, that they would.

Now this imaginary case, my dear Glaucon, you must apply in all its parts to our former statements, by comparing the region which the eye reveals, to the prison-house, and the light of the fire therein to the power of the sun: and if, by the upward ascent, and the contemplation of the upper world, you understand the mounting of the soul into the intellectual region, you will hit the tendency of my own surmises, since you desire to be told what they are; though, indeed, God only knows whether they are correct. But, be that as it may, the view which I take of the subject is to the following effect. In the world of knowledge, the essential Form of Good is the limit of our inquiries, and can barely be perceived; but, when perceived, we cannot help concluding that it is in every case the source of all that is bright and beautiful,—in the visible world giving birth to light and its master, and in the intellectual world dispensing, immediately and with full authority, truth and reason;—and that whosoever would act wisely, either in private or in public, must set this Form of Good before his eyes.”*

Such was Plato’s sublime vocation, to break men’s bonds, to drag them out of the gloomy cave, and to accustom their eyes to the wholesome rays of the living sun. His system comes out clearly when he speaks of the “essential Form of Good;” of its being the “source of all that is bright and beautiful;” and that all who would act wisely must set it “before their eyes.”†

Here, unlike the narrow philosophy of other teachers, “man is *not* the measure of all things.” There is a spiritual form or “idea” above him. To rid himself of shadows, phantoms, and unrealities, to measure the true nature and worth of things, he must grasp the Eternal and Immutable Forms of which individuals are but as the echoes or reflections. To know the seen, he must be conversant with the Unseen, for the testimony of the senses possesses no validity. According to the Platonic dialectic, there are two realms to be considered, the world of ideas or forms which depend upon one highest species or ultimate idea—the last analysis of all man’s efforts after Truth,—and the concrete sensible universe.‡ The natural world, and all upon

* Davies and Vaughan, *Republic of Plato*, Book VII., p. 235–238. (See the original, *Platonis Opera*, ex Recensione C. E. Ch. Schneideri, Vol. II., Lib. VII., p. 123–125.)

† See how the Angelical uses Plato:—“Respondere dicendum quod necesse est ponere in mente Divina ideas. *Idea* enim græcè, latine *forma* dicitur. Unde per ideas intelliguntur formæ aliquarum rerum præter ipsas res existentes. Forma autem alicujus rei præter ipsam existentem, ad duo esse potest; vel ut sit exemplar ejus cujus dicitur forma, vel ut sit principium cognitionis ipsius. secundum quod formæ cognoscibilibus dicuntur esse in cognoscente.” (*Summa Theologica*, Pars Prima, Quæstio XV., Articulus I., p. 70. Vol. I. Ed. Parm.)

‡ The Angelical quotes St. Augustine to this effect:—“Sed contra est quod dicit Augustinus (In Lib. LXXXIII., Quæst. XLVI., a med.): ‘Ideæ sunt principales quedam formæ, vel rationes rerum stabiles atque incommutabiles, quia ipse formatæ non sunt; ac per hoc æternæ, ac

it, exist through "participation" in the eternal and never-changing forms or exemplars of which they are the shadows, echoes, or reflections. These ideas, or "eternal gods," are the objects of God's thoughts; yet not external to Him, but in Him, the all-embracing Archetype of everything that is. To investigate the nature of the Supreme Idea is a difficult task; the only knowledge worthy of a man is that of Eternal, Immutable, and Self-existent Forms. All else is transitory and fluctuating; science alone is of universals.

The great object of dialectic is, by means of analysis and induction, by a negative process, to cast on one side all irrelevant matter, and to grasp the true idea.* The mind of man is full of these patterns, forms, or *παράδειγματα*; dialectic calls them before the consciousness; man does not learn, but he *remembers* them; they were ever in his mind; they cannot be traced to a beginning; and hence the mind in which they dwell must have existed before it was incarcerated in the flesh.

The "Good," or the "Final Cause," or the "Sovereign Mind," is the author of the world. It energizes according to the pattern of its own perfections. "The Sovereign Good," and not man, is "the measure of all things;" and all its acts are to be looked upon as "best." He who would detect the operations of the Sovereign Mind in the world of sense, must search after the best in everything.†

Again: man's soul is formed after the exemplars of the Good and True. To these man naturally tends. Thus, no man is willingly evil; and every man has the power in him to reform his moral character.

Plato's system of ethics is founded on these principles. In fact, he never made any distinction between religion, ethics, and philosophy; all is subsumed in one ultimate Idea: for he who loves the true by that same act loves the Good also; both being

semper eodem modo se habentes; quæ divina intelligentia continentur. Sed cum ipse neque oriatur, neque intereat, secundum eas tamen formari dicitur omne quod oriri et interire potest, et omne quod oritur et interit." (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæstio XV., Art. II., P. 71.*)

* This is how the Angelical sees and oversets Plato's error:—"Ad primum sic proceditur. I. Videtur quod ideas non sint. Dicit enim Dionysius (*De Div. Nom., Cap. VII.*) quod Dens non cognoscit res secundum ideam. Sed ideas non ponuntur ad aliud nisi ut per eas cognoscantur res. Ergo ideas non sunt. . . . Ad primum dicendum, quod Dens non intelligit res secundum ideam extra se existentes; et sic etiam Aristoteles (*lib. 3, Metaph., a text. 10 usque ab fin. lib.*) improbat opinionem Platonis de ideis, secundum quod ponebat eas per se existentes, non in intellectu." (*Loc. Cit., Art. I., p. 70.*)

† To perceive how far more theologically Christian Plato is than Aristotle, the following points of comparison are worth considering, which, in the main, are correct enough:—

Plato multi in locis astruit, Deum esse unum. Aristoteles autem unum primum motorem, sed et 56 alios deos orbium celestium motores statuit. Uterius ait, supra extimam celum multa esse ordinata, a quibus pendent aliorum esse et vivere, et quæ beatissimam degunt vitam. Igitur Aristotelis philosophia exoterica nulla est mundi monarchia, sed vel polyarchia vel anarchia, quas D. Gregorius Naz. magnopere impugnavit.

Plato tres nominat reges, tria scilicet rerum principia, nimirum Deum Trinum et Unum. Aristoteles in sua vel anarchia vel polyarchia persistit.

Plato enim Deum Patrem appellat. Aristoteles nullum agnoscit Deum Patrem." (See Launoy, *Var. Arist. Fort., Opp., Tom. IV., Pars I., p. 216.*)

identified through a higher synthesis in the primeval Exemplar of all things.* Love of wisdom, and the purification of body and spirit, draw man towards a participation with the Divinity.†

It was the largeness and spirituality of the whole bias of Plato's mind, more than any specific doctrines, which have acted with such dynamic force upon the most powerful and cultivated intellects of every age, and which were not without their influence on the Angel of the Schools.

If he had done nothing else than teach that *man* is not the centre of existence, and the measure of the universe, Plato would have accomplished a work for which posterity would have had every reason to be grateful.‡ But he did more than this: he is said to have—

"Penetrated through and over and beyond the superficially 'god-like' of older philosophers, even to the knowledge of the 'Kingly Spirit and living Creator of the world,' and inserted immortality and a future retribution as the innermost core of his teaching."§

To say that he taught gross errors is simply to say that he was a pagan. Like the purest forms of pagan philosophy, his teachings bear more the character of ideal creations than of tough and potent instruments for purifying the heart of man. He displayed before the mind a new world, which, if dim and indistinct, was rich with noble thoughts and lofty principles.¶

* "Plato Deum simplicissimum esse affirmat. Aristoteles Ζωον = animal ipsum facit.

Plato Deum summum esse bonum inquit; Aristoteles ut bonum orbe primo expeti.

Platonis Deus est summa Sapientia. Aristoteles Deus est Intellectus, sed ignorat particularia.

Plato: Deus est omnipotens. Arist.: Nihil potest, præterquam quod cælum moveat.

Plato: Deus incorporea omnia fecit. Arist.: Deus nihil fecit neque facit; sedet solum in culmine cæli.

Plato: Deus mundum corporeum fabrefecit. Arist.: Deus non fecit mundum qui æternus est.

Plato: Deus fecit mundum ex nihilo, quia ex nulla materia præcedente, quam et ipse creavit. Arist.: Ex nihilo nihil fit.

Plato: Deus mundum fecit ante tempus. Arist.: Mundus et tempus semper fuerunt.

Plato: Mundus, quia corpus, finitam habet potentiam. Arist.: Mundus et cælum infinitam habent potentiam sese movendi.

Plato: Mundus et cælum, quia corpora sunt finita, finitam habent motus actionem. Arist.: Cælum est quidem corpus, sed actio ejus motus infinitus est.

Plato: Quia cælum et mundus corpora finita sunt, et potentiam et actiones finitas habent sui natura, sunt corruptibilia. Arist.: Neque cælum neque mundus est corruptibile." (Lanoy, *Var. Arist. Fort.*, Tom. IV., Pars I., p. 217.)

† For fuller information, see Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., p. 334.

‡ And is there not something elevating, even at the present day, in reading such passages as that in which Aristophanes describes the origin of man in the *Symposium*, or the ideas of Socrates regarding music in a perfect state? Are not the very faults of Plato in philosophy such as impress the mind with his nobleness and elevation? Does not the materialism of the present day require a corrective? Not that Plato's system should be adopted as it stands, but that Plato's bias towards the Unseen should lead to a truly Christian *Sursum corda*!

§ See Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, Vol. I., Book V., § 1, p. 308. The doctrine of the soul's immortality was a cardinal point in the teaching of Plato. His three most brilliant pieces—the *Phædo*, the *Symposium*, and the *Phædrus*, are occupied in drawing out this doctrine from various points of view.

¶ His greatest gift, perhaps, was that of imagination. His most philosophical dialogues teem with the exuberant fruit of his rich fancy. "We see thrones set in heaven," says a graceful writer, "and spirits coming up for judgment; or ghosts of the dead travelling on through unknown regions, or meeting after long ages in some spacious mead of heaven; we watch the chariot of the soul as its eager horses thunder along the circles of the sky: no flight of fancy is too bold, no limits of time or space confine it; and yet all is chastened and deliberate; there is that definiteness of description which we admire in Dante, and that careful symbolism which is found in the *Pilgrim's Progress*."

But neither beauty, nor culture, nor refinement, nor ἡθoς, can quench the passions, or staunch the wound of man's original nature.*

This fact comes out clearly in portions of Plato's theoretic teaching. For example: matter, such as he makes it, is eternal. He taught the existence of a world-soul. Whatever perceives ideas is everlasting and divine; hence all intelligence belongs to the Divine Substance. The stars are gods, and are to be worshipped by the people in preference to the demons and the *genii*. Plato's god was a metaphysical one, who need only be known to the governing few. He was a stranger to the Supremely Free, Sovereignly Personal, Living God of the Revealed Law.† The nature of guilt was strange to him. In his ideal polity the women were to be in common, abortion was to be practised, unpromising children were to be put to death, and the odious sin of the Greeks was permitted. These are but specimens of the aberrations into which the most refined and noble intellect of antiquity was led, through the influence of education, and the imbecility of man's unassisted sense.‡

Plato, whilst he proves how splendid a gift human reason is, brings vividly before the mind how impotent are the highest efforts of fallen man when unsustained by the light of Revelation.§ How can philosophy dare to be ungrateful to religion!

And just as we saw the graceful and melancholy Plato hanging on the lips of Socrates, so too we can now imagine another youth, with a strange mixture of reverence and pride, drinking in the flowing sentences of the "old man eloquent," as he, with his own mystic power, introduces his hearers to the glowing world he has created for them.

Unlike the youth who attended Socrates, the most distin-

* Plato's views, although so lofty, are coloured not only by his own emotions, but also by the influence of age upon his passions. The *Phædrus* and the *Symposium* are full of youthful fire compared with the more stoical temper of the *Philebus* and the *Lysis*.

† Since Plato was certainly the noblest of the pagans, and the purest of their thinkers—and since it is not probable that any pagan will ever rise to surpass him,—it would be worth while to test the amount of serious consistency there is in his teaching. It is pretty clear that if he had applied the same drastic method of cross-examination to his own *a priori* theories which he loved so much to apply to others, he would have found some difficulty in making a reply. And possibly that is why he never did apply it. Mr. Grote says:—"On the whole—to use a comparison of Plato himself—the Platonic sum total somewhat resembles those fanciful combinations of animals imagined in the Hellenic mythology—an aggregate of distinct and desperate individuals, which look like one because they are packed in the same external wrapper." (*Vol. I.*, p. 214—215.) Paganism itself is a monstrosity: therefore its highest conceptions when combined become monsters.

‡ Eusebius gives a full treatment of these stains in the teaching of Plato. (See Eusebii *Pamphilii, Opera Omnia*, Tom. III., *Præparatio Evangelica*, Lib. XIII., p. 1058—1130; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXI.)

§ In fact, "religion" amongst the civilized pagans did not undertake to teach "faith and morals." "In the civilized states of antiquity, religion was pursued only as a matter of public policy," says Dr. Hampden, "and not as a rule of life to the individual. Whatever was the established creed of the state it was the recognized duty of the good citizen to support as established. Not involving any question of truth or falsehood in the particular creed adapted, it readily admitted of any additions of superstition not repugnant to the laws and manners of the state; but imperiously rejected all questioning of the fundamental assumption of the importance of that which was established." (*The Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 47.)

guished disciple of Plato was nearly as ugly as Plato's master.* He was but a boy when he first entered the Academy. He had been in Athens three years, waiting for the great philosopher's return from his Sicilian expedition. Deeply he had devoted himself, during this time of expectation, to the study of philosophy. He was preparing to profit to the full by the teachings of Plato the divine. He was a youth warmed with ambition, loving fame, courting applause; he had come to Athens to learn wisdom indeed, but also make a name. Of small slender person, with lisping voice, a dandy in appearance, a smart, fluent, sneering talker, and yet, for Athens, half a barbarian, Aristotle looked as little like a man who was to rule the world of thought as well could be imagined. Never has vanity and conceit hidden so much hard logic, or concealed such deep sagacity.† Seldom has a lover of approbation applied with such straining energy, with such dogged perseverance, to the study of universal wisdom. Plato's life and labours are full of poetry; Aristotle's are strictly prose. Plato was half a monk; Aristotle was a thorough man of the world. Aristotle was wealthy, and looked sharply after the main chance; Plato was comparatively poor, and never coveted to be rich. The latter was never married, fixing his heart on wisdom as a spouse; the former had one wife, perhaps two, possibly two at a time, and certainly a concubine as well.‡ Though on account of his extraordinary intellectual gifts the learned have dealt tenderly with Aristotle, still there is a stain upon his character which cannot altogether be expunged.§ When young it is alleged that he was a spendthrift, then a military adventurer, and finally a seller of drugs. "He has been stigmatized," says Dr. Hampden, "as a parasite, as gluttonous, effeminate, sordid, ungrateful, impious. Amongst his faults, too, have been mentioned a sneering cast of countenance, and impertinent loqua-

* "Aristoteles Nichomachi Phæstiadiſque filius, Stagiritēs, fuit. Porro Nichomachus a Nichomacho Machaonis filio, Œſculapiique nepote, originem duxit, ut Hernippus in eo libro, quem de Aristotele scripsit, tradit. Convixit autem Amyntæ Macedonum Regi, medicinæ et amicitia gratia. Ille inter omnes Platonis discipulos maxime excelluit: voceque gracili, ut Timotheus Athenienſis in libro de Vitis refert, et exilibus cruribus parvisque oculis fuit, veste insigni, et annulis, ac tosanra uteus." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n. 1, 2, p. 460.-461.)

† William Pitt is another and a modern instance of greatness of mind, accompanied by affectation and love of foppery. (See Macanlay's *Essays*, Vol. II., p. 143. London, 1843.)

‡ "Natus est autem illi et filius Nichomachus ex Herpyliide concubina, ut Timotheus ait." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. V., n. 3, p. 461.)

§ Eusebius quotes Aristocles thus:—"Qui tandem fieri potuit, inquit ille, ut quod epistola de vitæ institutis Epicurus scribit, Aristoteles, juvenis adhuc cum esset, patrimonium exhausserit, indeque compulsus ad militiam fuerit? ubi quod res ei minus commode cederet, egerit deinceps pharmacopolam; donec tandem cum pateret omnibus Platonis ambulatione, eam sibi ultro deposceret? Quis Timæum Tauromentanum audiat, dum suis in historiis illum ait, alicui iam ætate, neglectis obscuri ejusdem medici officii claudendis foribus præfuisse? Quis de illo propterea secus existimet, quod Aristoxenus musicus in Platonis libro refert, dum peregrinaretur, abessetque longius, quem vocant Peripatium, adversus eum peregrinos homines excitasse." (See Eusebii Cesariensis *Opera*, Pars II., *Apologetica Preparatio Evangelica*, Lib. XV., Cap. II., p. 1293; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXI.)

city."* He is said so to have worried Plato, who was eighty years of age at the time, with his insolent logic-chopping, that the poor old man was forced to abandon his walks in the Academy, and retire out of the way into the private grounds.†

How far these accusations are absolutely true it is impossible to say; that they are absolutely false it is difficult to believe.‡ There is no doubt that Aristotle was a lover of good things, and of people in high places. His life was spent either as pedagogue at court, or teaching in the Athenian Lyceum. Though his health was delicate, his energy was unwearied, his curiosity and sagacity were almost morbid, his love of reading was an absolute passion, and his keenness of mind, especially in experiment and analysis, was supreme. He stands pre-eminent amongst all the ancients for the clearness of his head, the simplicity of his thought, and for his power of appreciating facts. If he was not endowed with Plato's creative gift, he knew how to verify phenomena; if he were wanting in Plato's admirable dramatic, poetic, and literary talent, he was a master in terseness of expression, in scientific method, and in his searching cross-examination of the phenomena of matter and of mind. Poetical, vague, imaginative, ideal, standing on the earth simply to look up to heaven, spurning sensible nature, embracing with a large love, without questioning, the whole world of abstract thought, and peopling it with bright and beautiful existences; in a word, synthetical beyond all comparison with other men, and intensely monastic in his companionship with wisdom—Plato was the very antithesis of the Stagyræite.§ Could it be

* *The Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 13.

† Enbulides says that "morienti Platoni, ejusque libros depravasse . . . Cephisodorus, Isocratis discipulus . . . voluptarium ipsum et catillonem, similibusque nominibus adpelavit." Lycon the Pythagorean "scribit . . . Aristotelem idem sacrificii genus quod Cereri ab Atheniensibus fcebat, demortuus uxori facere solitum, atque illud ipsum oleum postea vendere, in quo calido jam ante lavisset." . . . Two things seem pretty clear:—"Quod Pythiadem Herulæ natum sororem, filium adoptione, uxorem duxerit, hominis gratiam . . . Exstat quidem illud Theocriti Chii epigramma:

'Emmuchi Herulæ, Euboli qui servus, inane

Hunc tantulum posuit vane Aristoteles;

Quem pro Academia, voluit qua Eorborn nudas,

Durus amor ventris jussit habere larem:'"

and "quod ingratus in Platone fuerit." (Eusebii Cæsariensis, *Opera*, Pars II., *Apologetica*, *Præparatio Evangelica*, Lib. XV., Cap. II., p. 1299—1302; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXI.)

‡ Ritter says:—"Eine gewisse Erzählung spricht von einer unordentlich verlebten Jugend des Aristoteles; er habe sein völkisches Verwüsten verpasst, sei dann in den Krieg gezogen, und als es ihn auch hierin nicht glücken wollte, habe er zur Kräuerei mit Arzneien seine Zuflucht genommen." To these words he appends the following note:—"Ælian. v. h. V. 9. Die Erzählung hat den Epikur zum Gewährsmann, zwar einen ziemlich alten, aber schwerlich einen unparteiischen Zeugen. Athen. VIII. 50, p. 354. Wir werden nicht alle die Vorwürfe, welche man dem sittlichen Wandel des Aristoteles gemacht hat, hier aufzählen, sondern erwähnen nur, dass er von seinem Schüler Aristoxenos, vom Epikuros, Timæos, vom Verfasser der Schrift *περί παλαιας τριφυλίας* vom Megariker Alexinos und Andern (S. Euseb. præp. ev. XV., 2.) verkannt worden sein soll." (*Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage; Hamburg, 1837: Erstes Capitel, p. 4.)

§ "The student in passing from the works of Plato to those of Aristotle," says Maurice, "is struck first of all with the entire absence of that dramatic form and that dramatic feeling with which he has become familiar. The living human beings with whom he has conversed have passed away. Prodicus, Protogoras, and Hippias are no longer lounging on their couches amidst groups of admiring pupils; we have no walks along the walls of the city, no readings beside the Ilissus, no lively *symposia* giving occasion to high discourses about love, no Critias, recalling the

that two imperial spirits met, and by consent divided the world of thought between them; or was it the natural reaction of an accurate and cautious intellect against the ærial systems of an opulent but unscientific mind? Perhaps the early influence of his father, court physician to the king of Macedon, confirmed Aristotle in his distaste for the mystic creations of the Academy? * However it may be, the Academy and the Lyceum are complements of each other. Synthesis and analysis are continually wanted in philosophy, and here they are to be found. Plato's expansive intellect, and the logical exactness of the Stagyræ, represent that breadth and accuracy which are combined in their largest proportions by the Angel of the Schools. †

The history of Aristotle's life is soon told. He was born at Stagyræ, in the north of Greece, a town looking out over the sea on the one side, and embedded on the other in groves of oranges and lemons. ‡ His father's name was Nichomachus, physician to Amyntas II., king of Macedon, a man of considerable ability and a votary of natural science. That the Stagyræ himself had a turn for medicine is evident from some portions of his writings. §

He possessed an intense craving after knowledge, and on the first opportunity he hurried off to Athens, the metropolis of philosophy and letters, to place himself under the celebrated founder of the Academy. Here he collected a valuable library, and ardently applied himself to the writings of the ancients. || On Plato's return from his expedition, the Stagyræ became his disciple, and soon surpassed all his companions in his keenness,

stories he had heard in the days of his youth, before he came a tyrant, of ancient and glorious republics; above all, no Socrates forming a centre to those various groups." (*Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, I., p. 162.)

* "Sein Vater Nikomachos war Arzt und Freund des Königs von Macedonien Amyntas und durch ihn stammte Aristoteles aus einer Familie, welche ihren Ursprung auf den Asklepios zurückführte. Ich erwähne dies, weil es von Einfluss auf die wissenschaftliche Richtung des Aristoteles gewesen zu sein scheint. Es bezeichnet seine Familie als eine solche, in welcher von altersher medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Kenntnisse sich fortgepflanzt hatten; auch soll sein Vater Schriften über Arzneikunde und Naturlehre hinterlassen haben." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Erstes Capitel, p. 3.)

† This fact I have several times insisted on. Had not the Angelical possessed the double gift of grasping and dividing, and that in a very high degree, the *Summa Theologica* would have been impossible.

‡ "Stagira—which Bœckh says, should correctly be written Stageiros—was a town in northern Greece, on the western coast of the Strymonic gulf (now called the Gulf of Contezza), just where the coast begins to take a southerly bend . . . Stagira is said to resemble Sorrento, not only in the general disposition of its coast lines, but also in the terraced windings of its multitudinous orange and lemon groves." (Lewes' *Aristotle, a chapter from the History of Science*, Chap. I., § 3, p. 6.)

§ Who could imagine Plato writing a *History of Animals*? It is said that under Aristotle's superintendence some thousands of people were employed in making enquiries on the subject of this work throughout Asia and in Greece. (See Hampden's *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 6-7.)

|| Bacon seems to think that the Stagyræ aimed at sinking all the ancients, and standing himself in their place. He holds Aristotle to be possessed by an overweening ambition:—"Quia in re Aristotelis confidentiam proinde subit mirari; qui impetu quodam percitus contradictionis, et bellum universe antiquitati indicens, non solum nova artium vocabula pro habitu erudendi licentiam usurpavit; sed etiam priscam omnem sapientiam extinguere et delere annans est. Adeo ut neque nomen ipsum auctores antiquos [], neque dogmatum eorum mentionem ullam faciat [], nisi quo aut homines perstringeret, aut placita redargueret. Sane si summum nomen suo, ac sequacium turbam affectaverit, hoc rationibus suis imprimis accommodatum." (See *The Works of Francis Bacon, De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, Vol. III., Lib. II., Cap. IV., p. 63. London MDCCLIII. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand.)

wit, and logic, in his caustic sarcasm, and in the general power of his intelligence. These great mental endowments, accompanied with an excessively ardent nature, and an indefatigable love of study, soon earned for Aristotle that fame after which he so much yearned. Plato was so charmed with his new disciple that he called him "the reader," and "the intellect of the school," and compared him to a young colt, so full was he of spirit and vivacity.

Aristotle remained seventeen years as a pupil and friend of Plato; a long companionship, during which he had every opportunity of learning the methods of his master.* To dwell under the eye of Plato, and to breathe the pure atmosphere of the Academy, must have been an education and an elevation in itself. There is little doubt that the sublime portions of the ethical teachings of the Stagyrte are drawn from a Platonic source.†

Before the death of Plato, Aristotle had already formed a circle of admirers, and had commenced to lecture.‡ On Plato's death (348), disgusted at not being appointed his successor in the Academy, he quitted Athens on a visit to his school-fellow, the eunuch Hermias, who had made himself tyrant of Atarneus in the face of the king of Persia.§ Here Aristotle remained three years, but on the death of his host, who was made away with by the Persians, he fled to Mitylene. He took with him, Pythias, the adopted daughter of Hermias, and married her, some are kind enough to say, out of compassion for her helplessness.

From Mitylene he went to Macedon, and was appointed by Philip, whom he had known as a boy, tutor of his youthful son Alexander, who at this time was fourteen years of age. The king built a gymnasium in a shady grove, where Aristotle

* "Beim Platon blieb er zwanzig Jahre, welche er jedoch gewiss nicht bloss dem Platonischen Unterrichte widmete, welche vielmehr als die wahre Zeit der Vorbereitung zu dem grossen Werke seines Lebens anzusehen sind. Wie eifrig er damals strebte, nicht nur die Schätze der ältern Philosophie, sondern der ganzen griechischen Literatur zu erschöpfen, möchte man daraus abnehmen, dass ihn Platon den Leser nannte, und ihn mit dem Xenokrates vergleichend sagte, dieser bedürfe des Spornes, jener des Zügels." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Erstes Capitel, p. 4—5.)

† It seems probable that he never practised medicine himself. (See Franciscus Patritius, *Discussiones Peripateticorum*, Tom. IV., p. 3. Bäle, 1581.)

‡ "Recessit a Platone, dum adhuc superviveret. Unde dixisse illum tradunt, *Aristoteles in nos recedidit, non secus atque in matrem pulli geniti*. Refert Hierappon in Vitis, cum Atheniensem legatum ad Philippum profectus esset Aristoteles, Academia schola prefectum fuisse Xenocratem. Cum vero reversus esset, scholamque ab alio vidisset, eligisse in Lyceo deambulationis locum, illicque usque ad certum temporis spatium deambulando cum discipulis philosophari solitum, atque inde Peripateticum appellatum esse. Alii idcirco sic vocatum asserunt, quod ex aegritudine convalescenti, ac deambulanti Alexandro adistens quaedam disserere soleret. Ubi vero jam plures esse ceperant, sedens docebat dicens:

'Silere turpe me, et Xenocratem loqui.'

Ad propositam questionem discipulos una exercebat, simul et oratoriam docens." (Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. II., p. 461—463.)

§ Ritter argues the question regarding the relations of Plato and Aristotle on the whole in favour of the latter. (*Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, Dritter Theil, Erstes Capitel, p. 9.)

delivered his lectures to his royal charge. This lasted four years, when Alexander, being only eighteen years of age, was appointed Regent. Aristotle remained three years more in Macedon.*

How highly Alexander prized his master is evident from this noble saying of his, that he honoured Aristotle no less than his own father; for, whilst the one gave him life, the other gave him that which made life worth having. Alexander succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty; and on his setting out for Asia, Aristotle left Macedon, and after an absence of twelve years returned once more to Athens (335).†

Here he soon collected a large gathering of disciples. He taught at the Lyceum, in the most splendid gymnasium of the city. Here were the groves, avenues, and gardens; the porticos, theatres, and courts; the *stadium*, arena, and promenades, which, by their magnificence, lent a charm to the learning of the master, and enhanced the value of his esoteric and exoteric teaching.‡ The morning was passed in the company of his more intimate disciples: the evening in instilling into the ears of thronging crowds, by means of more popular disquisitions, those principles of knowledge which he had been the first to throw into something like a scientific form.

Here he remained thirteen years. It was during this period that he wrote the greater portion of his voluminous works, and built up his lasting fame.§

But the Athenians would not leave him alone. Alexander died (323). His enemies took the lead at Athens. These men looked upon Aristotle, who had been the instructor of the Conqueror, with unmixed aversion. There had never been

* The high idea Aristotle entertained of education is evident from the following apophthegm:—Being asked "In what the educated differed from the uneducated," he said, "As much as the living from the dead." Several good sayings are recorded of him. "What grows old soon?" he answered, "Gratitude." "What is hope?" "The dream of one awakened." A man boasted that he was from a great city. "Not this," he replied, "should one look to, but who was worthy of a great country." "Some men lived so parsimoniously as if they were to live for ever, whilst others spent, as if they were to die immediately." Being blamed for relieving an unworthy object he said—"It is not to the man I gave, but to mankind." (*Cf. Hampden's Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 12.)

† And Diogenes Laertius shall give the reason:—"Ubi vero Alexandro instituendo satis visus est navasse operam, commendato illi cognato Callisthene Olynthio, Athenas concessit. Eum audacius quam par erat, alloquentem regem, et minime illi obsequentem, ab ipso increpitum adserunt versa,

'Qualia mi loqueris, vereor sis nate superstes.'

quod et factum est. Namque Eurydem in Alexandrum insidiarum socius fuisse deprehensus, cavea ferrea circumduci, pedore atque squalore oblitus, leoni postremo objectus est, sicque excessit e vita." (*Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n. 6, p. 464—465.*)

‡ Lewes gives an animated sketch of the school of Aristotle at the Lyceum. (See his *Aristotle*, § 14, p. 15.)

§ "Enimvero Aristoteles Athenas profectus, cum illic tredecim annis docuisset, clam in Chalcidem concessit, quod ab Eurymedonte sacrorum antistite impietatis accusatus esset, sive, ut Phavorinus ut in *Onniodota Historia*, a Demophilo, quod hynnum in eum, quem praxidimus, Hermiam scripserit, quodque hoc epigramma statue, que in Delphis est, incidi curaverit:

'Impius hunc quondam Persarum morte tyrannus

Muletavit, violans jusque nefasque virum.

Nam neque collato oppressit certamine, verum

Insidioso Ioniis mens amicitia."

(*Diogenes Laertius, Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n. 7, p. 465—466.*)

much difficulty at Athens in getting rid of a philosopher. Besides, Aristotle was a foreigner, and had been an intimate friend of two, if not three, Macedonian kings. A direct charge was made against him before the Areopagus of having paid divine honours to Hermias and Pythias. Aristotle had heard too much of the fate of Socrates to trust to the justice of a trial. He fled to Chalcis, saying to his friends that "he did not wish to give the Athenians a second opportunity of committing a crime against philosophy."

The Stagyrte never lifted up his head again. Intense brain work,* and a weak constitution, added to the grief occasioned by the ill-usage of his enemies, brought him with sorrow to the grave. He was stripped of all his honours; even the privilege of being a citizen of Athens was taken from him. Sentence of death was pronounced against him. Some say he died of vexation because he was foiled in an experiment; others, that he committed suicide by drinking aconite. However it may have been, he departed in the sixty-third year of his age (B.C. 322).†

Such is the history of the great Father of the Peripatetic school; as great a contrast to Plato in his life, as he was in his bias in philosophy. Whilst the mind is borne towards Plato with spontaneous sympathy, there is something in the very appearance of Aristotle, in his sneering loquacity and want of reverence, in his impurity and (if the word may be pardoned for its aptness) in his snobbishness, which, in spite of his transcendent intellectual gifts, leaves an unpleasing impression on the mind.‡ Plato was great as a man; Aristotle was great as an intelligence. The more we know of Plato the more we love him; the more we know of Aristotle the less we love him: the more intimate our acquaintance with Plato's works, the less scientific they appear; the more we study Aristotle's, the more profoundly we are impressed with their accuracy and depth. It was the moral elevation of Plato, and the spirituality of his temper, which gained him* so immense a sway; it was the intellectual sagacity and logical force of Aristotle which have

* How indomitable his energy was for work is clear from the following:—"Quidam utrem calentis olei stomacho illum imponere consuevisse tradunt, et cum se ad quiescendum componeret, aeram spheram tenere in manu pelvi subjecta, eo consilio ut cum e dormientis manu sphaera aëra in subditum vas incidisset, sono illius expergisceret." (Diogenes Laërtius, *Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n. 10, p. 476.*)

† "Hic vero, ut ait Emmelus in quinto Historiarum, aconitum bibens, mortuus est septuagesimo ætatis anno. Idem vero refert ipsum Platonem trigemarium se in disciplinam dedisse; sed profecto fallitur. Vixit enim tres et sexaginta annos: septuaginta autem ætatis anno Platonem audire cepit." (Diogenes Laërtius, *Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n. 7, p. 466.*)

‡ Here are some more points of contrast between Plato and the Stagyrte:—

"Plato: Quia mundus sui natura est corruptibilis, corrumpetur aliquando, nisi Deus eum servaret. Arist.: Mundus non corrumpetur; neque Deus eum servat, sed cœli motus.

Plato: Deus est supra omne ens et supra omnem essentiam. Arist.: Deus est substantia.

Plato: Deus est supra omnem intellectum. Arist.: Deus est intellectus.

Plato: Deus nec movetur, nec movet. Arist.: Deus quidem non movetur, sed primum celum movet." (Lanhou, *De Var. Arist. Fort., Tom. IV., Pars I., p. 217.*)

earned for him a lasting reputation. Plato was patristic, Aristotle scholastic. The combination of the two—excluding errors and making good defects, through the parallel light of Revelation—is to be found pre-eminently in the Angel of the Schools. His “Angelic” bias was Platonic; his school gifts were Aristotelic.* The keen intellect of the Stagyrte, and the moral loftiness of Plato, corrected and purified by Christianity, and perfected by monastic life, made the Angelical the synthetic and analytic colossus that he was.

The broad difference between Plato and Aristotle lies in this, that Plato held the world of “forms” to be the only real world, whilst Aristotle held the world of sense to be at the foundation of all knowledge. Whilst Plato, by means of reminiscence and the association of ideas, could recall before the mind the whole existing world of thought, Aristotle required a brute sensation, a phantasm, and an abstraction, in order to reach anything like a mental process. He looks upon the really-existing archetypes of Plato as so much poetry or metaphor.† What his master considered as possessing an objective being of its own, he taught was the result of mental action, and the appreciated relations between one thing and another. Both held in common that science was of universals, but Plato’s universals were of a different texture from those of Aristotle. Whilst Plato had only to open the eye of the mind and look on them, as it were,

* “Plato: Deus omne corpus supereminet. Arist.: Deus in cœli culmine sedet.

Plato: Deus est ab omni corpore liber. Arist.: Deus primo orbi est alligatus.

Plato: Deus universi providentiam habet. Arist.: Deus a cœlo tantum expetitur.

Plato: Deus omnia novit. Arist.: Non cognoscit particularia.

Plato: Deus mundum regit universum et partes ejus. Arist.: Non Deus, sed natura, casus et fortuna regunt mundum.

Plato: Deus in regimine mundi utitur ministris, minoribus Diis. Arist.: Deus neque regit mundum, neque ministros habet.

Plato: In mundo sunt demones. Arist.: Nullibi hos agnoscit demones.

Plato: Deus animam universi produxit. Arist.: Deus non produxit animam ullam universi, sed cœlum tantum est animatum et astra.

Plato: Deus produxit animam humanam. Arist.: Anima est actus corporis h. e. ex materiaeducta.

Plato: Anima humana divina est quedam forma. Arist.: Anima est forma corporis.

Plato: Anima humana est immortalis. Arist.: Ut forma corporis anima est mortalis.” (Lamoy, *De Var. Arist. Fort.*, Tom. IV., Pars I., p. 217.)

† “Plato: Animæ connatus est intellectus. Arist.: Intellectus de foris venit.

Plato: Anima a corpore separatur. Arist.: Anima a corpore non separatur, quia est ejus forma.

Plato: Anima divino afflatur spiritu et futura prænuntiat. Arist.: Anima humore melancholico prædicit.

Plato: Hominis felicitas est, quando Deo fit similis. Arist.: Homo bonis fortunis fit beatus.

Plato: Hominis felicitas a Deo venit. Arist.: Homo ex suis bonis actionibus et suo arbitrio fit felix.

Plato: Deus est precandus, ut nos beatos efficiat. Arist.: Deus particularia non intelligit, ergo non precandus.

Plato: Veniet homo qui nos Deum precari doceat. Hic Christum innuit. Arist.: Preces omnes frustaneæ, quia Deus non intelligit particularia.

Plato: Bonus vir Deo semper charus. Arist.: Particularia Deus non intelligit, nec preces audit, nec hominem ullum amat.

Plato: Vir bonus post mortem Deo fruetur. Arist.: Post mortem nulla voluptas.

Plato: Animæ post mortem purgantur. Arist.: Animæ in corpore pereunt.

Plato: Animæ malorum post mortem penas dabunt. Arist.: Animæ in corpore pereunt.

Plato: Homines mortui resurgunt. Arist.: A privatione ad habitum non fit regressus.

Plato: Bonæ animæ beatum locum possidebunt. Arist.: Nullus est talis locus.

Plato: Et corpus et animæ malorum in inferno cruciabuntur. Arist.: Nil tale novit.” (Lamoy, *De Var. Arist. Fort.*, Tom. IV., Pars I., p. 218.)

spread out ready-made before him, the Stagyrte arrived at them through the activity of the thinking principle itself. Sensations give the particulars or individuals; memory can summon many individuals before the mind; and the action of the inductive process upon these, results in general notions or ideas; one thing can now be predicated of many individuals.*

Such was the antagonistic difference between these two philosophers. Plato treats the Stagyrte's ground-principle, the apprehensions of sense, as deception; and the Stagyrte looks upon his master's fundamental axiom as no better than a philosophical romance. Natural science was the Stagyrte's delight; experiments on the animal creation had a special charm for him.† He loved investigation. Analysis was his strongest point. He savoured more of the modern man of science than any other writer of antiquity. For an ancient he was cautious, accurate, and excessively objective. He saw the value of phenomena and facts, almost as clearly as Bacon did. His philosophy found more pleasure in discussing *things*, than the abstract notions which represented them; and though at times he may have forgotten, as he assuredly did forget, that creations and combinations of the mind's activity are not necessarily accurate expressions of objective truth, still he, more than any other thinker of the Pagan schools, saw the marked difference between the world of notions and the tangible facts of life.‡

As long as Aristotle confined himself to secular philosophy, he excelled the master of the Academy; but where any religious bias is concerned, Plato far surpasses him. Though Plato's theory of ideas is wrong, still it points in a more theological direction than almost any of the speculations of the Stagyrte. If the philosophy of Aristotle has been a blessing to the Church, the theologic tendency of Plato has been of no less service to

* Ritter gives an eloquent summary of Aristotle's teaching in his *Geschichte* (Dritter Theil, Fünftes Kapitel, p. 390-405):—"Er meint zwar," he says, "des Mensch sei ein gar geringes und dürftiges Wesen, aber er findet sein Leben noch immer lebenswerth und dahin ist sein Streben gerichtet, dass er es wahrhaft lebe, nicht nach eiteln Idealen vergebens sich abmüht, sondern die Wirklichkeit mit regster Thätigkeit ergreifend." (*Loc. Cit.* p. 393.)

† Though freely correcting him, Bacon, in his *Novum Organum*, quotes the Stagyrte with approbation respecting his view regarding the principal cause of generation and corruption. Generally Bacon is very harsh with this philosopher, though not so severe as he is with Plato. (See *The Works of Francis Bacon, Novum Organum, Lib. II., § 35, p. 247. London, MDCCLIII. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand.*) He calls Plato "Cavillator urbaneus, tumidis poetæ Theologus mente captus." (*Op. Citat. Impetus Philosophicæ, Cap. II., p. 512.*)

‡ "Während Platon die Erfahrungen besonders über die Natur, das Nothwendige und Besondere in den Erscheinungen vernachlässigt, sie nur nebenbei und wie eine nicht nützliche Erholung betreibt, dagegen in die Ideale des Guten und des Schönen sich vertieft, ist Aristoteles ganz darauf bedacht, eine jede Erkenntniss der übersinnlichen Form aus der besondern Erfahrung heranzuschöpfen. Denn ihm ist die Vernunft für den Menschen nicht etwas Ursprüngliches, sondern sie bildet sich erst aus dem Nothwendigen, aus dem natürlichen Werden heraus, bleibt auch immer mit diesem in Verbindung, so dass in der wirklichen Thätigkeit, in der Energie des vernünftigen Lebens die Vollendung und der wahre Gegenstand der Wissenschaft zu sehen ist. Diese Einsicht bildet den wesentlichen Fortschritt, welchen die Philosophie des Aristoteles bezeichnet." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Fünftes Kapitel, p. 403.*)

her.* If the Peripatetic logic, form, and nomenclature brought about a revolution in the method of theologic teaching, the soaring tendencies of Plato have scarcely been less useful in pointing out a method of grasping the *scibile* as a whole, and of looking on it in its integrity. If the Angelical was indebted to Aristotle for suggestions in analysis, he was equally beholden to Plato for synthetical suggestions. It is quite possible that the conception of the *entire plan* of the *Summa Theologica* was partly the result of Platonic influence, whilst the mechanical framework in which each part is fixed manifests unmistakable signs of the Socratic and Aristotelic mind. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle—each in his measure continues still to act upon the world of thought.† The intellectual honesty of the first, and the creative and speculative gifts of the second, and the critical endowments of the third, have left a mark which can never be expunged.

Take two cardinal points which have an immediate bearing on religion, and upon which both Plato and his disciple have boldly spoken out, and it will be seen at once which possessed the sounder theologic instinct: I refer to their teachings on God and on the soul.

"Plato's god is an intelligent power, who knows the world, and is at work in it, forming, ordering, and sustaining it."‡

Aristotle's god

"Cannot descend to particular beings, is unable to change the object of his conceptions, or think anything discursively without falling into the hands of change, and without changing from better to worse. He also really influences the world unconsciously, as the magnet does the iron; and his action on

* I need simply refer the reader to Eusebius' important work, the *Præparatio Evangelica*, to show how strangely the teachings of the great philosopher and those of the people of God harmonized. See for example the Eleventh Book (p. 842—948; *Patrolog. Græc.*, Vol. XXI.). Such chapters as (I.) Platonis philosophiam, in iis, quæ omnium maxime necessaria sunt, cum illa Hebræorum convenire, p. 846; (IX.) De Ente, ex Mosis Platonisque doctrina, p. 867; (XIV.) De secundo Hebræorum Platonisque principio, p. 883; (XXIII.) De Platonis Ideis, p. 907; (XXVI.) De adversariis naturis, Hebræorum Platonisque doctrina, p. 915; (XXVII.) De anime immortalitate, ex Hebræorum Platonisque doctrina, p. 918; (XXXVIII.) De iudicio, quod mortem excipiat, Platonem Hebræis affluia sensisse, p. 943. See also the twelfth Book (p. 948—1058.) See the fifty-two chapters of this book, all bearing in the same direction, showing how curiously Plato's teachings, in many points, harmonize with the doctrines of the chosen people.

† Though the great revival in favour of Plato in Italy (1438) was carried to excess, it cannot be denied that many great truths were elicited with respect to the harmony of many Platonic doctrines with the teachings of Christianity. See for a good exposition of this Cardinal Bessarion's work, intitled "*Bessarionis Cardinalis Nicensis et Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani in Calumniatorem Platonis Libri Quatuor: Venetiis, 1593.*" Then comes Marsilius Ficinus (whom Leibnitz calls "Bessarionis in affectu erga Platonem heres"), who wrote a *Theologia Platonica, de Immortalitate videlicet Animarum ac Æternæ Felicitate, Libri XVII.* See Buhle's *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, *Id.* II., p. 171—322. Göttingen, 1800. (Cf. Werner's *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, *Dritter Band, Zweites Buch*, p. 496.)

‡ "Plato held the Supreme Good, or God, to be unfathomable in his real nature. 'It is hard,' he said, 'to investigate and find the Framer and Father of the Universe; and if one did find him, it were impossible to express him in terms comprehensible by all.' (*Tim.* p. 28.) For even though man is capable of a perfect comprehension of all other Ideas, still God remains above these, and higher yet above the world and all that is created." "Notwithstanding this polytheistic mode of expression [calling the ideas 'eternal gods'], these Ideas are not to be conceived as beside and external to God. They are founded in God, and God is the all-comprehensive Idea, embracing all partial archetypes in an unity; and therefore too the visible world, which is formed after this all-comprehensive Idea, and contains in itself in copy all single and partial Ideas is one only." (Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, Book F., § 1, p. 308—309.)

it is no voluntary action. If God were to know the world, he would also know the evil in it, and therewith contract a contaminating knowledge that would debase the knower."*

Regarding the soul, Plato held the doctrine of immortality, and proved it, in his own way, in the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium*, and the *Phædo*.

"According to Plato, the present life is at the same time not only the fruit of an earlier, but also the germ of a later life; and as the present fate of man is decided by his foregone life, so also is his future lot cast by his conduct now."†

According to the Stagyrite, the soul is composed of two parts, the understanding and the reason. The former is a part of matter, and perishes with the individual.

"The really human in the soul, that which has come into being, must also pass away, the understanding even; only the divine reason is immortal; but, as the memory belongs to the sensitive soul, and individual thought depends on the understanding or passive *nous* only, all self-consciousness must cease with death."‡

With an eternal world, a perishable soul, and a God who knows absolutely nothing of mankind, Aristotle, with all his natural sagacity, in spite of his being so advanced in "science," makes more egregious failures in his theological attempts, and is more completely pagan, than the creative Plato, who taught some kind of future bliss, who admitted a world-maker, and a Providence; and who, though he believed in an eternal "*hyle*" still approached much nearer the Christian doctrine of creation out of nothing, than did his stricter and more scientific disciple.§ After all, the mystic intuition of the monk did more here than the scientific analysis and method of the sensual man of the world.

Now, what is the position of the Angelical when compared with such giants as Plato and the Stagyrite?

What was their common object? Truth. In none of them are truths of the intellectual, the divine, and moral world sharply separated. Aristotle was the first to attempt such a division, but he by no means adheres to it in every case. So the *Summa*

* Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, Book V., § 1, p. 335.

† Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, Book V., § 1, p. 319.

‡ Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, Book V., § 1, p. 339.

§ "Aristotle has not troubled himself with questions on God's goodness, justice, freedom, and relation to good and evil in the world, for the most part they have no significance for him. His God is not a really personal one, or is only an imperfect personality. He never comes out of himself, out of his eternal repose, to energize. He is but the term and end of the world's aspiration; not the active cause of the world; on the contrary, complete repose is necessary for God, as well for his dignity's sake as for his blissfulness; for every action upon the world would be a toil to him, even though he held it in his hand." (Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew*, Vol. I., Book V., § 1, p. 336.) But see how the Angelical explains the Stagyrite in an orthodox sense:—"Considerandum est autem quod Philosophus intendit ostendere, quod Deus non intelligit aliud, sed seipsum, inquantum intellectum est perfectio intelligentis, et ejus, quod est intelligere. Manifestum est autem quod nihil aliud sic potest intelligi a Deo, quod sit perfectio intellectus ejus. Nec tamen sequitur quod omnia alia a se sint ei ignota: nam intelligendo se, intelligit omnia alia." (Comment. in XII. Libros Metaphysicorum, Lib. XII., Lect. XI., p. 649, Vol. XX. Ed. Parm.)

Theologica treats, without strict discrimination, of truths in the natural, the moral, and the divine order.*

Did S. Thomas outshine Plato in his synthetical endowments? Compare the *Summa*, as a conception, with the *Dialogues*.† Did Aristotle exceed the Angelical in his analytic gifts? Compare the *Topics* with the Saint's teaching *De Veritate*, or with his treatment on the nature and attributes of God, and it will be difficult to maintain that the Stagyrte surpassed him. How is it then that the Angelical grasps the whole form of truth, whilst the other two have simply seized fragments mixed with error? Because he who scrutinizes the heavens with a glass sees further and more clearly than another equal to him in natural sight, but unassisted by an instrument;‡ whilst the former silently contemplates the object which displays itself steadily before him, the other may be searching about for it in vain. It was in this that the Angelical had a sovereign advantage over the fathers of Grecian thought: he was master of the Divine revelation and tradition of the Church.§ He firmly grasped that Truth which Plato was sweeping the heavens to find, and which the Stagyrte analyzed the world of sense to meet: a truth, indeed, or body of doctrine, which they in their wildest moments did not "dream of in their philosophy," so utterly did it escape their keenest observation.¶

Revelation and tradition, whilst they have to do directly with

* Of course in such a work as the present it is impossible to do much more than point out the leading features of the *Summa Theologica*. To enter minutely into particulars, and analyze the entire work, would take almost as much space as the work itself; for the *Summa* is written with that rigid conciseness that hardly anything could be left out. Like cut stones in a carefully-built temple, the one lies upon and fits into the other so nicely, that were one omitted, the rest would be thrown out of place. If the form repeats itself, the principles which are thrown into the form are not identical, though most strictly related to each other. No work has ever been written containing in so short a space such richness of principle, such variety of argument and objection, or such a compact accumulation of philosophical and religious truth.

† As has been said, no contrast could be greater than the style of the *Summa* and of the *Dialogues*. They seem to point out two men as different in cast of mind as possibly could be. But such, after all, is not the case. The style of the works indeed offers a great contrast, but the Angelical was not writing *himself*, he was writing in the rigid terms of scholastic science. A man who can write a book on algebra or geometry, and is strictly scientific, may, for all that, be gifted with an overflow of the richest imagination, may be a creature of the deepest emotions, a genius of the highest type, and possessed of all those qualities of mind which go to make a great prose-poet. So with the Angelical. His commentary on Job shows his dramatic power; his poems speak of a fund of deepest sympathy; his ecstatic tendency towards contemplation, which was his real life, shows, not the *scholastic*, but what we are now dealing with, the *man*, and that man was essentially Platonic.

‡ "Est autem in his, quæ de Deo confitemur, duplex veritatis modus. Quædam namque vera sunt de Deo, quæ omnem facultatem humane rationis excedunt, ut Deum esse trium et unum. Quædam vero sunt, ad quæ etiam ratio naturalis pertingere potest, sicut est Deum esse, Deum esse unum, et alia hujusmodi; quæ etiam philosophi demonstrative de Deo probaverunt, ducti naturalis lumine rationis. Quod autem sint aliqua intelligibilia divinorum, quæ humane rationis penitus excedant ingenium, evidentissime apparet." (*Contra Gentiles*, Lib. I., Cap. III., p. 2, Vol. V.)

§ How badly off those were who did not possess the Revelation is shown by analogy:—"Idem manifeste apparet ex defectu, quem in rebus cognoscendis quotidie experimur. Rerum enim sensibilibus plurimas proprietates ignoramus, earumque proprietatum, quas sensu apprehendimus, rationem perfecte in pluribus invenire non possumus. Multo igitur amplius illius excellentissime substantiæ, transcendētis, omnia intelligibilia humana ratio investigare non sufficit. Huic etiam consonat dictum Philosophi, qui asserit, quod intellectus noster sic se habet ad prima entium, quæ sunt manifestissima in natura, sicut oculus vespertilionis ad solem." (*Metaphys.*, 2. text. comm. 1.) (*Contra Gentiles*, Lib. I., Cap. III., p. 3, Vol. V.)

¶ *Contra Gentiles*, Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 4, Vol. V.

faith, morality, and the salvation of man's soul, indirectly throw a broad and steady ray upon many fundamental positions of human philosophy. They not only illuminate the heavens, but they also cast their beams upon the earth. Many truths, even of the Old Covenant revelation, were as shining light, if not guiding immediately to philosophic truth, at all events warning from philosophic error.* The coming of Christ, and the giving of the New Law, multiplied the brightness. Our Lord not merely redeemed man, and became his Model, but He threw the light of His humanity on deep problems of natural truth. He rescued man, not alone from hell, but from annihilation through false philosophy: He, in a way, saved the very earth itself, and defended the doctrine of substantial being. How was this accomplished? By the Word becoming *man*. Immediately Christ took flesh, humanity fell under the protection of the infallible exponent of revelation. Heretics attacked the flesh, the will, the intellect, the real existence of the Christ, and the unerring authority had to define these human attributes. He lives in the Sacrament of the Altar and is assailed again; the Voice clear and unwavering speaks once more, and such words as "substance," "accidents," "taste," "space," and "form," receive an illumination, and philosophy receives a help.† In fact, the scheme of man's salvation is so mixed up with man and with the world, that philosophy cannot go far wrong when she does not contradict the Church's teaching. In so far forth as a man admits a revelation, to that extent he accords to S. Thomas an advantage over the philosophers of pagan times.

Bacon says that if we would grasp and understand any particular science, we should not "stand on the level with it, but climb up, as it were, into the watch-tower of some other science," and thus place ourselves in a position to take in all its parts.‡ The difficulty is to find a tower. The Angelical

* Then the intimate connection between right-doing and right-knowing points in the same direction. Surely revelation from without, and grace working within the mind, cannot but impress it in such a way as to make it steadier, stronger, and clearer, even in the investigation of truth which comes within the range of the natural reason. If the mind is comforted in its weakness, and instructed in its ignorance, the result must affect its entire action beneficially. Suarez speaks very clearly of the help of grace for action:—"Hec necessitas (gratie) non provenit ex physica et absoluta liberi arbitrii impotentia, sed ex morali, quæ est debilitas intellectus et voluntatis ad constantem operandum immediate orta ex voluntatis infirmitate, intellectus ignorantia, quia appetitus vehementer propendet ad sensibilia, quæ sensibus propinqua et proportionata fortius illum movent, et quia intellectus tarde remittit et vix assequitur rationes superiores." (*Disputat. Theolog., Tom. I., Tract. II., Lib. II., Cap. XV., sqq.*)

† Without going to the *Summa*. It is sufficient to recall some few of the chapters in the *Contra Gentiles* to be convinced how great an illumination, even in the natural order, the Incarnation of Christ brought about. For instance, *Cap. XXVII.*, De errore Pholoni circa incarnationem; *Cap. XXIX.*, De errore Manichæorum circa incarnationem; *Cap. XXX.*, De errore Valentini circa incarnationem; *Cap. XXXI.*, De errore Apollinaris circa corpus Christi; *Cap. XXXII.*, De errore Arii et Apollinaris circa animam Christi; *Cap. XXXIII.*, De errore Apollinaris dicentis animam rationalem non fuisse in Christo, et de errore Origenis dicentis animam Christi ante mundum fuisse creatam; *Cap. XXXV.*, Contra errorem Eutychetis; *Cap. XXXVII.*, Contra eos qui dixerunt ex anima et corpore non esse aliquid unum constitutum in Christo; *Cap. XXXVIII.*, Contra eos qui ponunt duos hypostases vel duo supposita in una persona Christi. (See *Contra Gentiles*, *Lib. IV., De Incarnatione Dei*, p. 324—336, *Vol. V.*)

‡ Bacon, *De Aug. Scient., Works Vol. I., p. 460.* Ed. 1857.

possessed a high and mighty one—the great science of theology, built upon the infallible Word of God, and established by a Voice of faultless truth.* Besides this, he had the benefit of the discoveries of his predecessors, and the multifarious experiences of the middle age. The Church and the Fathers, as well as the philosophers, had taught, preached, and explored, in their own place, the various elements of divine and human knowledge,† and of these he could and did take full advantage. Plato and Aristotle were the “hewers of wood and the drawers of water” of the Angelical. He simply made use of them. He took their truth, and dropped their error. As revelation corrects the vagaries of sense, and permits all sciences to serve her, but will suffer none to cross her path—so with the Angelical. He followed Plato and Aristotle where they did not clash with the Church, and so far forth as they were useful servants to the higher science; but he parts company with them without remorse when they swerve from the right line of supernatural revelation. He was never puzzled by them, or at a loss; he saw his way clearly. He possessed a guide and an illumination which made him independent of them, whilst he enlisted all the good which they had taught into his own special service.‡ Not that Plato, and specially the Stagyrte, failed to teach the great scholastic many things he would not otherwise have learnt. It might be said that whilst he knew a whole *cosmos* of which they were ignorant, he also possessed a *tessera veritatis* by which to test those things which they appeared to know better than himself. He may have been deceived by them in some things, as certainly he was in many matters physi-

* It is a curious study in human nature to watch rationalistic philosophers, and those who follow Comte, whilst they tirade against the influence of dogma, and show themselves under the influence of it more or less at every step. It is remarkable that men who ought to be able to appreciate the bearings of certain cardinal truths (such as creation, the nature of evil, of sin, of the human soul, and of conscience) on the true happiness of man, and on man's most important actions, should prove themselves so strangely ungrateful to that bright and steady light, which if it does not in the first instance discover them, certainly lends to them a most serviceable illumination.

† There is nothing more remarkable about the mind of the Angelical than its wide and varied information on all matters which had to do with theology and philosophic thought. His knowledge of the pre-Socratic era is very remarkable. His mastery of the systems of Aristotle and Plato is clearly seen in his fourteenth *Opusculum*, “*De Substantiis Separatis*,” where, with great clearness of perception, he draws out their respective tenets, compares them, shows where they agree, and where they are at fault. His knowledge of the Fathers is most marvellous; yet not more so than his complete grasp of Aristotle's logic and metaphysics, and his extraordinary memory for Holy Scripture. He, if any man, had grasped the *scibile* which went before him; he, if any man, had gathered it into one, and thrown into scientific shape the combined teachings of the highest natural and supernatural wisdom.

‡ There is no doubt that the gift of wisdom which the Angelical possessed gave him a light to see the world by, which the pagans did not dream of. All his biographers, and the Popes as well, speak of his illumination through the grace of God. For the wisdom given by the Spirit is practical as well as speculative; he himself explains it thus:—“*Respondeo dicendum, quod, sicut Augustinus dicit in 12 de Trinitate, cap. 14, superior pars rationis sapientie deputatur, inferior autem scientie. Superior autem ratio, ut ipse in eodem lib. (Cap. VII. in fine), dicit, intendit rationibus supernis, scilicet divinis, et conspiciendis, et consulendis; conspiciendis quidem, secundum quod divina in seipsis contemplatur; consulendis autem, secundum quod per divina iudicat de humanis actibus, per divinas regulas dirigens actus humanos.*” (*Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae, Quest. XLV., Art. III., p. 174, Vol. III.*)

cal, but never in those cardinal truths which are connected with God, and with the happiness, progress, and perfectibility of man.

Space does not permit me to cite many examples of the Angelical's superiority, nor are many necessary.* The following, which treats on the theory of ideas, will bring several points of interest clearly before the mind.

The Saint asks, in the *Summa Theologica*, "Whether God has the ideas of everything which He knows?"

"1. With regard to the third Article, this is the way of proceeding. It appears that God has not in Himself the ideas of everything He knows. For the idea of evil is not in God, else it would follow that evil is in God: but evils are known by God; therefore the ideas of everything which God knows are not in God."†

"2. Moreover, God knows things which neither are, nor have been, nor shall be; but there are no ideas of these things, because Dionysius says in the fifth chapter, "*De Divinis Nominibus*," that exemplars [ideas] are the divine volitions by which beings are individualized and produced: therefore the ideas of everything which God knows do not exist in Him."

"3. Moreover, God knows *materia prima* which cannot have its idea, since it has no form: therefore the same conclusion follows."‡

"4. Moreover, it is a fact that God not only knows species but also genera, and singulars, and accidents; but there are no ideas of these according to the position taken up by Plato, who, as S. Augustine says, was the first to bring forward a theory of ideas; therefore God has not the idea of everything which He knows."

"But on the contrary. Ideas are ratios existing in the divine mind, as is evident from Augustine; but God possesses the proper ratios of everything He knows; therefore He possesses the idea of everything He knows."§

"I reply, it must be said that as according to Plato ideas are the principles of the knowledge and of the generation of things, an idea in so far forth as it is in the divine mind, possesses such a two-fold relation. And in so far forth as it is the principle of the making of things, it can be called an exemplar, and belongs to practical knowledge. But, inasmuch as it is the principle of

* It need not be said that to deal fully, or even adequately, with one branch of the Angelical's teaching, a large volume would be required. For instance, his relations with the Jews would make one goodly book; his treatment and correction of the Stagyrite, another; his action on the Greeks, a third; his interpretation of the Fathers, a fourth; his scriptural method of exposition, a fifth, and so on. And were the influence which his teaching has exerted upon those who succeeded him to be fully followed out and explained, it would be difficult to confine the subject-matter within the space of a single volume. Werner's *Dritter Band of his Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Geschichte des Thomismus*, p. 1-876, conveys some kind of idea of the vastness of such a subject.

† *Utrum omnium quæ cognoscit Deus, sint ideæ. Ad tertium sic proceditur. I. Videtur quod non omnium quæ cognoscit Deus, sint ideæ in ipso. Mali enim idea non est in Deo: quia sequeretur malum esse in Deo. Sed mala cognoscuntur a Deo. Ergo non omnium quæ cognoscuntur a Deo, sunt ideæ." (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 71, Vol. I.*)*

‡ "Præterea, Deus cognoscit ea quæ nec sunt, nec erant, nec erunt, ut supra dictum est, art. 9, præc. quæst. Sed horum non sunt ideæ: quia dicit Dionysius (Cap. 4 de div. Nom., non multum remote ante finem), quod *exemplaria sunt divinæ voluntates determinativæ et effectivæ rerum*. Ergo non omnium quæ a Deo cognoscuntur, sunt ideæ in ipso.

§ "Præterea, Deus cognoscit materiam primam, quæ non potest habere ideam, cum nullam habeat formam. Ergo idem quod prius." (*Loc. Cit., p. 71-72.*)

¶ "Præterea constat quod Deus scit non solum species, sed etiam genera, et singularia, et accidentia. Sed horum non sunt ideæ, secundum positionem Platonis qui primus ideam introduxit, ut dicit Augustinus (lib. 83, Quæst., quæst. 46.) Non ergo omnium cognitorum a Deo sunt ideæ in ipso."

"Sed contra ideæ sunt rationes in mente divina existentes, ut per Augustinum patet (in cit. quæst. 46, post med.) Sed omnium quæ cognoscit Deus, habet proprias rationes. Ergo omnium quæ cognoscit, habet ideam." (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.*)

knowledge, it is properly called a ratio, and can also belong to speculative science. Therefore, in so far forth as it is an exemplar it is related to all that God has created within a determinate time. But inasmuch as it is the principle of knowledge, it is related to all things which God knows—though they may never be brought into existence—and to all things which God knows according to their own ratio, and according as they are known by Him in a speculative manner.”*

“To the first, therefore, it is to be said that evil is known by God not by its own ratio but through the ratio of good. And therefore there is no “idea” of evil in God, neither inasmuch as the idea is an exemplar, nor inasmuch as it is a ratio.”†

“To the second it is to be said that God has not a practical, but only a virtual knowledge of those things which neither are, were, nor shall be. Hence with regard to them, there is no idea in God, in so far forth as an idea signifies an exemplar, but only in so far forth as it signifies a ratio.‡

“To the third it is to be said, that, according to some, Plato held that matter was not created, and therefore he did not teach that there is an idea of matter, but that there is a joint-cause of matter. But because we hold that God created matter, though not without a form, matter has its idea in God, but not otherwise than as the idea of something composite. For matter in itself has no being, neither is it knowable.”§

“To the fourth it is to be said, that genera cannot have an idea different from that of species, in so far forth as the idea signifies the exemplar: for no genus exists except in some species. It is the same with accidents, which inseparably accompany a subject, since they are made together with the subject. But the accidents which are superadded to a subject have a special idea. Thus an artizan, in the ‘form’ of a house, includes all the accidents which from the beginning belong to a house. But those which are superadded after the house has been built, like pictures or anything else, he makes according to some other form.¶ But individuals, according to Plato, had no idea belonging to them except the idea of the species: both because singulars are individuated by matter, which he held was uncreated, as some say, and joint-cause of the idea, and because nature is only concerned with species, and only produces particular things, that in them the species may be preserved.

* “Respondeo dicendum, quod cum idæ a Platone ponerentur principia cognitionis rerum et generationis ipsarum, ad utrumque se habet idea, prout in mente divina ponitur. Et secundum quod est principium factionis rerum, exemplar dici potest, et ad practicam cognitionem pertinet: secundum autem quod principium cognoscitivum est, proprie dicitur ratio, et potest etiam ad scientiam speculativam pertinere. Secundum ergo quod exemplar est, secundum hoc se habet ad omnia quæ a Deo fiunt secundum aliquod tempus: secundum vero quod principium cognoscitivum est, se habet ad omnia quæ cognoscuntur a Deo, etiam si nullo tempore fiant; et ad omnia quæ a Deo cognoscuntur secundum propriam rationem, et secundum quod cognoscuntur ab ipso per modum speculationis. (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 72.)

† “Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod malum cognoscitur a Deo non per propriam rationem, sed per rationem boni; et ideo malum non habet in Deo ideam, neque secundum quod idea est exemplar, neque secundum quod est ratio.” (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quest. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.*)

‡ “Ad secundum dicendum, quod eorum quæ neque sunt, neque erunt, neque fuerunt, Deus non habet practicam cognitionem, nisi virtute tantum. Unde respectu eorum non est idea in Deo secundum quod idea significat exemplar, sed solum secundum quod significat rationem.” (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quest. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.*)

§ “Ad tertium dicendum, quod Plato, secundum quosdam, posuit materiam non creatam; et ideo non posuit ideam esse materię sed materię concensam. Sed quia nos ponimus materiam creatam a Deo, non tamen sine forma, habet quidem materia ideam in Deo, non tamen aliam ab idea compositi; nam materia secundum se neque esse habet, neque cognoscibilis est.” (*Ibidem.*)

¶ “Ad quartum dicendum, quod genera non possunt habere ideam aliam ab idea speciei, secundum quod idea significat exemplar; quia nunquam genus fit nisi in aliqua specie. Similiter etiam est de accidentibus quæ inseparabiliter concomitantur subjectum, quia hæc simul fiunt cum subjecto, accidentia autem quæ superveniunt subjecto, speciale ideam habent. Artifex enim per formam domus facit omnia accidentia quæ a principio concomitantur domum; sed ea quæ superveniunt domui jam factæ, ut picture, vel aliquid aliud, facit per aliquam aliam formam.”

But divine providence extends itself not only to the species but also to singulars, as shall be proved below."*

In this Article of the *Summa Theologica* the specialty of the Angelical can be clearly pointed out.† It would be difficult for any question to be more abstruse than that which treats of the operations of the Divine Mind; and on this account his gifts stand all the more prominently forward. The whole subject is handled with a steadiness and security very unlike the tentative efforts of men groping blindly about for truth. The Angelical does not so much propound a theory as state a fact. His position is sufficiently elevated, and his instrument is sufficiently powerful, to give him perfect confidence; and Plato, as well as Aristotle, Algazel, and Averroës, are utilized, modified, and corrected, on behalf of philosophic truth in its bearing on religion.

The form of these Articles—for they are but repetitions as far as frame-work goes—is as near perfection as possible. In it the influence of Socrates is observable. Clear, concise, logical, simple, to the point, there is no room for the rhetoric of the Sophists. The great reform which Socrates introduced into Athens was, by means of language of exquisite precision, to cleanse the mind of vague notions, and in their place to introduce the accuracy of germane knowledge, and by the help of error to elicit truth.‡ What are the four first arguments in this Article but the misty, inaccurate, or false views of obtuse or sophistical enquirers? What are they but such wares as the rhetoricians supplied to the youth of Athens when they would teach them how to make "the worse look like the better part?" And what is the luminous statement of the true position which follows them, together with those four terse, incisive answers, but the genuine result of a truly Socratic mind? I do not say that the

* "Individua vero, secundum Platonem, non habebant aliam ideam quam ideam speciei; tum quia singularia individuantur per materiam, quam ponebat esse increantam, ut quidam dicunt, et concensum ideæ: tum quia intentio naturæ consistit in speciebus, nec particularia producit, nisi ut in eis species salventur. Sed providentia divina non solum se extendit ad species, sed ad singularia, ut infra dicitur, quæst. 22, art. 3." (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV, Art. III, p. 72, Vol. I.*)

† For full information on Aristotle's view of Plato's teaching on ideas, and on the way in which the Angelical commented on him, see *Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Commentaria, Metaphysicorum Lib. I, Lect. XIV, p. 278—281, Vol. III.*; also *Lect. XV, p. 281—290; Lect. XVI, p. 290—293; Lect. XVII, p. 293—296, Vol. XX.* The knowledge of the Saint on the philosophical theories of the ancients comes out with great clearness in his Commentaries on the various works of the Stagyræ. Lenciippus, Pythagoras, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, and Plato are to be met with in the First Book of *Metaphysics* (*Opp. S. Thomæ, Vol. XX, p. 246—293*); and the keen appreciation the Angelical had of their various systems and merits shows the balance, clearness, and judicial calmness of his mind. He appears to have had a divine gift of threading his way without any difficulty through any labyrinth, and of finding the interpretation of the most obscure enunciation. This can only be fully appreciated by studying his works.

‡ In his Prologue to the *Summa Theologica*, the Angelical says that he is aiming at something much the same:—"Consideravi namque hujus doctrine novitatem in his quæ a diversis scriptis sunt plurimum impediti; partim quidem propter multiplicationem inutilium questionum, articulorum et argumentorum; partim etiam quia ea quæ sunt necessaria talibus ad sciendum non traduntur secundum ordinem disciplinæ, sed secundum quod requirebat librorum expositio, vel secundum quod se præbent occasio disputandi; partim quidem quia eorumdem frequens repetitio et fastidium et confusio nem generabat in animis auditorum. Hæc igitur et alia hujusmodi evitare studentes, tentabimus cum confidentia divini auxilii ea quæ ad sacrum doctriinam pertinent breviter ac dilucide prosequi, secundum quod materia patietur." (*Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Prologus, p. 1, Vol. I.*)

form is wholly Socratic, but that the influence of the Socratic mind, in its precision, in its way of dispelling ignorance, in its use of definition, in its getting at the core of truth, is strongly marked in every article of the *Summa Theologica*.

The next point of remark is the generous freedom of the Angelical—evincing his thorough mastery of truth—in adopting not only the terms, but the views of pagan writers; and the exquisite skill by which he knows how to mend, and turn to full account, the theories and teachings of antiquity.* If Plato can serve his purpose he uses Plato: where Aristotle conforms more nearly to the truth, he quotes the great “Philosopher.” In the present instance not only the terminology of S. Augustine, but the words of the Academy, are treated with marked respect, and are adopted. Is not a whole system contained in the terms “*participatio*,” “*rationes*,” “*exemplaria*,” “*ideæ*,” &c.?

The Angelical, through his unbiassed calmness, and divine self-possession, was never warped for one moment by party feeling. He belongs to but one school, the school of Wisdom. He is not a Platonist, nor is he an Aristotelian; he could be neither, yet he is both.† He was as transcendent in his power of adaptation, in knowing what to select and what to reject, in perceiving with the accuracy and readiness of instinct what harmonized with revelation and what did not, as he was in his gift of contemplation and of theological construction. He was quite as clever in choosing the materials as he was in designing and building up the house.

What are his guiding points in the Article in question? The doctrine of “creation,” of which the ancients had no proper notion, and of the nature of “evil” and of “matter;” then the infallible traditionary teaching of the Church concerning the Personality of the Deity, the watchfulness of Providence, the character of the Divine attributes, and the relation of the

* One of the distinguishing marks of the Angelical was, that he did not so much set himself to search out error as to discover truth: when he did pull down, it was simply because without doing so he was unable to build, and even then he pulled down as little as possible. He would prefer to adapt rather than destroy. He had nothing about him of those small minds which experience delight in finding fault, and setting themselves off at the expense of others. He was ever bent on one thing—serving the cause of wisdom, by seeking with a simple eye and a direct aim for truth. Had his tendency been to destroy rather than to create, the *Summa* would never have been written, and the labours of Aristotle, possibly, would never have been so thoroughly brought over to the service of the Church. If modern philosophers made but one tithe of the preparation for teaching mankind which was made by the Angelical, they would effect far more good in their generation than they do at present.

† See how firmly he sat in his position. Speaking of controversy he says:—“Quædam enim disputatio ordinatur ad removendum dubitationem an ita sit: et in tali disputatione theologica maxime intendendum est auctoritatibus, quas recipiunt illi cum quibus disputatur: puta, si cum Judeis disputatur, oportet inducere auctoritates veteris Testamenti; si cum Manicheis, qui vetus testamentum respuunt, oportet uti solum auctoritatibus novi Testamenti; si autem cum schismaticis, qui recipiunt vetus et novum Testamentum, non autem doctrinam Salvatorum nostrorum, sicut sunt Greci, oportet cum eis disputare ex auctoritatibus novi vel veteris Testamenti, et illorum doctorum quos ipsi recipiunt. Si autem nullam auctoritatem recipiunt, oportet ad eos convincendos ad rationes naturales confugere.” (*Quodlibet. IV., Art. XVIII., p. 517, Vol. IX.*)

Creator to the universe. Plato and the pagans were measured by these standards, and were only permitted to assist in building up the temple when their views harmonized with the general design. If Christianity is true, what greater benefit could philosophy desire than to have its crooked ways straightened by the power of revelation? No man but an infidel would affirm that the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato is nearer truth than that of the Angelical.* Where he touches their teaching he does not mar, but mend, for he was guided by a stronger and steadier light than the greatest sage amongst them. A vivid perception of the supernatural system, and a life passed in the Unseen World, gave to the Angelical a vantage-ground and a vision unknown in all antiquity.

Even in this brief Article he steadily confronts the errors of Plato and Aristotle, of Algazel, Averroës, and the Arabian commentators.

The "eternal gods" of Plato become the "*exemplaria*" and "*rationes*," which are one in essence with the Divine Substance, and according to which things are known by God and are created.†

The "eternal matter" or "*hyle*" of the Academy is done away with altogether, for "matter in itself has no being, neither is it knowable."

The god of Aristotle, who would be "contaminated" by knowing evil, and therefore cannot know the world, and who is a perfect *Cretin*, becomes a Lord and Master who does know evil, and yet receives no stain, knowing it indirectly through His idea of good; whilst the helpless divinity who "cannot descend to particular beings," is an omniscient Creator who watches over His creatures by a special Providence, and has a knowledge of every created thing.

* What could be more constructive than the way in which the Angelical saw his way to harmonize Plato and Aristotle, and make them both serve in proof of the existence of Almighty God. The passage is the following. To realize the fineness (*Anezza*) of the Angelical's mind, and its keenness, the reader must study the passage with Plato's *Laws* open before him, and Aristotle's *Physics*. "Sciendum autem quod Plato, qui posuit omne movens moveri, communis accepit nomen *motus* quam Aristoteles. Aristoteles enim proprie accipit motum, secundum quod est actus existentis in potentia secundum quod huiusmodi, qualiter non est nisi divisibilem et corporum. Secundum Platonem autem, movens seipsum non est corpus. Accipiebat enim motum pro qualibet operatione, ita quod intelligere et operari sit quoddam moveri; quem etiam modum loquendi Aristoteles tangit. Secundum hoc ergo dicebat Plato primum movens seipsum movere quod intelligit se et vult vel amat se; quod in aliquo non repugnat rationibus Aristotelis. Nihil enim differt devenire ad aliquod primum quod moveat se secundum Platonem, et devenire ad primum quod omnino sit immobile, secundum Aristotelem." (*Contra Gentiles*, Lib. I., Cap. XIII., p. 9, Vol. V.)

† It is, after all, very doubtful whether Plato really held in his own mind the doctrine attributed to him of the independent and separate existence of "ideas." Aristotle, there is no doubt, takes for granted that such was his view, and combats it as such with great vigour in his *Metaphysics*. But the Stagyrice can hardly be trusted as a fair exponent of his master's teaching. It is true that Plato did call the ideas "eternal gods," but then he appears to have been speaking rhetorically; and in other places he subsumes them under "the Good." Anyhow, this can be said with truth, that Plato, by the vagueness of his expressions, and by his poetical style, has opened himself to the charge of having taught the doctrine vulgarly put down to him.

Regarding the Arabians, Avicenna's eternal world is proved away.* Avepace's "separate forms" are repudiated;† whilst the whole *rationale* of the *Summa* strikes straight against the method of Averroës, who prefers philosophy to the *dicta* of faith, teaches the "eternity of matter," denies the Providence of God, and His divine knowledge of individual existences.‡

This was one of the master-works of the Angelical, to remove the Greek and Arabian confusion regarding the relations of God and man, by establishing the creative act, by treating with scientific precision of the nature, attributes, and operations of the Creator, and of the conditions of human existence and human knowledge. How murky and misty are not the theology and philosophy of the most cultured of the Greeks compared with the splendid and luminous creation of the *Summa Theologica*!

* See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p. 157.

† See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p. 158.

‡ See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p. 161—166.

CHAPTER VIII.

S. THOMAS AND REASON.

HAD not the Angelical thoroughly mastered the teachings of the Stagyrite, he never could have displayed so great a command in dealing with Greek philosophy. He was profoundly convinced that no lasting work could be effected without taking complete possession of the most sagacious and scientific thinker of antiquity.* He was well aware of the poisonous influences which had been brought into the Paris University through Eastern commentaries and paraphrases of the works of Aristotle. Albertus Magnus had done much, but he had not done everything. The Oriental mind, with its pantheistic tendencies, with its sceptical or rationalistic bearing, with its mystic dreamings and dangerous asceticism, could not thoroughly be confronted without striking at the very root from which its errors chiefly sprang. As long as perilous tenets were brought forward on the authority of the "Philosopher," it was excessively difficult to meet them.† No writer could be

* The following *Opuscula*, which have been attributed to the Angelical, and which most probably are compilations from his larger works, are well worth consulting:—*Opusc. XLIV.*—De Totius Logice Aristotelis Summa, seu de Predicabilibus, de Predicamentis, de Enumeratione, de Syllogismis et de Demonstratione, p. 50—118; *Opusc. XXXVIII.*—De Natura Accidentis, p. 5—7; *Opusc. XXXIX.*—De Natura Generis, p. 8—26, Vol. XVII.; *Opusc. XXXIII.*—De Quatuor Oppositis, p. 367—374; *Opusc. XXXVI.*—De Propositionibus Modalibus, p. 388—389, Vol. XVI.; *Opusc. XLIII.*—p. 50—53; *Opusc. XLVI.*—De Inventione Medii, p. 118—121, Vol. XVII.; *Opusc. XXXIV.*—De Demonstratione, p. 375—376; *Opusc. XXIV.*—De Fato, p. 321—327, Vol. XVI. The authenticity of all the above *Opuscula* is doubtful, except *Opusc. XXXIII.*, and *Opusc. XXXVI.* Then besides the Commentaries of the Angelical on Aristotle's philosophy, we have many independent studies, some held to be authentic, others of doubtful origin. The authentic ones are:—*Opusc. XXVII.*—De Principiis Naturæ, ad Fra. Sylvestrum, p. 338—342; *Opusc. XXV.*—De Principio Individuationis, p. 328—329; *Opusc. XXIX.*—De Mixtione Elementorum, ad Magistrum Philippum, p. 353—354; *Opusc. XXX.*—De Occultis Operibus Naturæ, p. 355—357; *Opusc. XXXI.*—De Motu Cordis, ad Magistrum Philippum, p. 358—360; *Opusc. XXXII.*—De Instantibus, p. 361—366; *Opusc. XXIII.*—De Æternitate Mundi (contra murmurantes), p. 318—320; *Opusc. XXXV.*—De Fallacis (ad quosdam nobiles Artistas), p. 377—387; *Opusc. XXII.*—De Astrorum Judiciis, ad Fra. Reginaldum, p. 317, Vol. XVI.

These are doubtful, or spurious:—*Opusc. XXVIII.*—De Natura Materie et Dimensionibus Interminatis, p. 343—352; *Opusc. XL.*—De Potentia Animæ, p. 27—34, Vol. XVI.; *Opusc. XLI.*—De Tempore, p. 35—40; *Opusc. XLII.*—De Pluralitate Formarum, p. 41—49; *Opusc. XLV.*—De Sensu Respectu Singularium, et Intellectu Respectu Universalium, p. 118; *Opusc. XLVII.*—De Natura Luminis, p. 120—121; *Opusc. XLVIII.*—De Natura Locis, p. 122—125, Vol. XVII.

† After speaking of the various evils produced by Pagan philosophy, Touron continues:—"C'est à tous ces maux que l'Âge de l'École chercha un nouveau remède: il crut (et il avoit raison de le croire) qu'il rendroit un service important à toute l'Église, si par son travail il ôtoit à ses ennemis les armes, dont ils s'étoient longtems servis, et dont ils se servaient encore

cited on the other side who was equally revered; indeed, the very name of the master of Grecian thought was almost enough to secure respect for any doctrine, independent of its intrinsic conformity to the principles of sound reason. The Angelical, with his keen intelligence, perceived at once that the authority of the Stagyrte was a power in itself—that with a certain alloy of error, there was a fund of truth in his philosophy, that many of his writings had been tampered with dishonestly, and that not a few of the heresies attributed to him were in reality fathered upon him through the unfairness, misconceptions, or prejudice of Jewish or Oriental commentators. He saw distinctly that in more cases than can be mentioned, the points of difference between the Stagyrte and the tradition of the Scriptures could, without much difficulty, if treated in a conciliatory spirit, be harmonized; and that if the tendency of the commentator was to bring Greek philosophy into unison with Catholic teaching, and not to widen the breach as far as possible, then, instead of the Stagyrte being found to be an enemy to the doctrines of the Church, in many instances he would show himself their invaluable champion.*

Thus in all his writings the Angelical speaks with the profoundest reverence of the "Philosopher;" whenever an opportunity offers, he explains difficult passages of his writings in a Christian sense, whilst he uncompromisingly condemns them when he finds that they directly jar with the traditionary teaching of the Church.

There is something giant in all the Angelical's undertakings.† His wide, various, and accurate acquaintance with the great Latin and Greek classic fathers has been alluded to already; his incomparable mastery over the Sacred text, and his minute

pour la combattre. Le dessein étoit digne d'un Docteur Catholique: mais le zèle, et les lumières de saint Thomas le condamnèrent encore plus loin. Pen satisfait de désarmer l'ennemi; il tourna contre lui ses propres armes: il entreprit de faire servir à la défense, on à la preuve-même de la vérité, ce qui n'avoit été employé jusqu'alors par plusieurs, qu'à obscurcir toutes les vérités, et à faire regner à leur place le mensonge, et l'erreur." (*Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., p. 395.*)

* One of the most dangerous and fundamental errors which the Angelical combated, was contained in the proposition, that what was theologically true might be philosophically false, and what was philosophically false might be theologically true. "Wer die Schriften der Scholastiker liest, der wird gar häufig der Formel begegnen: 'es sei etwas wahr oder könne hingehen in der Philosophie und Theologie [Alb. Mag. *Summ. Theolog.*, p. 2, tr. 12, qu. 72, m. 4, art. 3. 'Procedunt secundum fidem catholicam et secundum philosophiam]: oder: 'es verstosse ein Satz sowohl gegen die Principien der Philosophie, als auch gegen den Glaubensinhalt [S. Thom. *De unit. intell. contr. Averroistas*, p. 47]. (im Anhange zur Ausg. der *Summa contr. gent.* Nemansi 1853.) 'Intendimus autem probare, positionem predictam (de unitate intellectus) non minus contra philosophia principia esse, quam contra fidei documenta]: oder: 'es sei etwas irrthümlich nach der Philosophie, und häretisch nach dem Glauben.'" (Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abt.*, § 3, p. 11.)

† "Les ouvrages philosophiques de Saint Thomas se sont trouvés, pendant cinq siècles, entre les mains de tous les régentes de l'école, et ils ont été tant de fois imprimés pour leur usage, qu'on nous épargnera le soin de dresser la liste des éditions séparées qui en ont été faites: il nous suffira d'indiquer ici les quatre éditions des Œuvres complètes, publiées, la première, à Rome, en 1570, en 18 volumes in-folio; la seconde, à Venise, en 1594; la troisième, à Anvers, en 1642; la quatrième, à Paris, en 1660." (Haureau, *De la Philosophie Scholastique. Tom. II., Chap. XX., p. 107.*)

and detailed knowledge of the inspired writers, must already have deeply struck the reader's mind—his preparation, in one word, in the study of tradition and Scripture, for his crowning work, could hardly have been more full or more complete. His third great study of reason, or philosophy, is in keeping in its thoroughness with his labours on the elements of theological truth. In his prison at S. Giovanni the Saint not only read the Scriptures and the Lombard, but he also earnestly applied himself to certain writings of the Stagyrite. His vast and profound Commentary on Aristotle's principal works is but the full flower of that bud which germinated then. Perhaps, in the whole range of the writings of the Angelical, these labours on the Greek philosopher exhibit more brain power, more force of logic, more piercing vision, more indefatigable industry, and more devotedness to the one object of his life, than all the others put together. There is no mental fatigue equal to that of grasping and then expanding, of correcting and then harmonizing, the metaphysical or moral teachings of a really master-intellect.* Bright must have been the light of truth in the Angelic's mind, to have led him safe through the labyrinths and mazes of the Peripatetic teaching.

The Saint felt it would be useless to undertake the labour of a new Commentary, if he were obliged to content himself with the vitiated text which satisfied his less systematic predecessors.† / Albertus Magnus had introduced him to the full value of Aristotle's writings, but even Albert, when commenting on the *Physics*, "*De Proprietatibus Elementorum*," "*De Cælo et*

* How highly the Angelical's philosophical works were prized by the Doctors of the Paris University, is evident from the anxiety manifested at his death to secure even such portions as were imperfect. "Supplicamus," they say, "ut cum quedam ad Philosophiam spectantia, Parisiis inchoata ab eo, relicta sint imperfecta, et ipsam credamus, ubi translatus fuerat, complevisse, nobis benevolentia vestra cito communicari procuraretis." (Vid. Touron, *Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. IV., Chap. VII., p. 398.)

† "Unter den neueren Gelehrten hat zuerst Jourdain Thomas' Commentare, über welche Buhle (in dem ersten einleitenden Bande der Bipontiner Ausgabe des Aristoteles a. 346) ziemlich oberflächlich urtheilt, genauer durchstudirt, und eine Anzahl von Stellen namhaft gemacht, aus welchen hervorgeht, dass Thomas in jedem seiner Commentare neue griechisch-lateinische Uebersetzungen zu Rathe zog. Wir lassen diese Stellen, um die eine oder andere unachtzählige vermehrt, hier folgen. In dem Commentare über das Werk *De Interpretatione* macht er gleich zu den Anfangsworten: 'Primum oportet constinere, etc.' die Bemerkung: 'In Greco habetur: Primum oportet poni.' In Lect. 5 zu den Worten: 'Quare si hic quidem dicat futurum aliquid,' die Glosse: 'In griechischen heisse es 'si itaque hic quidem.' Im Buch II., Lect. 2: 'Dico autem, quoniam,' etc. Hierzu die Glosse: 'Alia littera habetur: Dico autem, quoniam est, aut homini aut non homini adiacebit.' Alle diese Lesarten gehören zu der Uebersetzung, welche den Commentar des Ammonius begleitet (*Manusc. Lat. Sorbonne*, 1775.) Im Commentar zu *Anad. Post.* kommen in Texte I., lect. 6 folgende Worte vor: 'Non potest autem credere magis que seipsum contingant.' Thomas bemerkt: 'In Greco plinius habetur sic: Non est autem possibile, credere magis his, que novit, qui non existit, nec sciens neque melius dispositus, quam si contingeret sciens.' Im Commentar über die Physik gegen Ende des fünften Buches, sagt Thomas: 'Ponit quedam ad manifestationem preambolorum, que tamen in exemplaribus grecis dicuntur non haberi, et Commentator (Averroës) etiam dicit, quod in quibusdam exemplaribus arabici non habentur: unde magis videntur esse assumpta de dictis Theophrasti vel aliquibus alterius expositoris Aristotelis. . . . Secundum est, quod alia littera invenitur in hoc loco, que sic dicit: Quod querat aliqua, utrum motui extra naturam contrarietur aliqua quies non secundum naturam; non quod quies, que est contra naturam, opponitur motui, qui est contra naturam proprie.' Diese letztere Lesart—bemerkt Jourdain a. a. O. S. 359—ist nicht die der arabisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung, und muss aus einer griechisch-lateinischen entnommen sein." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 407.)

Mundo," and "*De Meteoris*," had satisfied himself with a miserable translation—with a faulty Latin version of the Arabic, which had already been rendered from a still more faulty version of the Greek.* This did not satisfy the accurate intellect of a man who was bent on achieving a work of lasting value. A good translation directly from the Greek would simplify many difficulties, would sweep away many errors, and would have a chance of reproducing the author's mind; a version was consequently made for the Angelical's special use. How keenly he appreciated the minutest variation of expression, comes out again and again in his Expositions. He is never wearied of collating one rendering with another, and of comparing the ordinary text from the Hebrew with what he finds in the various "*exemplaria*" from the Greek. It is clearly evident that whilst writing his Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, he must have had several different Greek copies lying open on his table. What greater work could genius undertake, than to grasp, purify, and Catholicize the most sagacious and masterly mind of the most gifted people of the world!

No philosophical training could have been more perfect, or more complete, than that of the Angelical.† He wrote many valuable *Opuscula* on matters relating to logic, physics, and various branches of philosophy; but his master-pieces are his *Commentaria* on the principal metaphysical and physical labours of the Stagyrte. They fill four volumes of the Parma edition, occupy about two thousand four hundred pages, and in

* See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VII., p. —.

† His keenness regarding the Greek translation, &c., is still more evident here:—"Im Buch VI., lect. 3. bemerkt er zu den in der lateinischen Uebersetzung erhaltenen griechischen Ausdrücken 'sphatesis' und 'cercisis': 'Sphatesis est pulsio et cercisis est attractio. Spati enim in graeco dicitur esse ensis vel spatia; unde sphatesis idem est quod spatulio i. e. percussio, quae fit pellido. Et ideo alia litera, quae habet, speculatio, videtur esse vitio scriptoris corrupta, quia pro spatulatione posuit speculationem . . . Est autem cercis in Graeco quoddam instrumentum, quo utuntur textores, quod ad se trahunt texendo, quod latine dicitur radius: unde alia litera habet radiatio.' Hinsichtlich des Werkes '*de caelo et mundo*' bemerkt Thomas, der Erste unter allen Erklärern: 'Apud Graecos intitulatur de mundo.' Diess konnte er nur aus einem griechischen Texte wissen; von der Kenntniss eines solchen zeugt seine Erklärung der griechischen Ausdrücke 'ethein, enchyridia, syntagmatica, aëroamatica, philosophismata, theothoma amphitrios'; eben so sind die Ausdrücke 'iuyria, astragalos facere' aus der griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung entnommen. Im B. II., l. 21 wird sorgfältig erörtert, ob in der Stelle: 'Quidam autem et positum in centro dicitur ipsam (terram) moveri' das Wort '*moveri*' dem griechischen '*illecto*' (eigentlich *ελεειναι*) entspreche; es könnte, je nach verschiedenen Lesarten, auch '*alligari*' oder '*prohiberi*' gelesen werden müssen. Im B. II., l. 16 wird einer griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung der '*Syntaxis*' des Ptolemäus gedacht, und demzufolge auch Hipparch, welchen Albert. Roger Baco n. A. nur unter dem nach arabischen Uebersetzungen gangbaren Namen Abraxis kennen, bei seinem rechten Namen genannt. In den Commentaren über die Bücher '*de Meteoris*' finden sich statt der von Albertus aufgenommenen arabischen Ausdrücke nur griechische, als: '*phlutaana, syngeneia, dali, egos, bothin, cauma, pogonias, sphoratisis, stelle, rheumatism*' n. s. w. Des Hippokrates Schüler Äschylus und Poutus erscheinen unter ihren wahren Namen. Dass Thomas bei Erklärung der Bücher '*de anima*' eine griechisch-lateinische Version vor sich hatte, ist aus seiner Glosse über einen von Aristoteles der *Odyssee* entnommenen Vers: '*Talis est meus*' zu sehen. Er sagt nämlich: '*Sciendum est autem, quod hunc versum Homer. Aristoteles non totum posuit, sed solum principium. Unde nec in Graeco, nec in Arabico plus habetur, quam hic*'. Weiters wird noch erwähnt, dass Boethius den ganzen Vers in seine Uebersetzung aufgenommen habe. Der Commentar über die *Metaphysik* enthält sehr viele Varianten aus griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzungen, deren Thomas stellenweise drei häufig wenigstens zwei vor sich hatte, z. B. B. I., l. 4 s. 6, 7; II., l. 11; III., l. 8, 11; IV., l. 7, 8, 9, 12; V., l. 22; VII., 17. Nach dem siebenten Buche findet sich keine Spur von Benutzung zweier Uebersetzungen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 406.)

reality contain the subject-matter of the greater portion of his smaller *Opuscula* and brochures.

In these four volumes the Angel of the Schools cuts the ground from under the Eastern and Jewish commentators, and hands over Aristotle to the uses of the schools, purified of paganism, divested of Oriental colouring, Christianized from end to end, and conveying the true meaning of their author. Such was the philosophical apprenticeship which our Saint went through, of his own accord, as a preparation for writing the great *Summa Theologica*. A brief detailed account of his principal Commentaries will not be unacceptable.

The Exposition on the "*De Interpretatione*," or the "*Perihermenias*," does not extend beyond a hundred pages. The text is broken up into a certain number of divisions, and each of them is expounded in turn by the Angelical. His main scope is to make the sense of the author clear by means of analysis, illustration, and development. Boethius is often quoted, whilst Andronicus, Alexander, and Porphyry are referred to, either to elucidate the meaning, to give it an authority, or as vouchers to a certain method of interpretation. The object of the treatise is to show the logical value of words and of propositions.*

The same gift of seeing likenesses which the Angelical displays in his treatment of Scripture is manifested also in his Commentaries on the Stagyrice. He appears to possess quite as great a mastery over the voluminous writings of Aristotle as over the teachings of antiquity and the Sacred text, and is continually explaining one portion of the philosopher's disquisitions by more explicit statements drawn from his various works. Even in the short *Opusculum* before us he displays a familiar acquaintance with Andronicus, Theophrastus,† Ammonius,‡ Diodorus,§ John the Grammarian,|| Algazel,¶ and Alexander.

Throughout his Commentaries the Saint proves himself to be a

* The Angelical explains it somewhat in this way. The Philosopher says in his third book on the soul, that the operations of the intellect are two-fold; by one of which the essence of a thing in itself is apprehended; by the other the intellect brings together, or separates, those things which it has before it. And there is a third operation, to wit, reasoning; and by this the reason advances from known things to the discovery of the unknown. These three are related to each other. There can be no comparing together or separating without simple apprehensions; and in the second place, the intellect proceeds from that to which it gives its consent, toward acquiring certainty about things of which it is ignorant. But since logic is a rational science it has to do with the above three operations of reason. Regarding the first, those things that are simply apprehended, Aristotle treats in his book of *Predicaments*. With respect to the second, namely, the affirmative and negative enunciation, he treats of that in his *Perihermenias*. The third operation is discussed in the *Liber Priorum*, and in those succeeding it, in which the syllogism and the various species of argumentation are treated of. The book of *Predicaments* leads to *De Interpretatione*, and this to the *Liber Priorum* and to those that follow it. (*Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinatis in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Commentaria, De Interpretatione, Lect. I., p. 1, Vol. XVIII.*)

† See S. Thomæ Aquinatis in *Aristotelis Stagiritæ Libros Commentaria, De Interpretatione, Lib. II., Lect. II., p. 41.*

‡ *Ibidem.*

|| *Loc. Cit., Lib. I., Lect. VI., p. 13.*

§ *Loc. Cit., Lib. II., Lect. XIV., p. 34.*

¶ *Loc. Cit., Lib. I., Lect. VIII., p. 18.*

steady supporter of the doctrines of the Stagyrite, in opposition to the less substantial teachings of the Academy.*

Aristotle has hardly written a work of greater importance than the *Posterior Analytics*, if we regard his influence on the opinions of the middle ages. It forms one of those great fountains of learning from which Christian philosophers so freely drew, and which acted with such powerful effect upon the whole method of their philosophical speculations.

What object had the Stagyrite in view when writing this work? Nothing less than a treatise on demonstration, on the first principles of knowledge, and on that frame-work upon which science ought to rest. It is on this fundamental question that Aristotle parts company with Plato. Whilst the latter confuses demonstration with order in the realm of fact, the former draws a sharp line between proofs of fact and proofs of speculation. The Platonic doctrine of reminiscence melts into air when brought into contact with the theory of the Stagyrite. Aristotle shows how all demonstration implies certain principles, which are elicited from generalizations which are the product of careful observation.

The *Posterior Analytics*, with the Thomistic Commentary, consist of two books;† the first divided into forty-four *Lec-*

* See S. Thomæ Aquinatis in *Aristotelis Stagiritæ Libros Commentaria, Posteriorum Analyticorum Lib. I., Lect. II., p. 4; Lib. I., Lect. VI., p. 14; Lib. I., Lect. X., p. 23; Lib. I., Lect. XIX., p. 118; Lib. I., Lect. XXX., p. 141; Lib. I., Lect. XXXII., p. 149; Lib. II., Lect. III., p. 187; De Physico Auditu, Lib. II., Lect. III., p. 266; Lib. III., Lect. XI., p. 313; Lib. IV., Lect. III., p. 328; Lib. VII., Lect. VI., p. 460; Lib. VII., Lect. VIII., p. 467.*

† The Angelical, as is usual with him, at once hits on the logical sequence in the writings of Aristotle. He says that the parts of logic are divided according to the different acts of the reason. Reason has three acts, of which the two first are of the reason in its intellectual capacity; for one act of the intellect consists in the intelligence of indivisible or simple things, according to which it conceives what a thing is. This operation is called by some information of the intellect, or of the imagination by means of the intellect. The teaching of Aristotle in the book of *Predicaments* has reference to this operation. The second operation of the intellect is the composition or division of the subject in which truth or falsity lies; and with regard to this act of the reason Aristotle wrote his work "*Perihermentas*." The third act of the reason is that which specially belongs to the reason itself, namely, the proceeding from one thing to another, so that through that which is known the mind may come to a knowledge of what is unknown; and the rest of the books upon logic treat upon this subject.

Now, there are three acts of the reason. There is a certain process of the reason producing necessity, in which truth cannot possibly be deficient, and by this process the certainty of science is acquired; there is another process of the reason which elicits truth from many things, but not necessarily; and there is a third process, in which reason defects from the truth on account of the deficiency of some principle which ought to have been observed in the process itself.

That part of logic which has to do with the first is called the *judicative* portion, because the judgment possesses the certainty of science. And because there can be no certain judgment elicited without resolving the subject-matter into its first principles, this part is called *analytical*, or *resolutive*. Now the certainty of judgment which is got at by analysis proceeds either from the form itself of the syllogism—and to this end the *Prior Analytics* were written, which treat of the syllogism simply,—or from the subject-matter as well, when the propositions are taken *per se*, and are necessary; and to this end the *Posterior Analytics* were written, which explain the *demonstrative* syllogism. The second process of reason is treated of in that portion of logic which is called *inventive*—for discovery is not always accompanied by certainty. *Topics* or *Dialectics* leave to do with that position of the reason which holds one out of many contradictory propositions, but with fear of the opposite, for the *dialectical* syllogism has to do with probabilities, and Aristotle treats of this in his book of *Topics*. When the mind is merely possessed by a suspicion, and neither inclines altogether to one side or the other, though its tendency is more towards one than the other, then *Rhetoric* comes in its place. When the mind is moved on one side by some representation, as a man would be turned with disgust from food, for example, if it were presented to him in some abominable shape, then *Poetics* find place. To the third process of reason belongs that part of logic called *Sophistry*, which Aristotle treats of in his *Liber Elemeorum*. Having explained the bearing of the logical works of Aristotle upon each other—and thus manifesting the pains he had taken to master them,—the Angelical, with his usual lucidity, shows the object of these *demonstrative* syllogisms; and

tiones, the second into twenty. They treat upon the essence of demonstration, its conditions, kinds, and upon the most apt and useful figure into which it can be thrown; then on the various forms of ignorance, on the terms of demonstrative propositions, on the different sorts of demonstration with their relations to one another, on the relation of science to certainty, sense, and opinion, and on the fundamental principles of syllogistic reasoning.

Take, as a specimen of the Angelical's treatment, the question of reminiscence, which was one of the favourite doctrines of the Platonists:—

In demonstrations, says Aristotle, principles bear the same relation to their conclusions, as active causes in the natural order bear to their effects. Hence, in the second book of *Physics*, the propositions of a syllogism come under the denomination of efficient cause. Before an effect is produced in act, it exists in the active causes virtually, but not actually; and in the same way, before a conclusion is deduced from demonstrative principles it is virtually, not actually, known in the principles themselves.

Thus a certain doubt is solved which Plato introduced into his *Mennon*. Plato there gives the example of a man altogether ignorant of the art of geometry.* This man is asked questions, beginning from principles that are self-evident, and from which geometrical conclusions follow. To all these questions this man, ignorant of geometry, gives the right answer, from the first principles down to the last conclusion. From this Plato would have it follow, that those who appear ignorant of certain arts, in reality possess a knowledge of them even before they have been instructed in them. With regard to this argument, says the Angelical, Aristotle makes four remarks. First, that the above doubt cannot be solved without admitting that the conclusion arrived at by demonstration or induction was foreknown, not absolutely, but virtually, in those principles to which the man was capable of answering. According to Plato, the conclusion was absolutely (*simpliciter*) foreknown; so that the man learnt nothing new at all, but simply remembered something old. Anaxagoras taught a similar doctrine regarding natural forms, namely, that they absolutely existed in matter before generation; but Aristotle held that they pre-existed *in potentia*, and not absolutely. Secondly, Aristotle replies to those who maintain that a conclusion can in no way be known anterior to the demonstration of it. Then he proves their position to be false; and finally offers the true solution. He says there

since what he says on this point lets a great light into the general bearing of the work in hand, no apology will be necessary for bringing it before the reader. The end of the *demonstrative* syllogism, he says, is the acquisition of science. Plato taught that the syllogism does not cause science in us, but maintained that it is produced by the impression of ideal forms in our souls; and that from these, natural forms flow into natural things, which he held to be certain participations of forms separated from matter and that therefore natural agents do not produce forms in inferior things, but do no more than prepare matter for participating in separate forms. And in like manner he maintained that science is not caused in us by study and exercise, but simply that impediments are removed, and that man is, as it were, brought back to the remembrance of those things which he naturally knows, through the impression of separate forms. But Aristotle holds a different opinion on both points. He shows that natural forms are reduced to act by the forms which are in matter, that is to say, by the forms of natural agents; and in like manner he maintains that knowledge is produced in us in act by the agency of a certain knowledge pre-existing in us, and this is the way in which knowledge is produced in us by means of syllogism or of any kind of argument. (*Post. Anal.*, Lib. I., Lect. I., p. 85, Vol. XVIII.)

* This pre-existing knowledge of which Aristotle and the Angelical speaks is treated of in a very interesting manner in the third *lectio*. (*Post. Anal.*, Lect. III., p. 88—89, Vol. XVIII.)

is nothing to prevent a person in one sense foreknowing, and in another not foreknowing something which he at present learns. There is nothing strange in a man foreknowing, in a certain sense, that which he afterwards learns: but this would be strange, for him to foreknow a thing in the same sense in which he afterwards acquires a knowledge of it. Strictly speaking, to learn, means for science to be generated in a man; but that which is generated was not altogether being before generation, but only in a certain sense being, and in a certain sense not being—being, that is *in potentia*, but not being, *in act*. Now, to generate, is to realize *potentia* in act. Hence what a man learns was not altogether known beforehand, as Plato maintained, nor yet altogether unknown: but it was known *in potentia*, or virtually, in the fore-known universal principles, but unknown actually in the proper sense of the word. To learn, therefore, is this: to reduce potential, or virtual, or universal knowledge, to specific and actual knowledge.*

What is the subject-matter of demonstration?

Since demonstration and definition have to do with eternal things, and not with corruptible things, Plato was forced to maintain the doctrine of ideas. Since sensible things are corruptible, it seemed that they could neither be demonstrated nor defined; and so it appeared necessary to affirm the existence of certain incorruptible substances which could be demonstrated and defined, and these eternal substances he calls species or ideas. This view occurred to Aristotle when he said that corruptible things cannot be demonstrated except *per accidens*. For although sensible things are corruptible in particular, still they possess a certain eternity in the universal. So since sensible things are demonstrated universally, and not in particular, it follows that corruptible things are demonstrated only *per accidens*, and eternal things *per se*†

But how is this science acquired?

There is a two-fold method of acquiring science: one by means of demonstration, and another by means of induction. But there is a difference between these: for demonstration proceeds from universals, whilst induction proceeds from particulars. If the universals from which demonstration proceeds can be known without induction, it follows that man can have knowledge independent of the senses. But without induction it is impossible to get at universals; and this is still more manifest in sensible things, for through our particular experience of them we arrive at universal knowledge, as is manifest in the first book of *Metaphysics*. Then the Angelical proceeds to show that abstract knowledge depends upon induction. Those things which are spoken of in the abstract sense are also known by induction, for in all abstraction there are some particulars which are inseparable from sensible matter. Although a line in the abstract is called a line in common, still the line, which is in sensible matter, in so far forth as it is individualized, cannot be abstracted, for its individualization depends on this particular matter. The principles of abstract things are only manifested to us by means of certain individuals which we perceive with our senses; for instance, from seeing some individual sensible entity we are led to know what a whole is, and what a part; and we know that every whole is greater than its part, by considering the fact in many instances. And thus the universals from which

* Vid. Comment. in Post. Anal., Lect. III., p. 89, Vol. XVIII.

† Vid. Comment. in Post. Anal., Lib. I., Lect. XVI., p. 113, Vol. XVIII.

demonstration proceeds are only known to us through induction. No demonstration can be made from universals without induction; nor can anything be known by induction without the senses, which are concerned with the individuals from which induction proceeds. Thus two things are excluded. The position of Plato, who affirmed that we have knowledge of things by means of species or ideas; for if this were true we should know universals apart from induction, and thus we could acquire knowledge independent of the senses. Hence Aristotle uses this argument against Plato at the end of the first book of *Metaphysics*. The second position maintains that we can know separate substances in this life from understanding their *quiddities*, a knowledge which cannot be acquired in any way by sensible experiences. If the essences of objects could thus be apprehended, it would follow that some objects could be known without induction and sensation, which the philosopher here denies even of abstract things.*

But what does demonstration add to the syllogism?

Demonstration adds science to the syllogism. Intellection is compared to science as the indivisible to multitude, for science is a process from principles to conclusions, while intellection is an absolute and simple acceptance of principles known in themselves. Hence intellection corresponds to the immediate proposition, and science to the conclusion, which is the mediate proposition.†

How do we know the common and first principles of demonstration?

The habits of principles do not exist in us, says the Angelical on the Stagyrte, in a determinate and complete manner, nor are they created anew by certain better known pre-existing habits—as the habit of science is generated in us by the foreknowledge of principles, but the habits of principles are in us *a sensu preexistente*. Aristotle gives as an example of his meaning the case of an army put to flight returning to the charge. When one soldier begins to stand another joins him, and then another, until a sufficient number is collected to begin the contest anew. So with sense and memory—one thing is added to another, till at length that point is arrived at when art or science begins. Some might think that sense or memory of individual things alone suffices to cause an intelligible knowledge of principles—as some of the ancients held,—not distinguishing between sense and intellect. To exclude this view the Philosopher added that, together with sense, such a soul must be supposed as is susceptible of universal knowledge through the instrumentality of the passive intellect, and so, that this knowledge be created by the operation of the active intellect, which realizes intelligible things by abstracting universals from particulars.‡

The Commentary on “*De Physico Auditu*” is another important work.§ It occupies eight books.|| The first is

* Vid. *Comment. in Post. Anal.*, Lib. I., Lect. XXX., p. 140—141.

† *Ibidem*, XXXVI., p. 157.

‡ Lib. II., Lect. XX., p. 224—225.

§ *De Physico Auditu seu Physicorum*, Lib. VIII., p. 216—539, Vol. XVIII.

|| The Angelical gives, in his usual way, the bearing of the various books of Aristotle upon each other in their treatment of motion. *Mathematica*, he says, treats of those things which depend on sensible matter *secundum esse*, but not *secundum rationem*. *Physica* treats of those things which depend on matter not only *secundum esse*, but *secundum rationem* also. And because everything that partakes of matter is moveable, it follows that moveable being is the subject of *Natural Philosophy*: for natural philosophy treats of natural things. Natural things are those whose principle is nature, but nature is the principle of motion and rest in the thing in which it is. Natural science, then, treats of those things which contain within themselves the prin-

replete with interest, dwelling on the opinions of the ancients, giving rules for method, criticising "Being," and entering into the theory of matter, form, and privation, accounting for the last on the principle of contraries, and showing the difference between matter and privation.* The systems of Parmenides, Melissus, and Anaxagoras are refuted. In the second book the nature of physical creation is treated of, the meaning of the term is defined, and is proved to be the principle of rest and motion. The four species of causes which comprise nature are developed, and all things are shown to have their substance, form, motion, and end; whilst chance, fortune, accidental causes, and their effects, come under consideration. The third book undertakes to explain that one grand influence which runs all through the speculation of scholasticism—the theory of motion. The view of Anaxagoras is upset, the celebrated definition of motion is given, as consisting of passing from potentiality to act; whilst time, space, and infinity are treated of, as necessary to the elucidation of the Aristotelic theory. The fourth book deals with place, time, and the *vacuum*, according to the opinion of the ancients, and also according to the teaching of Aristotle himself. The four following books are principally occupied with disquisitions upon motion. They dwell on its different species,

ciple of motion. To avoid repetition, those things which have to do with moveable being in common are treated of in a book of *Natural Science*, just as *Philosophia prima*, which treats of things which are common to being, as being, precedes the treatment of sciences in particular; and this is the book of *Physics*, which is also called, "*Of Physics or of Natural Hearing*," because the information in it was conveyed to the hearers by way of instruction. Its subject-matter is moveable being *simpliciter*. I do not say moveable *body*, because this book proves that every moveable is a body. Other books on natural science follow this one, in which the different kinds of motion are treated of. For instance, in the book "*De Celo*," moveable things are discussed in respect to local motion, which is the first species of motion. In the book on *Generation*, motion is treated of in relation to form, and the first elements of motion are discussed, with regard to transmutations in general. Their special transmutations are treated of in the Book of *Meteors*. The book of *Minerals* treats of mixed inanimate movements, and their consequences. To this book the Philosopher attaches a preface, in which he shows the order of procedure in natural science. (*De Physico Auditu*, Lib. I., Lect. I., p. 227, Vol. XVIII.)

* What about the great scholastic theory of matter, form, and privation?

Whatever is made, is, and is made of subject and form; therefore subject and form are *per se* the causes and the principles of all that is made according to nature. That those things which are made according to nature are made of subject and form he [Aristotle] proves in this fashion. Those elements into which the definition of a thing is resolved are the components of that thing, because everything is resolved into those things of which it is composed. But the constituents (*ratio*) of that which is made according to nature are resolved into subject and form, for the constituents of a musician are resolved into that of man, and that of musician. He who would define a musician must give the definition of man and of musician, therefore that which is made according to nature is made according to subject and form. So form and subject are principles *per se* of that which is made according to nature, but privation or *contrarium* is the principle *per accidens*, inasmuch as it is accidental to the subject; as we say that the builder is the active cause of the house, *per se*, but the musician is the active cause of the house, *per accidens*, inasmuch as the builder happens to be a musician. And so man is the cause *per se*, as the subject of the musician, whilst non-musician is its cause and principle *per accidens*. But some one may object that privation does not happen to the subject when it is under a form, and so privation is not the principle of being *per accidens*. Therefore it must be said that matter is never without privation, because when it has one form, it suffers the privation of another form: so that whilst a thing is becoming that which it is to be, that is to say, as long as it does not possess its form, it suffers a privation, of music, for example, in the case of the musician; so the principle *per accidens* of a musician *in fieri* is non-musician. But when he receives this form he undergoes the privation of another form, and so the privation of an opposite form is the principle *per accidens* of his being what he is. Hence it is clear, according to the teaching of Aristotle, that privation, which is a principle of nature *per accidens*, does not consist in a certain aptitude for receiving a form, nor is it the beginning of a form, or any imperfect active principle, but it is the absence itself of form, or the contrary of that form which happens at the time being to possess the subject. (*Physic. Lib. II., Lect. XIV.*, p. 253, Vol. XVIII.)

on its unity and plurality, on the difference between motion and rest. Accidental, partial, and absolute motion are spoken of—phrases which are continually met with in the philosophy of the schools; the five elements of motion are discussed; its three categories—place, quantity, and quality—are enlarged upon; the four kinds of motion in space, proceeding from some external agency, are given; and motion is divided into two grand divisions of natural and unnatural. The first class of motion is either in a right line, or in a circle, or mixed. Of these the circular is the perfect form, it alone is continuous, and is that of the prime-mover, who is indivisible and without magnitude. The first *Lectio* of the seventh book is instructive, as evincing how carefully the Angelical deals with the opinions of learned commentators and with their various forms of mental error. He shows how Galen was deceived by an equivocation into opposing Aristotle's doctrine on motion. He states the doctrines of Avicenna and of Averroës, and displays a profound acquaintance with their writings. The third *Lectio* proves that there must be a first mover, and a first thing moved. In the eighth book an inquiry, full of interest, is made into the "*primum mobile*," the first mover, and the first movement, and the Saint defends the Stagyrte against the false interpretations of his works by Averroës, which, if followed, would throw his writings into great confusion.*

The Angelical did not complete his Commentary "*De Cælo et Mundo*."† In point of fact this work is a continuation of the one on Physics, and has very little to do with Astronomy.‡

* See *Lib. VIII., Lect. I., p. 472, and Lib. VIII., Lect. XXI., p. 531*, where he proves Averroës to have spoken *contra Aristotelis intentionem et contra veritatem*. See his relations to Avicenna, *Lib. II., Lect. I., p. 262*; *Lib. VII., Lect. I., p. 447*; to Averroës, *Lib. V., Lect. VII., p. 338*; *Lib. V., Lect. XII., p. 351*; to Themistius, *Lib. VI., Lect. V., p. 420*; to Galen, Avicenna, Averroës, *Lib. VII., Lect. I., p. 447, Vol. XVIII.*

† *De Cælo et Mundo, Lib. IV., p. 1—207, Vol. XIX.*

The Parma edition gives a full Commentary on the three first books, and three chapters of the fourth. Werner says that S. Thomas only commented on the two first fully; and only got as far as Chapter IV. of the eighth *Lectio* in the third. This probably proceeds from his having used the *Weise* edition. (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 443.*)

‡ Speaking of the *De Cælo*, the Angelical says, in this work certain things are treated of which have to do with the whole universe, as is evident from the first book; certain things which have to do with the heavenly body, as is seen in the second; and things regarding other simple bodies, as is evident in the third and fourth. And so this work is reasonably placed first, after the book on *Physics*; and on this account, in the beginning of the same, body is treated of, to which all that has been said in the book of *Physics* concerning motion has to be applied; and because different things are dwelt on in this treatise, a doubt arose amongst the ancient expositors of Aristotle as to its subject-matter. Alexander thought that the principal scope was the universe itself; others said, on the contrary, the principal object of the work was the heavenly body, which gyrates in a circle, and on this account it was called *De Cælo*. And other bodies are treated of in it also, inasmuch as they are contained by the heavens, and are subject to their influence, as Jamblicus affirms; or they are touched upon by accident, inasmuch as a knowledge of other bodies is assumed, to elucidate what is said of the heavens, as Sirianus held. But this does not seem probable; because, after the philosopher had treated of the heavens in the second book, he goes on to treat of other simple bodies in the third and fourth, as if intending them to form the principal subject-matter. For the philosopher was not in the habit of considering those things as the principal part of a science, which are assumed *per accidens*. And so it seemed to others, as Simplicius says, that the intention of the philosopher, in this work, was to treat of simple bodies, inasmuch as they can be connoted as such; and because the principal amongst simple bodies are the heavens—upon which the rest depend—this work is called *De Cælo*. And, as he remarks, there is no difficulty in the fact of things being treated of here which belong to the whole universe, because their conditions have

What is the Angelical's general view of the order of sciences? He draws it out clearly in his *Prooemium*.

The philosopher says, in his First Book of *Physics*, that we are said to know a thing when we are acquainted with its first causes, its first principles, and its elements; and by this he clearly shows that there is an orderly progression in sciences, advancing from first causes and principles to proximate ones; and this is according to reason, for the progress of sciences is the work of reason, whose specialty it is to reduce things into order. So in every work of reason a certain rule is observable, according to which a thing advances from one stage to another; and this is seen in the practical order, which relates to things which we make ourselves, as well as in the speculative, which has to do with what is not made by us. Progress in the practical order is fourfold. First of all, in the order of apprehension, as an architect first apprehends the form of a house, and then realizes it in matter. Secondly, in order of intention, according to which he proposes to complete the whole building. Thirdly, in the order of composition, by which he first hews the stones, and then fixes them together into one wall. Fourthly, in the order of sustaining the building, according to which he lays the foundation upon which the different portions of the fabric are to stand.

A fourfold order likewise is found in speculation. First of all, according as progress is made from common things to less common, and this order, in its manner, corresponds to the first—that is, of apprehension; for universals are considered according to their absolute form, and particulars in the application of the form to matter. The second order corresponds to the order of intention, inasmuch as the whole is thought of before the parts. The third order proceeds from simple to composite, inasmuch as composites are known by simple things, and corresponds to the order of composition. The fourth order, according to which the principal parts are first considered, *e.g.*, the heart and the liver before the arteries and blood, corresponds to that practical order which first lays the foundations.

And this fourfold order enters into natural science. For first those things which are common to nature are determined in the book of *Physics*, in which moveable body is treated of inasmuch as it is moveable. Hence it remains for other books on natural science to apply these principles to their proper subjects.

The subject of motion is magnitude and body, because nothing is moved except quantity. But three other orders must be regarded in bodies. First inasmuch as the whole corporeal universe comes into consideration before its

a bearing on the universe, inasmuch as they belong to the heavenly body; for instance, to be infinite, sempiternal, and things of that sort. If the principal design of the philosopher was to treat of the universe, or of the world, Aristotle would have to extend his consideration to all parts of the world, as far as plants and animals, as Plato did in his *Timæus*. And in this way we can argue against Simplicius, because if Aristotle principally intended to treat of simple bodies in this work, he would have to treat of everything which has to do with simple bodies in it. But only those things which have to do with the lightness and heaviness of bodies are spoken of: whilst other points are considered in the book on *Generation*. Hence it seems more reasonable to say, with Alexander, that the subject-matter of this treatise is the universe itself, which is called heaven or world; and that simple bodies are treated of, inasmuch as they are constitutive portions of the universe. The corporeal universe is made up of its parts, according to the order of place (*situs*); and therefore only those portions of the universe are treated of in this book, which first, and *per se*, have position in the universe; that is, simple bodies. Hence the four elements, inasmuch as they are hot and cold, and so on, are not mentioned in this work, but only in respect of their weight, and lightness, by which their position in the universe is determined. The position of other parts of the universe, such as stones, plants, and animals, is not determined *secundum se*, but in relation to simple bodies; so they have not to be treated of here at all. And this agrees with what the Latins have been accustomed to say, that this work treats of moveable body, according to position or place, for this motion is common to all parts of the universe.

parts. Then, inasmuch as simple bodies are considered before mixed ones. Thirdly, inasmuch as—amongst simple bodies—the heavenly ones, by which all the rest are formed, must be taken into account first; and these three things are considered in this book, which is intitled “*De Cælo*” by the Greeks.

The work “*De Cælo et Mundo*,” with its Commentary, occupies over two hundred pages, and is divided into four books; the first, twenty chapters; the second, twenty-eight; the third, twelve; and the fourth, three.

The first book treats of substance, with its three dimensions, and touches upon motion, which is either straight, or in a circle, or a compound of both. Straight motion is either up, going from a centre, or down, tending to a centre. What goes up is light, and what goes down is heavy. One of the great errors in natural science made by the ancients is here reproduced, namely, that weight and lightness are absolute qualities of bodies; not *relations*, as we know them to be, between bodies and the centre of the earth.* The second book discusses, with much fulness, the contrarieties in space; right, left, and so on; like weight and lightness, these are made out to be not *relative* but positive qualities. It speaks of the perpetuity of heaven, its various parts, its figure and motions; then of the nature of the stars, their motion, sound, order, position, and figure; and, finally, of the movement, rest, and figure of the earth. The third book treats of the opinions of the ancients regarding the generation and corruption of natural things, both respecting composite and simple bodies, and reciprocal generation of the elements, which some maintained, is argued against. As in the other books, the theories of the ancients are discussed, and the teaching of Aristotle defended with great ingenuity. Parmenides, Melissus, Euclid, and the “theological poet” Hesiod, are referred to by the Saint. The fourth book treats of the nature and differences and other qualities of gravity and levity, which are made to be both relative and absolute. But the Angelical only got as far as the end of the fourth chapter, if in reality the

* What does the Angelical say upon the theory of the Stagyræite regarding the incorruptible nature of the heavens?

With regard to this there is a double question, says the Saint; first regarding Aristotle's position, placing the *corpus cæli* as incapable of being generated, and incorruptible; and then regarding his reason. With regard to the first, some declared the body of the heaven, of its nature, to be generable and corruptible, as John the Grammarian held, who is called Philoponus; and to prove his point, in the first place, he uses the authority of Plato, who held that the heaven was generated as well as the whole world. Then he gives his reason. All the power of a finite body is finite, as is proved in the eighth book of *Physics*, but finite power cannot extend to infinite duration; therefore a thing cannot be moved for an infinite time by a finite power: therefore the heavenly body has not the power to be infinite in duration. Thirdly, he thus objects. In every natural body there is matter and privation, as is evident from the first Book of *Physics*. But wherever there is matter with privation there is capability of corruption; therefore the heavenly body is corruptible. The Angelical answers these arguments by explaining Plato's meaning; and brings a proof from Averroës to upset the objections stated, explaining the matter himself in the sense of Aristotle. But he is careful not to follow him in any way that could impinge on faith.

Commentary on the third and fourth book, attributed to him by some writers, was made by him at all.

The treatise "*De Generatione et Corruptione*" falls into two books.* The Exposition is thrown into twenty-five and twelve chapters respectively, but since the views here treated of have, for the most part, been touched upon already, there is no call for a prolonged examination of them. The various systems of the ancients regarding alteration, augmentation, touch, action, and passion, and fusion or admixture, are explained in the first book; in the second the principles, number, and generation of the elements and of mixed things, together with the causes of generation and corruption, come under consideration.

The work "*De Meteorologia*"† is in four books, and is one of the most curious of Aristotle's treatises on physical nature. Here the Angelical simply follows the philosopher, and dividing each book into a certain number of *Lectiones*, he gives a brief exposition on the teaching of the Stagyrte.

The Commentary on "*De Anima*"‡ in all occupies over four hundred and forty pages.§ The length of the *Lectiones* varies, and the reference to ancient writers is not so frequent as in most of the Saint's other works. Catholic truth and the prevalent errors of the day are never forgotten, and the false teaching of the Arabian commentators is carefully exposed. It was

* *De Generatione et Corruptione*, Lib. II., p. 208—209, Vol. XIX.

† *De Meteorologia*, Lib. IV., p. 300—441, Vol. XIX.

‡ *De Anima*, Lib. III., p. 1—444, Vol. XX.

§ The next portion of our Saint's commentaries upon Aristotle is that which has to do with anthropological science. The plan which appears to be followed in this by the Stagyrte is as follows. In the first place there are three books "*De Anima*," which treat of the soul in general. Then comes the "*Parva Naturalia*," which has to do with the powers and functions of the soul in detail. Now the soul can be looked upon in three lights in its relation to the body, viz., as the vivifying, moving, and sentient principle of the same. With regard to the soul as principle of life, there are the treatises "*De Morte et Vita*," "*De Juventute et Senectute*," and those two other works which are no longer extant, "*De Sanitate et Egrotudine*," and "*De Nutrimeto et Nutribili*." Regarding the soul as the principle of motion, there are "*De Causis Motus Animalium*," and "*De Progressu Animalium*." With respect to the sensitive soul there are "*De Sensu et Sensato*," "*De Memoria et Reminiscentia*," and "*De Somno et Vigilia*." It is natural for those treatises to follow immediately upon the books "*De Anima*," which have to do with operations in which the soul has the larger share; as well as the treatises "*De Sensu et Sensato*," "*De Memoria et Reminiscentia*," together with "*De Somno et Vigilia*,"—treatises which are connected with freedom and the operations of the sensitive soul. Upon these S. Thomas made commentaries, as well as upon the treatises "*De Somnitiis*" and "*De Divinatione per Somnium*," but he has left no elucidations of the other minor works of the Stagyrte. (See Werner, *Erster Band*, *Viertes Capitel*, p. 456.)

The treatise "*De Anima*" has two grand divisions. The first treats of and tests the views of the philosophers laid down before the time of Aristotle. This is done in the first book, which goes into the nature of the vital principle, shows it is only one, touches on the principle of motion, demonstrates that the soul is not moved by external agency, but is self-moved, and discusses the relation of life to the soul, and to the various functions of the creature. In the second grand division (*Books II. and III.*), the essence of the soul in general is treated of (*Book II., Lect. I.—II.*), then the powers of the soul in general (*Lect. VI.—VII.*), and in particular (*Book II., Lect. VII.; Book III., Lect. X'III.*); finally, the vegetative soul (*Book II., Lect. VII.—X.*), the sensitive soul (*Book II., Lect. X.; Book III., Lect. VI.*), the intellectual (*Book III., Lect. VII.—XIII.*) and the moving or active soul (*Book III., Lect. XIV.—XVI.*), and then (*Book III., Lect. XVII.—XVIII.*) their relations one to another. (See Werner, *Erster Band*, *Viertes Capitel*, p. 456.)

Some of the most important points touched upon are those respecting the difficult question of life—which is defined by Aristotle "the primary reality of an organism,"—the relations of organism and vitality, the meaning of life; and the life of plants, of animals, and of the human soul. Then there are questions concerning touch, taste, passion, volition, and appetite, the relations of life to the body; nutrition, sensibility, sight, hearing, perception, and so on of the rest; then, intellect, the energy of the soul, the powers of self-motion in the soul, the gifts of inferior animals, the graduated perfection of the organism, and many other deeply interesting subjects which it would take too long to enumerate.

one of the great works of the Angelical to clear Aristotle from the bad character which his writings had acquired, on account of prejudiced minds perceiving not his, but their own doctrines in his writings.

For example, in the seventh *Lectio* of the third book it is shown, that though to understand is, as it were, to feel, still intellect and sense are altogether distinct; that intellect is incorporeal, unmixed, and impassible, and different from sense, and not a separate substance. Upon this the famous opinion started by Averroës regarding the oneness of the intellect is argued against by the Saint. He not merely proves the impossibility of understanding at all, according to the theory of Averroës, but what is perhaps still more to the purpose, shows that the commentator had altogether misunderstood Aristotle, and set him in contradiction with himself.

After stating arguments which have already been given against the Averroistic theory, he says:—

There are many more arguments which could be brought against this position, which we have treated with greater care in another place.* But here one fact suffices: that it follows from this position that man is not able in reality to understand at all. It is moreover manifest that this view is contrary to the intention of the philosopher; and, first of all, because he is engaged here in an enquiry concerning a *part* of the human soul. For it is in this way that he begins the treatise: hence it is manifest that the passive intellect is part of the soul, and not a separate substance. The same again follows from this: that he proceeds to enquire if the intellect be separable or not from the other parts of the soul. Hence it is clear that his process stands good, even if the intellect be not actually separable from other parts of the soul. Again, by this: because he says that the intellect is that by which the soul understands. All these things show that Aristotle does not teach that the intellect is separate, as separate substances are. It is wonderful how men could so easily have been led into error on account of his saying that the intellect is separate, since the true meaning is clear when his words are taken literally. He calls the intellect separate because it has no organ, as the senses have; and it so happens on this account because the human soul by reason of its nobility transcends the faculty of a material body, and cannot be wholly included in it. Hence a certain action remains to it with which corporeal matter has nothing to do; and on this account its power with regard to this action possesses no corporeal organ, and thus it is a separate intellect.†

Again: he defends truth and the doctrine of Aristotle against Avicenna. Having stated the teaching of the Stagyrice on the action of the passive intellect, he says:

It is manifest from what is said here that the opinion held by Avicenna against Aristotle concerning the intelligible species is false. Avicenna main-

* In *Opusc. XV.*, *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas*, p. 208—224, Vol. XVI.

† *Comment. De Anima*, Lib. III., *Lect. VII.*, p. 117, Vol. XX.

tained that the species are not preserved in the passive intellect, and are only in it when it actually understands. According to him, whenever it actually understands it turns itself to a separate active intellect, from which intelligible species flow into it.*

The Saint then goes on to show Aristotle's real view, proving it to be altogether different from that of Avicenna.†

He does the same in the tenth *Lectio*; carefully distinguishes the true teaching of Aristotle, combats the dangerous theories of those who would separate the soul and its organs of knowledge, and keeps the doctrines of psychology within their proper limits of truth and safety. The Saint deserves all the more praise for this, inasmuch as there is little doubt that the Aristotelic system was not so accurately stated as to leave no plausible grounds for the Arabian interpretations; indeed it is not too much to say that its expressions were sufficiently vague to lead men, whose minds were biassed in a certain direction, to see their own views in some of its statements, and to argue ingeniously in their defence.

The minor treatises on which the Angelical commented must be hastily referred to. "*De Sensu et Sensato*"‡ is in one book and nineteen lessons. It treats of the five senses, of their several organs, it gives the various opinions held by the ancients upon these questions, and touches upon the generation, species, and nature of sensations in relation to each of the senses. "*De Memoria et Reminiscentia*"§ is shorter still, one book and eight lessons, and dwells on the difference and nature of memory and reminiscence, and how some have better memories than others. "*De Somno et Vigilia*,"|| one book, six lessons, speaks of sleep and waking, their nature and causes. "*De Somniis*,"¶ one book, five lessons, deals with the nature and seat of dreams, in which in a particular manner the sagacity of the Stagyrte is made manifest; and, finally, "*De Divinatione per Somnium*,"** in one book and two lessons, enlarges on the cause and issue of dreams, and on their interpretation. In commenting on these the Angelical follows his usual method, and does not do much else than elucidate the meaning of the text.

To expound the metaphysical treatises of Aristotle was a formidable undertaking. S. Thomas has given us an Expositi-

* Contra quod manifeste hic Philosophus dicit, quod intellectus reducitur in actum specierum, per modum, quo sciens actus, adhuc est in potentia intelligens. Cum enim intellectus actus intelligit, species intelligibiles sunt in eo secundum actum perfectum; cum autem habet habitum scientie, sunt species in ipso intellectu medio modo inter potentiam puram et actum purum." (*Lib. III., Lect. VII., p. 118.*)

† *Ibidem*, p. 122.

‡ S. Thomæ Aquinatis in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Libros Commentaria, *Lib. I., p. 145—196; Vol. XX.*

§ *Ibidem*, *Lib. I., p. 197—214, Vol. XX.*

|| *Ibidem*, *Lib. I., p. 215—228, Vol. XX.*

¶ *Ibidem*, *Lib. I., p. 229—238, Vol. XX.*

** *Ibidem*, *Lib. I., p. 239—244, Vol. XX.*

tion of twelve books, and though he has not left any writings upon them, the other two books, one of which Albert appears never to have seen, were not unknown to him.*

This work occupies over four hundred pages,† and each book

* See *Metaph. Lib. III., Lect. VIII., p. 322—325, Vol. XX.*

† The first book principally touches upon the nature and perfection of the "divine science of wisdom," and states and confutes the opinions of the ancients concerning the first causes and principles of things. He [Aristotle] divides the ancient philosophers into two classes: those who maintained simply a material or efficient cause of things, and those who admitted a formal cause. The old natural philosophers put down either hidden or visible agencies as the first principles of things. Some held several material (Lenciippius, Democritus), others several immaterial (Pythagoreans) things as the first principles; others, like Parmenides, only acknowledged one. In confutation of the old beliefs, he divides the ancient philosophers into natural philosophers (*Lect. II.*), and those who took a more elevated view. Pythagoras is met in the thirteenth *lectio*, Plato in the fourteenth and fifteenth. The second book treats of the relation of man to the consideration of truth, shows how the knowledge of truth belongs in a special way to the *prima philosophia*, how there is no such thing as an infinite series in causes, and how the object of truth is to be considered. Here, too, Averroës is again aimed at by the Angelical; speaking of man not being able to understand separate substances, he says:—"It is impossible for the human soul, united to such a body as ours, to apprehend separate substances, knowing them by their intimate *quiddities*. From which it is evident that what Averroës says in his commentary is false, viz., that the philosopher does not demonstrate here that it is impossible for us to understand separate things, just as it is impossible for the bat to look into the sun; and his reasoning is very laughable (*est valde derisibile*), for he adds, if such were the case, nature would have acted in vain in making something naturally intelligible, and yet not to be understood by any one—as if it had made the sun so that it could not be seen. But this reasoning is deficient: first of all in this, that to be known by our intellect is not the end of separate substances, but rather the converse. Hence it does not follow that because we do not know separate substances *therefore* they are in vain. That is in vain which does not realize the end for which it exists. Secondly, because although separate substances are not understood by us according to their *quiddities*, yet they are understood by other intellects; just as, though the eye of the owl does not see the sun, still the eye of the eagle gazes upon it." (*Metaphysicorum Lib. II., Lect. I., p. 299, Vol. XX.*) The third book enters into *Metaphysics*, and starts questions bearing upon the fact of wisdom being the highest principle of all being. Is the only object of this science to know the first principles of substance, or does it belong to it to consider the first principles of demonstration, by which all sciences are proved? If this science considers substance as first being, is it one science dealing with all substances, or are there several sciences, having to do with several substances? If there are many sciences regarding many substances, are they cognate, that is, of the same genus, as geometry and arithmetic are of the genus of mathematical science? Are there only such things as sensible substances, or are there also immaterial and intelligible substances? If there are separate substances, are they of one genus, or more? Has this science only to do with substances, or with their effects also? Has it to do with what seem to be the accidents of being or not? (*Ibid., Lib. III., Lect. II., p. 310, Vol. XX.*)

Metaphysic is the science of first principles. Are the *genera* the principles and elements of things? And if so, are they the *species specialissimæ*, or the *principia generalissima* of the individuals? Is there any other cause besides the material one? If so, is it separable from matter, as Plato and Pythagoras held? If so, is it only one, as Anaxagoras held, or many, according to Plato, and Aristotle himself? Is the *quiddity* of the individual anything over and above the individual or not? How do principles stand regarding unity and multitude? How in relation to *actus* and *potentia*? Are they determined according to number or species (*Lect. III., p. 311.*)? These are but specimens of the questions which are put. They are all solved and explained in the following books. The *Lectio*nes of the third book treat of *Metaphysicæ* science (*Lect. IV.—VII.*), of the qualities (*Lect. VII.*) and the principles of substances (*Lect. VIII.*) *Metaphysicæ*, as science of being, has a special relation to the formal cause, and when this cannot be known—as in pure intelligences—to the final cause, and sometimes to the motive cause, but it never has anything to do with the material cause. Then what principles belong to substances (*Lect. VIII., IX.*)? and what is their condition (*Lect. X., &c.*)? These principles cannot be both *genera* and elements of substances; the *species specialissimæ* are more the principles of substances than are the *genera*. Universals can have no subsistent being. The question with regard to the condition of principles treats of their unity and plurality (*Lect. X., XIV.*), and asks whether they are power or act (*Lect. XV.*), universal or singular?

The fourth book bears on those things which have to do with the science of *Metaphysicæ*, that is, of being, of one, of many, of the same and the different, and of the first principles of demonstration. In *Lect. I.* it is shown that this science has to do with the consideration of substances and accidents, though principally of substances; for all being comes under the investigation of the one science which considers being inasmuch as it is being, namely, both as substance and accidents. All being is so called from a relation to the one first being; and this first is here not *finis* or *efficiens*, but the subject. Others are called beings or *esse*, because they have *esse per se* like substances, which, principally, and in the first instance, are called beings. Others because they are passions or properties of substances, as the *per se* accidents of each substance. Some are called *entia*, because they lead the way to substances, like generation and motion. Others are called substances again because they are the corruptions of substances; for corruption is the way to *non esse*, just as generation tends towards substance. Again: some qualities and accidents are called *entia* because they are active, or generative of substance, also the negations of those things which have the relation of habitude to substances. Hence we say that *non ens* is *non ens*, which would not be said if negation did not belong to *esse* in some way. These modes of being can be reduced to four. For one of them, which is the weakest, is only in the reason (*est tantum in ratione*), namely, negation and privation. The next weakest is that according to which generation, corruption, and motion, are called beings, for there is in them an admixture of privation and negation. The third has no admixture of not-being, but has a weak being, because it is not *per se*, but in another, as qualities, quantities, and the properties of substance. The fourth is that which is most perfect,

is divided into a given number of *Lectiones*. Here again is one of the rich quarries out of which the Angel of the Schools drew the materials for his fabric of Christian theology. One of the most curious and interesting portions of this commentary consists in the *Prooemium*, which contains the Angelical's independent view of the great science of *Metaphysics*; a view indeed his own, still evidently proceeding from a mind which

which has *esse* in nature without any admixture of privation, and has a firm and solid being, existing, as it were, *per se*, as substances do. (*Lib. III., Lect. I., p. 343.*)

Next an investigation is made into the relation of this science to unity and plurality, to sameness and diversity; and it is ruled that there are as many parts of philosophy as there are substances to be treated of (*Lect. II., III.*), and their metaphysical significance is manifested upon general grounds (*Lect. IV.*). The next *Lectio* enters into the proofs of the questions which had been stated in the third. For instance: whatever is in all beings, and is not alone in one genus of beings separate from the rest, comes under the consideration of the philosopher. But the aforesaid principles are such; therefore, they come under the consideration of the philosopher. The minor Aristotle proves thus: those things that all sciences make use of belong to being inasmuch as it is being; but first principles are of this kind, therefore they belong to being inasmuch as it is being. The reason why all sciences make use of them, he states thus: because whatever genus is the subject of any science has being predicated of it. Particular sciences use the aforesaid principles, not in general, as they extend to all being, but inasmuch as is called for by their subject-matter. So natural philosophy makes use of them, in as far as they extend to movable beings, and no further. (*Lib. IV., Lect. V., p. 351.*)

The sixth *Lectio* is of great importance. It shows that it is necessary in this science to treat of the first principle of demonstration, of the nature of such a principle, and of those accidents who have made mistakes regarding it. The commentary runs in this way. He is most replete with knowledge of each genus who has a knowledge of the most certain principles, because the certainty of knowledge depends upon the certainty of the principles. But the philosopher is the most full of knowledge and is most certain with regard to his knowledge, for this is one of the conditions of a wise man—as appeared in the *Prooemium* of this book—namely, that he have a most certain knowledge of causes, therefore a philosopher must consider the most sure and the most firm principles with regard to being, about which he treats, as his proper subject-matter. Aristotle places three conditions of a most certain principle. The first is, that in this matter no one should be able to be deceived or to err; and this is clear, because men are not deceived except with regard to those things of which they are ignorant. Therefore that must be most evident about which a man cannot be deceived. The second condition is, that the principle be not conditional, but known of itself. The third requisite is, that it be not arrived at by demonstration, or by any similar process; and that it be possessed, as it were, naturally, and be not something acquired. For first principles are made known by the natural light of the active intellect, and are not acquired by reasoning, but simply through the fact of their terms being known. It is therefore manifest that a most certain and most firm principle ought to be such that error cannot be committed regarding it, that it be not a supposition, and that it come to the mind naturally. To what principle does this answer? To this: that it is impossible for the same thing to be in a thing and not in a thing at the same time; but it must be added "in the same way."

The next *Lectio* argues against those who dispute the truth of this principle, and is divided into two parts: the first argues against those who maintain that contradictories can both be true, and the next against those who would show that they can both be false. The former is fully gone into (*Lect. VII., XV.*), the latter is treated in the sixteenth and seventeenth *Lectiones*. The adversaries of the former are answered first, generally (*Lect. VII., IX.*), and then it is shown how special classes of opponents are to be dealt with (*Lect. X., XV.*). Aristotle uses seven arguments to prove that contradictories cannot both be true. He starts by saying that the meaning of terms must be understood. If he who is about to argue does not agree to this, it would be superfluous to dispute with him. The Angelical then goes on to develop the arguments of the Stagyræ, which are full of ingenuity and clear reasoning; but since the conclusion is admitted by all, it will not be worth while following him through his various processes.

Upon this follows (*Lect. XI., XII.*) a treatment of the errors of those ancient philosophers who considered that truth consisted in what appeared, and that things were what they appeared to be. Some indeed lost faith in truth altogether. The followers of Heraclitus believed that everything was in continual motion, and therefore that there was no such thing as determinate truth. Cratylus also was of this opinion, and finally came to such a stage of madness that he imagined he ought not to make use of words to express what he meant, and therefore confined himself to simply moving his finger: and on this account,—because he thought that before he could get the words out, truth had already fled away, and that he could move his finger more quickly than he could talk. This same Cratylus reprehended and blamed Heraclitus. Heraclitus said that a man cannot twice get into the same stream, because before he has got in the second time the first waters have passed away. But Cratylus thought that a man cannot once get into the same stream, because before he has got in once the waters have flowed away and others have come in their place. And thus not only is a man incapable of speaking twice before his disposition has changed, but he is incapable of speaking once. (*Lib. IV., Lect. XII., p. 368.*)

The next subjects of treatment consist in showing that the fact of sensible things being subject to change is no reason why they are not true; and this is done in six arguments (*Lect. XIII.*). Seven reasons follow to the effect that the truth of things does not consist in appearances; those are taken severely to task who maintain, not from reason but from obstinacy, that contradictories can both be true (*Lect. XIV., XV.*); and the book concludes with two *Lectiones*, XVI., XVII., upon other opinions which militate against the theory of the Stagyræ. And this must suffice for a general idea of the method of Aristotle and the Angelical on these special points.

had been accustomed to breathe freely in an Aristotelic atmosphere.

When many things are ordered towards one end, one amongst them must be the regulator or ruler, and the rest the regulated or ruled. This is exemplified in the union of the body and soul, for the soul naturally commands, whilst the body obeys. It is the same regarding the powers of the soul, the irascible and concupiscible powers, in the natural order, are governed by reason.

And all sciences and arts are ordered towards one end, namely, towards man's perfection, which is his beatitude. Hence it is necessary that one amongst them be the ruler of the rest, and this rightly goes by the name of Wisdom, for it is the office of the wise man to put others in good order. The nature of this science and its office can be elicited by making a diligent investigation into the qualities of a good ruler. Hence the philosopher says, in the afore mentioned book, that men of powerful minds are naturally the lords and rulers of the rest, while men who are robust in body but deficient in mind are naturally slaves; and so science ought, naturally, to be the regulator of the rest, because it is the most intellectual: for it has to do with those things which are most of all intelligible. This can be looked upon three ways. First, according to the order of understanding, for those things appear to be most intelligible by means of which the mind arrives at certainty. Hence since the intellect acquires the certainty of science through causes, the knowledge of causes seems to be the most intellectual. Hence that science which considers first causes appears to be in a particular manner the regulator of the rest.

Secondly, by comparing the intellect with sense. For intellect differs from sense in this, that the former comprehends universals, whilst the latter is confined to the knowledge of particular things. Hence, that science is most intellectual which has to do with the most universal principles; and these are being, and what follow from being, as one and many, and power and act. For these things should not be left vague, because without them a complete knowledge of what is proper to any genus and species cannot be attained. Nor should they be treated of in some one particular science: because since each genus of beings, in order to be understood, requires a knowledge of them, they would then have to be treated of in like manner in every particular science. Hence it follows that they should be treated of in a common science, which, since it is the most intellectual, is the regulator of the rest.

Thirdly, from the cognition itself of the intellect. For since whatever has intellective power possesses it because it is free from matter, those things must be most intelligible which are the most separated from matter. For the intelligible and the intellect must be proportionate and of the same genus, since the intellect and the intelligible are one in act. Now those things are most separated from matter which not only are abstract from the concrete, "as natural forms taken universally of which natural science treats," but which are altogether apart from sensible matter; and that not only in the order of reason, like mathematics, but also in the order of being, like God and the intelligences. Hence the science which treats of these things appears to be the most intellectual of all, and the prince or mistress of the rest.

But this threefold consideration ought to be attributed not to different sciences, but to the same; for the aforesaid separate substances are the universal and first causes of being. A science of this kind has to consider the proper

causes of a genus, as well as genus itself, just as natural science considers the principles of the natural body. Hence it must appertain to the same science to consider separate substances, and being in common, which is the genus, of which the aforesaid substances are the common and universal causes. From this it is evident that although this science treats of the aforesaid three, it does not treat any one of them as its subject, but only being in common. For that thing is the subject in science of which we seek the causes and passions, and not the causes themselves of any particular genus which is in question; for the knowledge of the causes of any genus is the end to which the consideration of a science pertains. And although the subject of this science is being in common, it comprehends all that is separated from matter according to being and to reason; for not only those things which cannot be in matter, like God and intellectual substances, but also those things which can be apart from matter, like being in common, are said to be separated according to being and reason. But this would not be the case if they depended upon matter for their being.

According to the three aforesaid divisions, upon which the perfection of this science depends, three terms are made use of. It is called Divine Science, or Theological, inasmuch as it considers the aforesaid substances; Metaphysics, inasmuch as it considers being, and those things which follow from it. It is called First Philosophy, inasmuch as it treats of the first causes of things; and thus it becomes evident what is the subject of this science, and what its relation is to other sciences.

Again, Aristotle tells us that

There is in all men a natural desire to know. And the reason of this can be threefold. First, because each thing naturally desires its own perfection. Hence matter is said to desire a form as the imperfect desires its own perfection. Since therefore the intellect, by which a man is what he is, considered in itself, is *in potentia* with regard to the knowledge of all things, and is only brought into act by means of science, every one desires science just as matter desires its form. Secondly, because each thing has a natural inclination towards its proper operation—as heat with regard to warming, and weight with regard to moving downwards. Now the operation proper to man, inasmuch as he is a man, is to understand. In this he differs from all things else. Hence the desire of man is naturally inclined to understand, and consequently to know. Thirdly, because each thing loves to be united with its principle. Now man is not joined to separate substances—which are the principles of human intelligence, and to which the human intellect is related as the imperfect to the perfect—save by means of intellect, and hence the final happiness of man consists in this. Hence man naturally desires science; nor does it signify that some men do not busy themselves about this science, since it frequently happens that they who desire a certain end are prevented from making towards it, either on account of the difficulty of getting on, or because of other occupations.

So that though all men desire science, all do not give themselves to its study, either because they are prevented by other things, or by lust, or by the necessities of the present life, or because through sloth they avoid the labour of learning. Aristotle says this to show that it is not vain to seek science, apart from utility, since a natural desire cannot be in vain.

The Commentary upon the *Ethics* of Aristotle is in ten books,

and these are subdivided, according to the usual plan, into a given number of *Lectiones*. These books occupy over three hundred and sixty pages. The first (*Book I.*) treats of the different ends of happiness, and the supreme good of the happy man, of the two-fold part of the soul, and the division of virtue (p. 1—42); then (*Book II.*) of virtue in general and its essence; of the mean and the extremes of the relations of vice and virtue, and of the precepts by which man is drawn towards the golden mean (p. 42—68); next (*Book III.*) of involuntary actions, of purpose, bravery, temperance (p. 68—113); (*Book IV.*) of liberality, magnificence, ambition, truthfulness, shame, and other qualities (p. 113—151); (*Book V.*) of justice and injustice, and equity (p. 151—190); (*Book VI.*) of speculation, deliberation, and prudence (p. 190—219). Then (*Book VII.*) there comes an important treatment of the degrees of virtue and vice, heroic virtue, continence and its opposites, and of pleasure and pain (p. 219—258); (*Book VIII.*) of friendships and many things concerning it (p. 258—293); (*Book IX.*) of kindness, selfishness, and self-love, and other relations of friendship (p. 293—325); and lastly (*Book X.*) of pleasure in its relation to ethics. The thesis of Eudoxus on pleasure, on a philosophic life, and political philosophy, is discussed (p. 325—361).

It will be interesting to give a rapid sketch of the subject-matter of the Angelical's exposition:—

Book I. It is shown that the end of the supreme art or science is more noble than the ends of those that are subordinate, like bridle-making is subordinate to riding, and riding in turn to all other martial service; the means are only sought for the sake of the end (*Lect. I.*)* And since the

* For want of space the last five books must be touched upon in the notes:—

Book V. Justice is a habit such that those who possess it are disposed to do just acts, and act justly, and desire what is just: so too, in its way, with injustice. The generic and common attribute of all injustice is inequality (*Lect. I.*). We apply "just" to all acts that tend to produce or preserve for the body politic either happiness as a whole, or any of its constituents. It is counted as perfect virtue in that it consists in the practice of perfect virtue,

"Nor even-star, nor morning star so fair."

Justice alone among the virtues is held to be "another's good," in that it alone among the virtues involves a relation to our fellow-man (*Lect. II.*). Both particular and universal injustice involve a relation to our fellow-man—the former concerns things in detail, the latter the good man (*Lect. III.*). Now the unjust man being he who aims at inequality, and the unjust being that which is unequal, it is clear that the unequal will imply a mean, and that the mean will be equal; and a just distribution must involve reference to some standard (*Lect. IV.*). That which is just also involves a similarity of ratios. Proportion may be violated either by excess or defect; he who commits the wrong act gains more good than he ought, while he who is wronged obtains less (*Lect. V.*). Distributive justice is always concerned with those particular goods to which all citizens have some claim, and with reference to these employs proportion. That which is correctly just will also at the mean between loss and gain, and since justice is the impersonation of the mean, that which is just will be in the mean (*Lect. VI.*). The word "just" is used, because it etymologically signifies "that which is bisected," while a "juror" or "justice," signifies "one who bisects" (*Lect. VII.*). Retaliation, or reciprocity of proportionate values, is the bond of union of the body politic: for by mutual interchange it is that citizens are held together (*Lect. VIII.*), and it is necessary to have some kind of common measure for all such things as are interchanged for one another. This was the origin of currency, and this common measure is the bond of union in all contracts (*Lect. IX.*). Just treatment is a mean between doing wrong and suffering wrong. The sole duty of a ruler is to keep watch over that which is just, and so by implication over that which is equal. If he be just he will by thus ruling gain nothing for himself; his reward will take the shape of honour or dignity (*Lect. XI.*). Justice political is relative and conventional. The former is in all places equally valid, and ever equally just; the latter that which originally might have been determined either way with equal justice. The justice or injustice of any act is determined by the ques-

political art is the highest, to which all other arts are simply used as instruments, this treatise on ethics may be described as political (*Lect. II.*). But its premisses are uncertain, therefore an outline only can be sketched. No man properly trained looks for greater accuracy than the subject-matter admits. Men young in years and young in character are not fit students of ethical science (*Lect. III.*). All argue that happiness is the end—the highest good that the activity of man can attain to, but men differ as to *what* it is. For this investigation the student must have been trained in good habits (*Lect. IV.*). The base love gross enjoyment, the statesman honour, or virtue (*Lect. V.*). Plato's idea is discussed, and Aristotle says, "such a discussion cannot but be repugnant, since the doctrine of transcendental ideas was intro-

tion whether it be voluntary or not (*Lect. XII.*). The distinction between a tort and an accident is that in the former the efficient form of injury is the agent, who is responsible; in the latter the efficient cause is extraneous (*Lect. XIII.*). No one can suffer a wrong unless another has intentionally done him wrong, or experience just treatment unless another intentionally treat him unjustly. Since a man who injures himself does so voluntarily, it is impossible for a man to wrong himself, for no man can wish to be wronged (*Lect. XIV.*). He who makes an unjust award, and not he who receives it, does the wrong, for the wrong originates in the volition of him who makes the award. Just acts can have place among those who partake of things that are in the abstract good, and who can have of such things either more or less than their fair share (*Lect. XV.*). The equitable is superior to the just, as being an intensified form of the just; they are each good, but the equitable is the best. The difference is this, that the equitable is just, not because it agrees with positive law, but in that it is a rectification of it. The essence of equity is to correct positive law when it fails from being too abstract (*Lect. XVI.*). That which the law does not bid, it by implication forbids. So civil infamy attaches itself to him who kills himself, because he thereby wrongs the state (*Lect. XVII.*).

Book VI. The mean between excess and defect is as right reason orders. What is right reason? The natural soul may be divided into two parts, the one deals with universal and necessary truths, the other with contingent: they will be called respectively the speculative and deliberative (*Lect. I.*). Each of the rational parts of our soul has for its especial province a specific kind of truth, and hence the highest excellence of each part will be that particular formed state or habit by which each respectively will best arrive at truth (*Lect. II.*). The soul arrives at truth by art or deduction, or prudence, or philosophy or induction. The object-matter of science is necessary, and its truths immutable. Science is inferential. Science, in fine, is a habit of deductive demonstration. Art is a habit of production in conscious accordance with a correct method (*Lect. III.*). The prudent man is he who can analyze ends into their means, and prudence is a conscious habit of correct reasoning on matters of action, and concerned with what is good for man. Prudence is the virtue of that part of the soul whose province is opinion (*Lect. IV.*). Induction is the faculty to which the discovery of conclusions must be ascribed. The philosopher must not only be assured of the truth of his conclusions, as deducible from certain principles, but be assured that his principles are absolutely true (*Lect. V.*). Philosophy is the union of deductive with inductive knowledge of objects in their own nature the most noble. Regarding prudence, it is best to know both the universal and the singular; this failing, the particular alone (*Lect. VI.*). Prudence is enlarged upon (*Lect. VII.*). Deliberation is rightness in the process of analysis of an end into its means, implying investigation and calculation. Good deliberation is a correct conception of that which conduces towards a certain end, of which end the true conception is given by prudence (*Lect. VIII.*). Consideration consists in the correct judgment of the equitable man critically exercised. It is in that a man can form a good critical judgment upon those matters with which prudence is concerned that he is said to show appreciation, and consideration or forbearance. Reason apprehends ultimate moral facts. For this, appropriate perception is required; this is practical reason, or moral perception (*Lect. IX.*). There is a certain faculty, which is called "cleverness," by which the clever man can hit upon those means which tend to the end proposed. If the end is good, it is praiseworthy; if bad, it is cunning. A man cannot possibly be prudent, unless he be virtuous (*Lect. X.*). Virtue is a habit of mind in conscious accordance with prudence. With the simplicity of prudence, the collective totality of the various moral virtues is necessarily co-existent. Our proposal cannot possibly be right without prudence on the one hand, and moral virtue on the other (*Lect. XI.*).

Book VII. Types to be avoided, vice, incontinence, brutality. The contrary of vice, virtue; incontinence, self-restraint. Self-restraint and endurance are good; incontinence and effeminacy are bad (*Lect. I.*). Several problems are stated (*Lect. II.*). Continence in relation to knowledge. Knowledge of right does not necessarily imply continence. We may suppose that the incontinent talk about duty in much the same manner as an actor performs his part. It is the minor premiss of the moral syllogism upon which our action mainly depends. This minor premiss states an opinion concerning a particular fact; and it is this minor premiss which he who acts incontinently either does not know at all, or as the drunkard may be said to know the verses of Empedocles which he repeats (*Lect. III.*). Simple incontinence is always blamed, not merely as an error, but as a definite form of vice (*Lect. IV.*). As there are two kinds of vice, "vice" itself and brutality, so there are two kinds of incontinence, of which one is brutal, while the other is simply called "incontinence," and is co-extensive in its range with ordinary intemperance (*Lect. V.*). Incontinence of anger is less disgraceful than incontinence of desire. Anger to a certain extent may be said to obey reason, but desire cannot. It is possible for a wicked man to do ten thousand times more evil than any honest (*Lect. VI.*). Self-restraint and endurance are touched on (*Lect. VII.*). When a man is absolutely intemperate and debauched, repentance has no place in him; he has made evil his good. The incontinent man is always open to repentance. The principles of morality are given us by virtue, which is either natural to us or acquired, and leads us to form right conceptions of moral principles (*Lect. VIII.*). The essence of self-restraint and incontinence is, that we should either abide by or abandon a good purpose. Obstinacy, egotism, opinionativeness, stolid ignorance, early boorishness are spoken of here (*Lect. IX.*). Cleverness differs from prudence in this, that the former involves more

duced by those whom we hold dear." (*Lect. VI.*). Then the theories of the Pythagoreans and of Speusippus are touched upon, and the meaning of "good" further discussed (*Lect. VII.*), whilst the idea of absolute and transcendental good is eliminated. What would the weaver or carpenter gain, or the medical man, by transcendental speculations? (*Lect. VIII.*)

But to return: it is clear that all ends are not final, but the chief good must be absolute and final. That only is absolutely final which is ever to be chosen as an end, and never as a means. Happiness is such an end, for it is complete in itself, and all-sufficient, and the one end man proposes to himself in all he does (*Lect. IX.*). And as the carpenter and cobbler has each his own duty and office, just as a good harper plays well on his harp, so man as

intellectual ability, but not the same soundness of moral purpose. Incontinence and self-restraint contrasted (*Lect. X.*). Now of pleasure and pain. The word "blessedness" etymologically signifies "full of pleasure." Various arguments stated regarding the nature of pleasure (*Lect. XI.*). Pleasure is "the spontaneous expression of our natural condition—our unhindered activity." Some pleasures are good absolutely, some good relatively (*Lect. XII.*). The happy man must be so situated, that the activities in which his happiness consists be unimpeded (*Lect. XIII.*). Men become intemperate and depraved, because pain can be driven out by any pleasure whatever of sufficient intensity. When the two elements (of body and soul) are in harmonious equilibrium, then the energies of the mind are indifferent to the body, and affect it neither with pain nor with pleasure (*Lect. XIV.*)

Book VIII. Of friendship. Views of the ancients given (*Lect. I.*). The legitimate object of affection is that which is good, or that which is pleasant, or that which is useful: useful being rather the means, so they are resolved into two. A reciprocity of kindly feeling is commonly held to constitute friendship. To constitute friendship men should, for one or other of the reasons given, have a kindly feeling one towards another, a mutual desire for each other's good, and each conscious of this reciprocity of friendship (*Lect. II.*). The young form strong attachments (based on emotion) and quickly break them off, often not knowing their own mind for a day together. All friendship must be ultimately based either upon the good or else upon pleasure, and involves a certain amount of similarity between the friends (*Lect. III.*). The friendships of the bad will be based on pleasure or interest: of the good on mutual affection, their simplicity consisting in their virtue (*Lect. IV.*). Nothing is so essential to friendship as that friends should pass their lives in the society of one another. Friendship resembles a fixed habit which has become a part of our character (*Lect. V.*). Different relations of friendship touched upon (*Lect. VI.*). Friendships of inequality. In friendship the primary consideration is quantitative equality, equality according to proportionate value being of secondary importance (*Lect. VII.*). The majority of mankind are led by ambition to prefer to be loved by others, rather than themselves to love others. It is more essential to friendship that we should love our friends than that they should be loved by them (*Lect. VIII.*). The proverb "True friends have all things in common" was well said, for community is the field of friendship (*Lect. IX.*). Monarchy degenerates into tyranny, for tyranny is the disease of monarchy, and the bad king ultimately passes into the tyrant; and so of different other forms of government (*Lect. X.*). In each form of government is involved a special form of friendship, and this is here enlarged upon (*Lect. XI.*). Friendship's bonds developed (*Lect. XII.*). There are two forms of friendship based on utility: the friendship of confidence, and the friendship of covenant (*Lect. XIII.*). The result of friendship ought to be, that to each of the two friends should be allotted the larger share indeed, but still not the larger share of the same thing (*Lect. XIV.*)

Book IX. That friendship which is founded upon mutual esteem of the friends each for the character of the other, is entered upon for its own sake, and independently of any results, and is consequently a permanent thing (*Lect. I.*). One must not give everything one has to the same person. It is a man's duty to pay his father's ransom rather than his own. And the several claims of friendship are treated (*Lect. II.*). Not only is it impossible to feel an affection for a bad man, but one ought not even to try to do so; when his friend has become incurably depraved, his friend must break off from him (*Lect. III.*). When friendship reaches its extreme limit it resembles that affection which a man feels for himself. The bad man cannot feel towards himself as towards a friend, since he has nothing in him worthy of affection (*Lect. IV.*). All that is essential to kindly feeling is that a man should wish another well—it is friendship which has not yet borne fruit (*Lect. V.*). Unanimity has to do with friendship, and is concerned with matters of action involving great interests, and equally concerning two persons at least: it is a species of political or public friendship (*Lect. VI.*). A man's work may in a sense said to be his inner self embodied in an external form, and this has to do with explaining the principle of beneficence (*Lect. VII.*). Since the best friend a man has is himself, it follows he ought to love himself the most, and it is explained how this should be understood (*Lect. VIII.*). A good man ought to be a lover of himself, inasmuch as if his acts be noble he will reap good fruit in himself, and will confer great benefit upon others. A good man in all things obeys his reason (*Lect. IX.*). The happy man will stand in need of friends, inasmuch as he will love to contemplate actions which are good in themselves, and akin to his own. Continuity is also essential (*Lect. X.*). A man ought to have a sympathetic consciousness of the existence of his friend (*Lect. XI.*). It is a safe rule to be content with such a number of friends that it becomes possible for us to pass our life in their society (*Lect. XII.*). When we are in prosperity we cannot be too ready to summon our friends to share our good fortune, but we ought to be slow to call upon them to share our misfortunes (*Lect. XIII.*). For friends the most choice-worthy of all things is to pass their time together—since the essence of friendship is community. With the stamp of his own pleasures each man marks his friend, and this is the meaning of the saying—

"Live with the good, and thou shalt learn their ways." (*Lect. XIV.*)

Book X. On pleasure. It, of all things, would seem to be part of the very nature of the human race. In all matters of human feeling and conduct, abstract argument is far less to be relied upon than are facts. So, in this discussion, there is no doubt what is to be done (*Lect. I.*). Pleasure and pain are opposed to each other as perfect and complete contradictories (*Lect.*

man has a function which he carries out well according to his own perfection—for the supreme good of a man consists in the activity of the soul according to its own excellence (*Lect. X.*). But too strict proof must not be looked for. It must be remembered that a clear statement of premisses makes many problems self-evident (*Lect. XI.*). Different philosophers place the end in different objects; but as at the Olympic games it is not the strongest that are crowned, or the most beautiful, but they who run, so they who act rightly amongst the good and noble will obtain life's prize (*Lect. XII.*). A life of virtuous acts requires no pleasure to deck it like an amulet, for it possesses a pleasure proper to itself. The inscription at Delos says:—

"Justice is noblest, best of goods is health,
Sweetest to win the object of desire."

Yet happiness cannot do without some external aids (*Lect. XIII.*). Happiness is an object most divine, however it comes about. Happiness presupposes perfect virtue, and a life in all respects complete (*Lect. XIV.*). Nor need we wait till a man be dead to predicate happiness of him (*Lect. XV.*). Virtuous acts are more lasting than scientific knowledge, for it is a man's own acts that determine his life (*Lect. XVI.*). Though the fortune of men's friends affect the dead, still not so as to make those who are happy miserable, or produce any change of great consequence (*Lect. XVII.*). The reward of happiness is honour; for happiness is the end of human acts, and must be deserving of honour, and something divine (*Lect. XVIII.*). Now, to understand happiness virtue must be understood, and to understand virtue the soul must be studied (*Lect. XIX.*). Then the nutritive soul is discussed, then the concupiscent—both parts of the irrational soul. The rational element is twofold, the one possessing reason in itself, the other subject to reason, as a son to his father. Hence the classification of virtues into intellectual and moral; under the former, philosophy, appreciation, and prudence; under the latter liberality and temperance (*Lect. XX.*).

Book II. Intellectual virtue needs experience; moral is acquired by habit. Habit cannot alter the action of moral law, so the acquirement of moral virtue does not militate against the laws of man's being, and habits are formed by acts of a like nature to themselves (*Lect. I.*) How are these acts to be

II.). The discussion of pleasure continued (*Lect. III.*). It is clear that neither is pleasure as a whole identical with good, nor is all pleasure choice-worthy (*Lect. IV.*). Pleasure is, at any moment of its continuance, perfect in kind; hence it is distinct from any kind of process. Pleasure is an absolute whole (*Lect. V.*). There is good reason to believe that all men desire pleasure, since all men crave for the consciousness of active life. Pleasure perfects all our activities; without activity there can be no pleasure, and without pleasure no activity can be perfect (*Lect. VI.*). Pleasure intensifies the act which it accompanies. Its own special pleasure produces upon each act a result exactly contrary to that which is produced by its special pain (*Lect. VII.*). Exactly as our acts can be distinguished from one another, so, too, can our pleasures. When beings are distinct from one another in kind, their pleasures also will be distinct in kind. Those pleasures alone which perfect the acts in which they manifest themselves have any claim to the distinctive title of the pleasure of man (*Lect. VIII.*). Now of happiness, which is the end and consummation of all things human. The life of happiness is a life of virtue, and consequently is an earnest life, consisting in something more than mere amusement (*Lect. IX.*). As happiness consists in an activity in which virtue is consciously manifested, it follows that virtue thus manifested will constitute the highest excellence of the noblest of our faculties. The activity will consist in the contemplation of abstract truth; for reason is the highest of our faculties, and the objects upon which reason exercises itself are the highest of all objects of thought. Of all our acts, philosophic speculation is the only one which is loved absolutely for itself, and quite independently of its results (*Lect. X.*). We should, as far as in us lies, act as if immortality were our share by seeking in everything we do to lead a life in conformity with that element in ourselves which is highest and best (*Lect. XI.*). The Divine Life in all its exceeding blessedness will consist in the exercise of contemplation (*Lect. XII.*). Of all human activities, that will be the happiest which is most akin to the Divine. And this must be combined with moderate good fortune (*Lect. XIII.*). Law is necessary, whose commands carry with them a compulsory sanction of their own, being, as it were, the dictates in which abstract prudence and reason are embodied (*Lect. XIV.*). He who desires to improve others, whether many or few, by his own personal supervision, must do his best to make himself master of the general theory of legislation (*Lect. XV.*). How is it to be learnt? From politicians (*Lect. XVI.*).

formed? By avoiding excess and defect; too much exercise as well as too little destroys strength (*Lect. II.*). Our habits can be tested by the pleasure or pain resulting from them. Plato says that from a man's youth he should be trained to feel pleasure and pain in fitting objects. Man's emotions are the field of moral action: the good, the useful, and the pleasant, determine man in pursuit; the bad, the hurtful, and the painful, act in the contrary way (*Lect. III.*). Moral acts, to be done with virtue, must fulfil three conditions. 1. A man must know what he is doing. 2. He must act with deliberate purpose, and choose the act for its own sake. 3. He must act from a fixed and unalterable habit of mind. Talking will do no more good than listening attentively to a doctor, and then following none of his prescriptions (*Lect. IV.*). What is the genus of virtue—emotions, capabilities, or habits? It is proved by an exhaustive argument to be habits (*Lect. V.*). What is the *differentia* of virtue? Virtue will aim at the mean, for excess is an error, and defect is blamed as a fault (*Lect. VI.*). But it is not every action or emotion that allows of moderation. There are some whose name itself—like adultery, theft, homicide—class them with vices which are absolutely bad. Under whatever circumstances such acts are committed they are wrong (*Lect. VII.*). Examples of excess, defect, and the mean are given, e.g., magnificence is a mean; its excess, bad taste and vulgarity, its defect, pettiness (*Lect. VIII.*). More examples are given; and it is shown that there are also mean conditions of emotions—shame, for instance, which is not a virtue, still he who manifests it receives praise (*Lect. IX.*). So there are three states of mind, excess and defect—vices; and the mean—virtue; and these in a way are opposed to each other. The extremes are opposed to one another as well as to the mean, and the mean is opposed to the extremes, and contraries are “all such things as are furthest removed from each other” (*Lect. X.*). It is no easy thing to hit the mean in every case. To what extreme are we inclined to drift? Pain and pleasure are the tests. Pleasure, and what gives pleasure, must be carefully guarded against (*Lect. XI.*).

Book III. What is involuntary action? That which is done through compulsion or ignorance. Some actions are mixed; but when the efficient cause is in ourselves then the action seems to be voluntary (*Lect. I.*). What is a compulsory act? It is an act the efficient cause of which is purely external, and to which he who performs the act contributes nothing. But there are acts which in the abstract are involuntary, but in the concrete are voluntary (*Lect. II.*). Every action done in ignorance is non-voluntary, and strictly involuntary when it is followed by pain and implies regret; and acting in ignorance—like one drunk—is not the same as acting from ignorance, as the wicked do; nor is involuntary applied to the ignorant action of a wicked man, who ought to know better (*Lect. III.*). Men's actions are not involuntary on account of being elicited by anger and by desire (*Lect. IV.*). What, now, is purpose? Voluntary, but with a more circumscribed range. It is not desire, nor anger, nor wish. Purpose has for its object the means to an action (*Lect. V.*); nor is it identical with opinion. Is not the object of purpose all such voluntary action as involves a previous deliberation? The etymology of the word “purpose” seems to indicate a previous rejection of other alternatives; so it involves reasoning (*Lect. VI.*). What do men deliberate about? About that alone which is in their own individual power, and where general rules only can be laid down, and in which each particular case is uncertain, and with regard to means rather than the end (*Lect. VII.*). The next (*Lect. VIII.*) continues the same subject; and the result is that a purpose is

a desire for something which is within our reach, together with an investigation into the means of attaining it (*Lect. IX.*). Regarding the object of wishes; the abstract and true object of wish is that which is really good, while for the individual the object of his wish is that which he holds to be good (*Lect. X.*). From what has been said it follows that it is in our power to be good men or bad: for the causes of our actions are under our own control, and therefore our actions themselves are under our control, and so voluntary (*Lect. XI.*). What if a man be incapable of attention? He himself is responsible. If a man persists in a course of conduct which must make him unjust—and knows this—he will become unjust of his own free will. Not only the vices of our souls are voluntary, but in some cases those of our bodies (*Lect. XII.*). Are men masters of their conceptions? A man must be born with what may be called a moral sight, by which he will judge rightly, and will choose that which is really good. How then is virtue voluntary? Because the good man voluntarily uses the right means (*Lect. XIII.*). Of bravery. The brave man is concerned with the greatest of terrible things, and under the noblest conditions: and such is death in war, involving the greatest and noblest of all risks (*Lect. XIV.*). A brave man is never terrified out of his self-possession. He who with the right end in view faces what he ought, and fears it, and does so as he ought, and when he ought, and with confidence, he is brave (*Lect. XV.*). The next (*Lect. XVI.*) enlarges on bravery. The next treats of what kind of men are really brave, and what sort of men they are who are falsely called such (*Lect. XVII.*). Continued (*Lect. XVIII.*). Next to bravery comes temperance, both virtues of the irrational portions of the soul. With what kind of pleasure is this “mean” concerned? Temperance is concerned with some of the bodily pleasures, that is, with touch and taste (*Lect. XIX.*). Excess in the matter of pleasures constitutes intemperance, and calls for blame (*Lect. XX.*). The temperate man judges all pleasures by the standard of right reason (*Lect. XXI.*). As a boy ought to live by his tutor’s rule, so desire ought to act by the rule of reason (*Lect. XXII.*).

Book IV. Liberality. It is the mean state which is concerned with property, especially regarding giving, and putting wealth to its best use (*Lect. I.*). The liberal man will have a noble view in distributing his gifts. His distinctive mark is to leave for himself the smaller share (*Lect. II.*). The liberal man will both give and take as he ought (*Lect. III.*). The prodigal man gives to others and abstains from taking, only he does neither of these rightly and properly. The illiberal man does not benefit anybody, not even himself (*Lect. IV.*). Illiberality has two principal characteristics—giving too few presents, and taking too many and too large sums. Illiberality is in itself a greater evil than prodigality, and it leads men into errors both more numerous and more great (*Lect. V.*). Next comes magnificence, with property for its object, and is confined to the expensive; and here it exceeds liberality. Its defect is pettiness, its excess vulgarity. The characteristic of the magnificent man is magnitude of scale (*Lect. VI.*). The most magnificent expense is a great expense upon a great object; and this greatness is the measure of the magnificence (*Lect. VII.*). High-mindedness comes next, and involves greatness of scale, just as true beauty requires a great body—little men being neat and symmetrical, indeed, but still not beautiful. The virtue of the high-minded man is concerned with honour. High-mindedness is the crown of all the virtues; it is impossible to be high-minded without perfect nobility of character (*Lect. VIII.*). The high-minded does not treat

honour as the very greatest of all goods ; hence the high-minded are held to be arrogant. Those who have good fortune, and nothing more, end by becoming arrogant and insolent (*Lect. IX.*). The achievements of the high-minded man will be few, but great in themselves, and of great repute. The high-minded man ought to move slowly, and his voice ought to be deep, and his utterance deliberate (*Lect. X.*). The deficiency of this is little-mindedness, and its excess vanity. These two are enlarged upon (*Lect. XI.*). We blame the ambitious man as being one who craves for honour more than he ought, and who seeks it from improper sources ; and we blame the unambitious man as one who will not receive honour, even at the price of a noble achievement (*Lect. XII.*). Gentleness is a mean with regard to anger ; the excess wrathfulness (*Lect. XIII.*). Next comes a description of the man who observes the mean in his social conduct. The obsequious, the flatterer, the surly and contentious, are here described (*Lect. XIV.*). The braggart, the ironical, the "plain blunt man," the truthful man, and the "mock modest" are described (*Lect. XV.*), and the buffoon, the savage and austere, the witty. What is decorous ridicule ? To say nothing that does not become a liberally-minded man, though it would seem that no exact rule can be given (*Lect. XVI.*). Shame "is the fear of evil repute," more an emotion than a formed state of character. The young ought to have a proper sense of shame : not so an old man ; for no man of such an age ought to do anything of which he need be ashamed (*Lect. XVII.*).

Such are the principles of Aristotle adopted by the Angelical, which play so large a part in his teachings or morality. The words themselves of the Stagyrte, as far as possible, have been given, since thus the double advantage is gained of possessing the ideas of the author himself, and also the principles propagated by his commentator ; for S. Thomas in the *Ethics* follows the Stagyrte without advancing any opinions of his own, except, for instance, when Aristotle speaks of the gods, and then he interprets him to mean the separate substances.*

* In this résumé, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, by Robert Williams, B.A., have been followed as nearly as possible

CHAPTER IX.

S. THOMAS AND FAITH.

PART I.

THERE is a picture of the Angelical in the church of S. Catherine at Pisa, painted (1340) by Traini, which vividly portrays with the pencil what I have been aiming at sketching with the pen. The Saint is in the centre ; above him is represented the Almighty in a sea of light surrounded by choirs of angels ; below, in the clouds, are Moses, the Evangelists, and S. Paul. From the Eternal Father lines of light strike down upon these men of God ; and from them, in a threefold ray, concentrate upon the forehead of the Angelical. On either side of S. Thomas, somewhat lower down, are Plato and Aristotle, the one holding the *Timæus* open before him, the other the *Ethics* ; and from each of these a beam ascends and fastens itself on the brow of the Angelical, harmonizing with the Divine illumination which proceeds from the Everlasting Father. The Saint himself is seated : the Sacred Scriptures lie open before him ; whilst he, calm, gentle, and majestic, points to the first words of the "*Summa adversus Gentiles* :—" "My mouth shall meditate truth, and my lips shall hate the impious one."* The "impious one" is Averroës who lies prostrate at his feet with the "Commentary" at his side, struck by one of the flashes which shoot from the pages of the inspired writings unrolled upon the knees of the Angel of the Schools.†

* *Proverbs, Chap. VIII. v. 7.*

† Gaddi painted a still more complicated picture in the church of S. Maria Novella. The Angelical is in the centre, surrounded with glory, an elaborate Gothic baldachino hangs over him, he holds a book in his hand with the words—" *Propter hoc optavi et datus est mihi senex: et invocavi et venit in me spiritus sapientiar, et præposui illam regnis et sedibus.*" (*Sap. Cap. VII. p. 7—8.*) Above him are angels, on each side the Prophets and Evangelists, five on either hand—Moses, Isaiah, Solomon, David, Job, the four Evangelists, and S. Paul : at his feet lie the enemies of Christian truth—Arius, Sabellius, and Averroës with his Turban and his *Commentary*. Then come fourteen allegorical female figures representing the seven sciences and the seven arts, with the representative man of each several science and art at their feet. The sciences are represented by Justinian, Clement V., Denis, the Lombard, Boëthius, the Damascene, and S. Augustine ; the arts, by Abraham, Enkid, Atlas, Tubalcain, Zeno, Cicero, and Priscian. (*Cf*

Here then is S. Thomas combating the aberrations of the world, and the special errors of his day, through the power of a double illumination; that which proceeds from above in the supernatural order of revelation, and that which comes from below through the light of human reason: Moses, the Evangelists, and S. Paul on the one hand; Plato and Aristotle on the other. The concentrated radiance of the supernatural and the natural orders, when brought to bear upon the intellect of a Saint like the Angelical, could not but issue in some great benefit to the Christian world.* So deep a knowledge of the Fathers, so profound an acquaintance with Holy Scripture, so marvellous a mastery of human as well as divine philosophy, joined to a burning zeal for souls, resulted in a series of scientific writings which, leaving out the "*Summa Theologica*" altogether, would immortalize the name of any scholastic.

The character and contents of these works must be briefly indicated, in order to convey some idea of the intellectual activity and theological position of the Angel of the Schools.

Besides his formal lectures in the University, the Saint was in the habit of solving the difficulties and answering the questions of any who thought fit to apply to him.† The collection of these answers and solutions, which are called "*Questiones Quodlibetales*," forms a very curious and interesting study. They are very miscellaneous in their subjects, some being profound, others quaint, a few almost absurd, according to the character of him who asked them, but they are specially instructive as evincing the general tendency of theological thought in the thirteenth century.‡

Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel*, p. 873—874; also Klugler's *Handbuch*, B.L., p. 325—330.) Poetry also has not been silent; the *Summa* was thrown into verse by Hyacinth Ruggieri (Rome, 1652). Werner also speaks of F. Francisci's *Sol Aquinas illustratus sacra poesi, sive Panegyris epigrammatica hezastica in vitam D. Thomæ, in tres libros distincta*. Romæ 1681, 4º.

* The Angelical was principally raised up to demonstrate the harmony between faith and reason. It was by this that he overset one of the cardinal errors of the Arabians:—"Wer die Schriften der Scholastiker liest, der wird gar häufig der Formel begegnen: 'es sei etwas wahr oder könne hingehen in der Philosophie und Theologie;' oder: 'es verstatte ein Satz sowohl gegen die Principien der Philosophie, als auch gegen den Glaubensinhalt; oder: 'es sei etwas irthümlich nach der Philosophie, und häretisch nach dem Glauben;' ja sogar: 'es sei dieses oder jenes häretisch im Glauben und in der Philosophie.' Ueberall legen also die Scholastiker den Arabisten gegenüber ein besonderes Gewicht darauf, nicht blos theoretisch den Grundsatz festzuhalten dass Vernunft und Glaube sich nicht widerstreiten können, sondern dieses auch im Einzelnen und Besondern nachzuweisen, besonders in Bezug auf jene Lehrenmeinungen, welche die Arabisten, obgleich sie mit dem Glauben im Widerspruch ständen, als philosophisch wahr festhielten. Und gerade daraus erwuchs für die Scholastik der grosse Vortheil, dass solche Fragen auf philosophischem Standpunkte mit aller Gründlichkeit und nach allen Seiten hin erörtert wurden: was vielleicht ohne jenen Gegensatz nicht in dem gleichen Masse geschehen sein würde." (Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung, Einleitung*, p. 11.)

† See Volume I. of this work, Chap. XVIII., p. —.

‡ His treatment of the question of baptizing Jewish children against the wish of their parents is interesting (*Quodlib. II., Art. VII., p. 478, Fol. IX.*). Does a Crusader who dies before he has set out on his journey gain a plenary indulgence of all his sins? (*Quodlib. II., Art. XVI., p. 484.*) Did Christ truly eat after the Resurrection, and assimilate food? (*Quodlib. III., Art. V., p. 488.*) Are disciples following different opinions of their masters excused from the sin of error? (*Quodlib. III., Art. X., p. 491.*) Can one disembodied spirit know another disembodied spirit? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXI., p. 501.*) Do the damned rejoice at the sufferings of their

The "*Quæstiones*" occupy one hundred and thirty pages of the Parma edition. Each "*Quodlibetum*," and of these there are twelve, contains a given set of questions, each question having under it a certain number of articles. For instance, the first "*Quodlibetum*" contains ten questions, answered by twenty-two articles; the second eight, with sixteen articles; the third fourteen, with thirty articles; and so on. In all, the number of articles under the twelve "*Quodlibeta*" extends to one hundred and sixty, differing in length or importance according to the subject-matter. Points, for instance, which had a peculiar interest at that day, are treated fully, such as questions regarding the corruption of forms;^a the relation of parochial work to study;^b the drawing of young men into religion;^c the relative perfection of religious and parish priests;^d the reception of children to the habit who have not been practised in the precepts;^e the relation of precepts to counsels;^f the precedence of precepts or counsels;^g whether the Angelic intellect can know individual things;^h whether manual labour is of precept;ⁱ and many more which it would be tiring to enumerate.

As examples of quaint questions these might be mentioned:—Whether an angel can pass from point to point without going through the intermediate space;^k whether it suffices to confess *in scriptis*;^l whether perjury be a greater sin than homicide;^m whether a monk sins mortally by eating meat;ⁿ whether it is a sin to wish to be a bishop;^o whether the damned rejoice in the punishment of their enemies;^p whether this be false: "God can sin if he wishes;"^q whether a crusader who is returning from the Holy Land dies a better death than one who is going thither;^r whether an angel can be in the convexity of the empyrean heavens;^s whether a person could be naturally or miraculously both a virgin and a father;^t whether truth be stronger than wine, a king, or a woman;^u and so on of the rest.

All these subjects evince the play and activity of the scholastic mind at that day, and how patiently the Angelical set him-

enemies? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXIV., p. 503.*) How far is a man obliged to follow his conscience when in error? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXVII., p. 505.*) Is the rainbow a sign that there will be no deluge? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXX., p. 507.*) Should theological conclusions be the work of reason, or of authority? (*Quodlib. IV., Art. XVIII., p. 517.*) Does he sin, who, possessing superfluity, refuses a beggar who asks him for alms? (*Quodlib. VIII., Art. XI., p. 581.*)

- (a) *Quodlibetum I., Art. V., p. 462, Vol. IX.* (b) *Quodlib. I., Art. XIV., p. 467.*
 (c) *Quodlib. III., Art. XI., p. 491; also Art. XIII., p. 494—495.* (d) *Quodlib. IV., Art. XXII., p. 519.*
 (e) *Quodlib. III., Art. VII., p. 496.* (f) *Quodlib. V., Art. XIX., p. 536.*
 (g) *Quodlib. IV., Art. XXIV., p. 525.*
 (h) *Quodlib. VII., Art. III., p. 555.*
 (i) *Quodlib. VII., Art. XVII., p. 565; also Art. XVIII., p. 567.*
 (k) *Quodlib. I., Art. V., p. 461, Vol. IX.* (l) *Quodlib. I., Art. X., p. 465.*
 (m) *Quodlib. I., Art. XVIII., p. 470.* (n) *Quodlib. I., Art. XX., p. 470.*
 (o) *Quodlib. III., Art. XI., p. 481.* (p) *Quodlib. III., Art. XXIV., p. 503.*
 (q) *Quodlib. V., Art. IV., p. 529.* (r) *Quodlib. V., Art. XIV., p. 534.*
 (s) *Quodlib. VI., Art. III., p. 543; (Cf. Summa Theologica, Pars I., Quæst. LXVIII., Art. IV., p. 268, Vol. I.)* (t) *Quodlib. VI., Art. XVIII., p. 551.* (u) *Quodlib. XII., Art. XX., p. 626.*

self to answer, for the sake of others, questions which he himself often thought to be frivolous or beside the point.

The "*Questiones Disputatæ*" belong to quite another order of thought. They contain the subject-matter of the Angelical's deepest Expositions. He composed them in his responsible office of teacher in the schools. After the Master had finished his "Commentary" on the "Sentences," he then carried the students through a more elevated course, and developed, expanded, or explained special questions of theology. This was the main occupation of S. Thomas from the time he took his Doctor's cap till he was called away to Italy.* This was with him a period of great intellectual activity. He was steadily preparing and quarrying the stone for his imperial edifice; his labours on the "*Questiones Disputatæ*" bear immediately upon it, and are as direct and perfect a preparation as he could have made for the great labour of his life. The advance made by him here upon his earlier works is evident at a glance. The eye is steadier and clearer, hard knots are cut with a quicker and more incisive hand, truth is brought out as with a lens, all outlines are sharp, error is crushed, and the workman shows himself to be not merely an able man but a thorough master.

These "*Questiones Disputatæ*" occupy a large space amongst the minor writings of the Saint; they take up one thousand and ninety pages, making sixty-three questions, and over four hundred articles.† The great treatise, it may be called, "*De Veritate*," which would have given a name to any theologian or philosopher, had he never written anything else, fills some four hundred and fifty pages, and was the outcome of over two years' steady labour. Twenty-nine questions, and a proportionate number of articles, are contained under that single head.‡ None of those strange difficulties found amongst the

* Werner sees the architectonic principle in these elaborate "Questions." He says:—"Es wurde bemerkt, dass Thomas in den *Questionibus disputatis* die Kunst der scholastischen Dialektik zu ihrem höchsten Grade auszubilden bemüht war. Es galt der sorgfältigsten Anarbeitung, Bestimmung und Begränzung jedes einzelnen theologischen Begriffes, um ihn als allseitig passendes Glied dem grossen Bau einfügen zu können, welcher vor seiner Seele stand. Die scholastische Thätigkeit war ihrem ganzen Wesen nach constructiv und architektonisch; auf vollkommenste Durchbildung dieser architektonischen Kunst zweckte dem auch letztlich die Bearbeitung aller Einzelheiten des Baumaterials ab. Demnach musste denn auch jedes einzelne Object und Problem zur Gesamtheit der übrigen in die vielseitigste Relation gesetzt werden und dadurch eine dem Sinne des Ganzen entsprechende Gestalt bekommen, damit es sich dem Ganzen harmonisch einfügte und den Sinn des Ganzen auf die vielseitigste Weise spiegelte, dem geschliffenen Krystalle ähnlich, der in seinen vielen Flächen das eine und selbe Bild vielfach wiedergibt. Für solche kunstreich gearbeitete, und das in sie geleitete Licht einer tiefen Weisheit in hundertfältigem, vielfarbigem Reflexe widerstrahlende krystallinische Gebilde sind die einzelnen articuli der *questiones disputatæ* zu nehmen." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 361—362.)

† Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *Questiones Disputatæ*, Tom. I., p. 1—638; Tom. II., p. 1—438; Vol. VIII., IX. Ed. Form.

‡ For instance: De Veritate, p. 1—22; De Scientia Dei, p. 23—51; De Ideis, p. 52—62; De Verbo, p. 63—72; De Providentia, p. 73—90; De Prædestinatione, p. 92—102; De Libro Vitæ, p. 103—110; De cognitione Angelorum, p. 111—144; De cognitione Scientiæ Angelicæ per illuminationem et locutionem, p. 145—153; De Mente, p. 154—180; De Magistro, p. 181—189; De Prophetia, p. 190—216; De Raptu, p. 217—225; De Fide, p. 226—247; De Ratione superiori et inferiori, p. 248—259; De Synderesi, p. 259—264; De Conscientia, p. 264—272; De cognitione primi hominis, p. 273

"*Quodlibeta*" are allowed to enter here. All is serious work. Some of the deepest problems of theology, some of the most abstract questions of philosophy, some of the most insidious errors of metaphysics are here discussed. Perhaps the Angelical never wrote a work which pointed more directly at the errors of his day, or sank so deeply into the well of truth. The pantheism of the Easterns, the rationalistic principles of Abelard, the various heresies which were fixed in the intellect of the thirteenth century, are combated and completely overthrown, not merely through the power of authority, but by the sharp-pointed lance of reason.* The doctrines of emanation, the grotesque teachings of Spanish and Arabian philosophers, are met fairly, and are as fairly proved abortive. Any one reading the "*Summa Theologica*" after studying these "*Questiones Disputate*" will perceive that whilst he was forming the minds of his students and annihilating error, the Angelical was at the same time hewing out the great blocks and keystones for his mighty architectonic work.

These "*Questiones Disputate*" are thrown into certain grand divisions. The first, headed "*De Potentia*," is composed of ten questions,† with a certain number of articles under each, sometimes seven, sometimes nineteen, sometimes six, according to the subject-matter. Next comes "*De Malo*," sixteen questions in all, with their various articles.‡ Two questions succeed, each complete in itself and called a "*Questio Unica*,"

—287; De cognitione anime separate, p. 288—292; De scientia anime Christi, p. 293—302; De Bono, p. 303—312; De Voluntate, p. 314—334; De Voluntate Dei, p. 335—347; De libero Arbitrio, p. 349—376; De Sensualitate, p. 377—386; De Passionibus Anime, p. 387—408; De Gratia, p. 411—426; De Justificatione impii, p. 427—443; De Gratia Christi, p. 445—456. As an example of the Articles, take *Questio XI., De Magistro*: there are four articles:—1. *Utrum homo possit docere vel dici magister, vel solus Deus.* 2. *Utrum aliquis possit dici magister sui ipsius.* 3. *Utrum homo ab Angelo doceri possit.* 4. *Utrum docere sit actus vite contemplative, vel active.* Vol. IX. Ed. Parm.

* Take simply two points: creation, and the nature of the human soul—points on which the Easterns principally erred. In teaching these the Angelical brings out the full truth by a most masterly analysis. See *Questio III., De Creatione*, under the general heading of *De Potentia*, p. 24—75. This one question is resolved in nineteen articles, to give which will be to convey an idea of the rest. 1. *Utrum Deus possit aliquid creare ex nihilo.* 2. *Utrum creatio sit mutatio.* 3. *Utrum creatio sit aliquid realiter in creatura, et si est, quid sit.* 4. *Utrum potentia creandi sit alicui creature communicabilis, vel etiam actus creationis.* 5. *Utrum possit esse aliquid quod non sit a Deo creatum.* 6. *Utrum sit unum tantum creatiois principium.* 7. *Utrum Deus operetur in operatione nature.* 8. *Utrum Deus operetur in natura creando.* 9. *Utrum anima rationalis educatur in esse per creationem, vel per semelius traditionem.* 10. *Utrum anima rationalis sit creata in corpore.* 11. *Utrum anima sensibilis vel vegetabilis sit per creationem, vel traditur ex semine.* 12. *Utrum anima sensibilis vel vegetabilis sit in semine a principio quando decidit.* 13. *Utrum aliquid eius ab alio possit esse eternum.* 14. *Utrum quod est a Deo diversum in essentia, possit semper fuisse.* 15. *Utrum res processerit a Deo per necessitatem nature vel per arbitrium voluntatis.* 16. *Utrum ab uno primo possit procedere multitudo.* 17. *Utrum mundus semper fuerit.* 18. *Utrum Angeli sint creati ante mundum visibilem.* 19. *Utrum poterint esse Angeli ante mundum visibilem.* (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. VIII.)

† I.—*De Potentia Dei*; II.—*De potentia generativa in Divinis*; III.—*De Creatione*; IV.—*De creatione materie informis*; V.—*De Conservatione rerum in esse a Deo*; VI.—*De Miraculis*; VII.—*De Divine Essentie simplicitate*; VIII.—*De his que relative dicuntur de Deo ab eterno*; IX.—*De Personis Divinis*; X.—*De Processione Divinarum Personarum.*

‡ I.—*De malo in communi*; II.—*De Peccatis*; III.—*De Causa peccati*; IV.—*De Peccato originali*; V.—*De Poena originalis peccati*; VI.—*De electione humana, seu de libero arbitrio*; VII.—*De peccato veniali*; VIII.—*De vitiis capitalibus*; IX.—*De inani gloria*; X.—*De invidia*; XI.—*De accidia*; XII.—*De ira*; XIII.—*De avaritia*; XIV.—*De gula*; XV.—*De luxuria*; XVI.—*De demoniis.*

one "*De Spiritualibus Creaturis*," the other "*De Anima*;"* and finally there is a third, "*De Unione Verbi Incarnati*." Five more "*Quæstiones Unicæ*" follow, "*De Virtutibus in Communi*," "*De Caritate*," "*De Correctione Fraterna*," "*De Spe*," and "*De Virtutibus Cardinalibus*." Lastly, there is that splendid treatise "*De Veritate*," which, as has been said, is one of the most marvellous writings of the great Angelical. It is divided into twenty-nine questions, with the usual series of articles according to the division of the object-matter. It embraces four hundred and fifty pages, the subjects are treated with the greatest care and elaboration, are developed with singular lucidity, and a thread of order runs through the whole which lends a unity to the component parts.

Under the great headings of "Power," "Evil," and "Truth," the Saint has treated with a depth, simplicity, and brevity all his own, some of the most difficult and most important questions of religion and philosophy. For the reader to grasp the power of S. Thomas in overthrowing error, and to acquire a notion of his driving force of mind, these questions themselves must be studied in detail. To bring out his full merit, even in this his minor work, would occupy not simply a few pages, but a moderate volume.†

One of the most useful and handy of the Saint's works is his "*Compendium Theologie*," which he dedicated to his beloved *socius* Reginald.‡ It is a model of simplicity, lucidity, and reasoning. Most probably it was written specially for the use of missionaries who went into distant parts amidst pagans and barbarians. It is a most compendious *résumé* of Catholic doctrine, thrown into a nut-shell, and yet capable of being expanded

* "*De Spiritualibus Creaturis*" is thrown into eleven articles, "*De Anima*" into twenty-one. They directly overstep the doctrines of the Arabs and of Averroës. For example, see under the first heading, *Art. IX.*—Utrum intellectus possibilis sit unus in omnibus hominibus, p. 452; and *Art. X.*—Utrum intellectus agens sit unus omnium hominum, p. 456; and under the second, *Art. II.*—Utrum anima humana sit separata secundum esse, p. 468; *Art. III.*—Utrum intellectus possibilis, sive anima intellectiva sit una in omnibus, p. 472; *Art. V.*—Utrum intellectus agens sit unus et separatus, p. 478. These are points which the Angelical is never wearied of insisting on and of repeating continually. (S. Thomas Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. VIII.)

† Take as an example the simple Article (under *Questio VI.*, p. 308—313, Vol. VIII.) *Utrum homo habeat liberam electionem actuum, aut ex necessitate eligat.* Here are as many as twenty-four arguments advanced against the liberty of man's will; next the whole matter is discussed, developed, explained, and then twenty-four detailed replies are given to the arguments advanced in the beginning. This position is founded on *Scripture* and *Philosophy*:—"Sed contra est quod dicit *Eccl. XV.*, 14: *Deus ab initio constituit hominem, et reliquit eum in manibus constitit sui.* Hoc autem non esset, nisi haberet liberam electionem, que est appetitus præconsiliati, ut dicitur in *III. Ethic. (Cap. II. et III.)*. Ergo homo habet liberam electionem suorum actuum. Præterea, potentias rationales sunt ad opposita, secundum Philosophum (*IX. Metaph. Com. III.*). Sed voluntas est potentia rationalis; est enim in ratione, ut dicitur in *III. De Anima (Com. XLII.)*. Ergo voluntas se habet ad opposita et non ex necessitate movetur ad unum. Præterea, secundum Philosophum (*in III. Ethic. Cap. V.*), homo est dominus sui actus, et in ipso est agere et non agere. Sed hoc non esset, si non haberet liberam electionem suorum actuum."

‡ *Compendium Theologie* ad Fratrem Reginaldum Socium suum carissimum, p. 1—85 (*Opusculum I.*), Vol. XVII. In reality it principally consists in a development of the *Tractatus* De decem præceptis et lege Amoris (*Opusc. III.*), p. 97—114; De Articulis Fidei et Ecclesiæ Sacramentis (*Opusc. IV.*), p. 115—122; Expositio Orationalis Dominice (*Opusc. V.*), p. 123—134; and the Expositio Symboli Apostolorum (*Opusc. VII.*), p. 135—151, Vol. XVI. (See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI, p. , sqq.)

by one who knows how to elicit the fruitfulness of principle, and serviceable in every way to those having the care of souls: it is a kind of "*Summa Theologica*" in its minutest form. Here, unlike in several of the *Opuscula*, the Saint does not rest so much upon authority as on reason; that is to say, he carefully confirms by intellectual arguments those positions which have been before maintained by faith.*

This little work occupies eighty-five pages. The first part is subdivided into two hundred and forty-six chapters; the second has only ten; the third was never written. It was originally proposed to be in three grand divisions: the first treating of matters which could be reduced to the general heading of Faith, the second to that of Hope, and the third to that of Charity.† The Angelical, however, had only time fully to complete the first portion; at his death he had not got beyond the beginning of the eleventh chapter of the second part, in which he designed to prove the possibility of obtaining the kingdom of heaven.‡

It stands to reason that the two hundred and forty-six chapters of this *Compendium* cannot be very heavy ones. Their length varies; those dealing with subjects intimately affecting the errors of that day, for instance, respecting the Arabian aberrations regarding the unity of man's intellect, are drawn out at considerable length, and are argued with great care and elaboration. Then, again, all those questions which bear upon our Lord are more fully developed than any other dogmatic portions. On the whole, especially in the first part of the *Compendium*, Scripture is but scantily made use of, whilst the Fathers are seldom referred to. Simplicity, order, brevity, and

* The Saint begins thus:—"Æterni Patris verbum sua immensitate universa comprehendens, ut hominem per peccata minoratum in celsitudinem divine gloriæ revocaret, breve fieri voluit nostra brevitate assumpta, non sua deposita maiestate. Et ut a celestis verbi capessenda doctrina nullus excensabilis redderetur, quod pro studiosis diffuse et dilucide per diversa Scripturæ sanctæ volumina tradiderat, propter occupatos sub brevi summa humanæ salutis doctrinam conclusit. Consistit enim humana salus in veritatis cognitione, ne per diversos errores infelicitur obsecratur humanus: in debiti finis intentione, ne indebitos fines sectando, a vera felicitate delicias; in iustitiæ observatione, ne per vitia divitiæ sordescat. Cognitionem autem veritatis humanæ salutis necessariam brevibus et paucis fidei articulis comprehendit." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia*, Cap. I., p. 1, Vol. XVI.)

† The Saint says himself:—"Ut igitur tibi, fili carissime Reginalde, compendiosam doctrinam de christiana religione tradam, quam semper præ oculis passis habere; circa hæc tria in presenti opere tota nostra versatur intentio. Primum de Fide, secundo de Spe, tertio vero de Caritate agemus. Hoc enim et apostolicus ordo habet, et ratio recta requirit. Non enim amor rectus esse potest, nisi debitis finis spei statuatur; nec hoc esse potest, si veritatis agnitio desit. Primo igitur necessaria est fides, per quam veritatem cognoscas; secundo spes, per quam in debito fine tua intentio collocetur; tertio necessaria est caritas, per quam tuus affectus totaliter ordinetur." (Cap. 1, p. 1, Vol. XVI.)

‡ These are his last words (Cap. II., *Quod regnum obtineri est possibile*.):—"Oportet autem ulterius ostendere, quod homo ad illud regnum pervenire possit: alioquin frustra speraret et pateretur. Primum autem apparet hoc esse possibile ex promissione divina: dicit enim Dominus, Luc. XII., 32: 'Nolite timere pusillus grex, quia complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum.' Est autem divinum beneplacitum efficax ad implendum omne quod disponit, secundum illud Isa. XLVI., 10: 'Consilium meum stabit, et omnis voluntas mea fiet.' Voluntati enim ejus quis resistit?' ut dicitur ad Romanos. IX., 19. Secundo ostenditur hoc esse possibile exemplo." Then the editor exclaims: "Hucusque compilavit S. Thomas de Aquino brevem compilationem Theologia; sed, prohi dolor! morte præventus eam sic incompletam dimisit!" (*Opus. I.*, p. 85, Vol. XVI.)

clearness of reasoning, seem principally to have been studied here, whilst the Angelical keeps within the rigid bounds of a genuine *Breviloquium*.* The first thirty-six articles are taken up with the consideration of God's attributes, perfections, intellect, and will.† Then eight are dedicated to the Word, its relations, essence, and connection with the Father.‡ Love is treated next. Then five chapters are spent in speaking of the Holy Spirit and His relations to the Father and the Son. Sixteen follow on the relations, distinctions, and properties of the Divinity.§ In harmony with his usual method, after having treated of the Divine life, the Angelical touches upon the Divine action *ad extra*. Hence comes creation in general, then in particular, and in its relation to man. Errors relating to the connection of body and soul, with regard to the light of the intellect, and the generation of life, are gone into patiently; || and in his analysis of them the Angelical displays the mind of a master. Next, the end of the Divine operations is spoken of. It is proved that the Divine goodness is the last end of all, whilst the end of man's intellect is the vision of the essence of God.

Having established the true relation between God and His creatures, the Saint proceeds to consider how man either attains his last end or defects from it. Hence, good and evil are discussed; while guilt and punishment, and the power exerted by higher natures over lower, are considered in their turn: the bearing of the heavenly bodies upon creation, and how creatures

* "Hiedurch gewinnt das *Compendium theologie* einen eigenthümlichen besonderen Werth, abgesehen davon, dass es durch seine nette und succincte Darstellung von grossem Interesse ist; man könnte es dem *Breviloquium* des heiligen Bonaventura als charakteristisches Gegenstück zur Seite stellen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 389.)

† For instance: *Cap. II.*—Ordo dicendorum circa fidem; *Cap. III.*—Quod Deus sit; *Cap. IV.*—Quod Deus est immobilis; *Cap. V.*—Quod Deus est aternus; *Cap. VI.*—Quod Deus esse per se est necessarium; *Cap. VII.*—Quod Deus semper est; *Cap. VIII.*—Quod in Deo non est aliqua successio; *Cap. IX.*—Quod Deus est simplex; *Cap. X.*—Quod Deus est sua essentia; *Cap. XI.*—Quod Dei essentia non est aliud quam ipsum esse; *Cap. XII.*—Quod Deus non est in aliquo genere sicut species; *Cap. XIII.*—Quod impossibile est Deus esse genus aliorum, &c.

‡ *Cap. XXXVII.*—Qualiter ponitur verbum in Divinis; *Cap. XXXVIII.*—Quod verbum in Divinis conceptio dicitur; *Cap. XXXIX.*—Quomodo verbum computatur ad Patrem; *Cap. XL.*—Quomodo intelligitur generatio in Divinis; *Cap. XLI.*—Quomodo verbum, quod est Filius, idem esse habet cum Deo Patre, et eandem essentiam; *Cap. XLII.*—Quod catholica fides huc docet; *Cap. XLIII.*—Quod in Divinis non est differentia Verbi a Patre secundum tempus, vel speciem, vel naturam; *Cap. XLIV.*—Conclusio ex premissis.

§ Beginning thus: *Cap. XLV.*—Quod Deus est in se ipso sicut amatum in amante; *Cap. XLVI.*—Quod amor in Deo dicitur spiritus; *Cap. XLVII.*—Quod spiritus, qui est in Deo, est sanctus, &c. (*Vol. XVI.*)

|| The Saint's treatment of creation and the human soul shows how he wrestled with the dominant errors of his day. See, for instance, *Cap. LXX.*—Quod Deus in creando res non presupponit materiam; *Cap. LXX.*—Quod creare soli Deo convenit; *Cap. LXXI.*—Quod materia diversitas non est causa diversitatis in rebus; *Cap. LXXII.*—Quomodo Deus diversa produxit, et quomodo pluralitas rerum causata est. Then, *Cap. LXXXV.*—Quod quedam sunt substantie intellectuales, que immateriales dicuntur; *Cap. LXXXVI.*—Quomodo tales substantie sunt arbitrio libere; *Cap. LXXXVII.*—Quod necesse est ponere intellectum agentem; *Cap. LXXXVIII.*—Quod anima humana est incorruptibilis; *Cap. LXXXIX.*—De unitate intellectus possibilis, which is a long and carefully argued chapter, p. 19–20; *Cap. LXXXVI.*—De intellectu agente, quod non est unus in omnibus. Then comes the great principle, destructive of the Averroistic error, drawn out in *Cap. LXXXVII.*, p. 21, namely, Quod intellectus possibilis et agens funduntur in essentia animae; then, *Cap. LXXXVIII.*—Qualiter istae due potentie convenient in una essentia animae; *Cap. LXXXIX.*—Quod omnes potentie in essentia animae radicanur, p. 21.

of the earth are influenced by them, are explained.* The Saint demonstrates how God alone can impress the human will, and treats at length of chance, fate, providence, sin, and grace. Then the last end of man, the conditions of the resurrection, the saved and lost, the punishment of sin after death are dwelt upon and theologically propounded; and, finally, original sin and the Incarnation are analyzed, whilst "Christ" is treated of in about forty chapters, with greater frequency of scriptural reference and of patristic authority, and with greater variety of reasoning than is employed in any other portion of the *Compendium*.†

But a far greater work than this is the "*Summa Contra Gentiles*." Just as the noblest work of the Angelical is called a theological sum, so this may be justly named a *philosophical* one. Its principal practical aim at the time it was written was the enlightenment of the Moors, the Saracens, and the Jews of Spain; and also to bring into prominence those arguments from reason for the establishment of Christianity, which were beginning to be undermined by the rationalistic spirit of the age.

Had it not been for the zeal of S. Raymund of Pennafort this powerful argument in favour of the Church most probably would never have been produced.‡ Raymund was a Spaniard, and is said to have been descended from the kings of Aragon. As a boy he gave signs of exceptional ability, and after passing through the ordinary *curriculum* became a public professor of

* One of the longest and most carefully-reasoned chapters strikes straight at the error of the Arabians, and is headed:—"Rationes ostendentes quod est necessarium materiam ab æterno creationem mundi præcessisse, et solutiones earum." (Cap. XCIX., p. 25-26, Vol. XVI.)

† As a specimen of the *Compendium*, and to show the method of the Angelical in meeting the salient errors of his day, no better chapter could be chosen than the eighty-seventh:—"Quod intellectus possibilis et agens fundantur in essentia animæ. Cum autem intellectus agens et possibilis nobis formaliter uniantur, necesse est dicere quod in eadem essentia animæ conveniant. Omne enim quod alicui unitur formaliter, unitur ei per modum formæ substantialis, aut per modum formæ accidentalis. Si igitur intellectus possibilis et agens uniantur homini per modum formæ substantialis; cum unus rei non sit nisi una forma substantialis; necesse est dicere quod intellectus possibilis et agens conveniant in una essentia formæ, quæ est animæ. Si vero uniantur homini per modum formæ accidentalis, manifestum est quod neutrum potest esse accidens corpori; et ex hoc quod operationes eorum sint absque organo corporali, ut supra ostensum est, sequitur quod uterque eorum sit accidens animæ. Non est autem in uno homine nisi una anima. Oportet igitur quod intellectus agens et possibilis in una essentia animæ conveniant."

"Item. Omnis actio quæ est propria alicui speciei, est a principis consequentibus formam quæ dat speciem. Intelligere autem est operatio propria humanæ speciei. Oportet igitur quod intellectus agens et possibilis, qui sunt principia huius operationis, sicut ostensum est, consequantur animam humanam, a qua homo habet speciem. Non autem sic consequantur eam quasi ab ipsa procedentia in corpore, quia, ut ostensum est, prædicta operatio est sine organo corporali. Cujus autem est potentia, ejus et actio. Relinquitur ergo quod intellectus possibilis et agens conveniant in una essentia animæ." (p. 21, Vol. XVI.)

‡ "Qui de Angelici Doctoris vita scripserunt, consentiunt plerique Raymundum Pennafortium, quum in convertendis ad Evangelii lucem Mauris aliisque populis Catholicæ religionis ignarus totius esset, auctorem Thomæ extitisse ut huiusmodi incubitationem susciperet; seu ut illi maluit, perficeret jam susceptam. Perfecto autem Aquinas, quod hanc dubiis testimoniis compertum habemus, quum summum gereret Pontificatum Urbanus huius nominis quartus, ab anno scilicet Christiano MCCLXI. ad MCCLXIV. Qua quidem in incubatione non Ethnicis modo vir gravissimus insectari ac refellere aggressus est, sed Thurcas quoque Mahumetis cultores, et Judeos, et quotquot præterea, a recta avorum fide quum desciverint, hæreticorum nomine adpellantur; unde licet conficere titulum ab aequalibus florum temporum Operi inditum esse CONTRA GENTILES, propterea quod in hisce potissimum exagitantis magnam partem versatur; verum enimvero, si Auctoris mentem et propositum spectes DE CATHOLICÆ FIDEI VERITATE inscribendum videatur." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia, Præfatio*, p. 1, Vol. V., *Parma*, MDCCCLVI; see also Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IX., n. 3*, p. 51.)

theology. But having dissuaded a certain young man from entering religion, he was touched with a qualm of conscience, and throwing up his position and prospects, he became a brother of the Friars Preachers. He had scarcely ended his noviciate when he was made *Socius* to the Pontifical Legate in Spain; and his reputation for learning was so high in Rome, that Pope Gregory IX. employed him in putting together the celebrated "*Corpus Juris*," which had been of such great authority in the Church. He also wrote a "*Summa de Casibus Conscientie*," in which he manifested considerable originality of genius. Of his humility, poverty, and spirit of retirement, much might be written. He shrank from several high positions, and ever embraced, as a real good, the quiet seclusion and simplicity of monastic life. In 1238 he was elected General of the Order, but it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to retain office even for two years; and finally he resigned his post, and retired to end his days in prayer, study, and meditation in his beloved retreat. He was as famous for his miracles as for his erudition, and he is said to have raised as many as forty persons from the dead.

The one absorbing thought of his life was how he might convert the infidel to Christianity. He felt that one of the mightiest instruments for effecting his purpose would be a well-reasoned and lucid statement of Catholic doctrine.* He knew that he must reach the intellect as well as touch the heart.†

Who could construct a theology to satisfy these requirements? It was but natural that Raymund should cast his eyes upon the Angel of the Schools. He interceded with the General, and S. Thomas received an obedience to write a work, which is only second to the "*Summa Theologica*" itself in its depth of thought and its scientific conformation. He entitled it "*De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei Contra Gentiles*."‡ It at once gained

* That the "*Contra Gentiles*" was such a work appears from the following:—"Scriptis etiam librum, qui intitulatur *Contra Gentiles*, stylo disertum, et rationum acutitate et subtilitate profundum: in quo mire modo ostendit, quod ex proprio ingenio habuit, et quod raptu acutis in Deum orationibus impetravit. Per quod manifeste ostendit aliis gentibus, fidei non subiectis, quanta sit veritas fidei Christianæ: quæ si humanam rationem transgreditur, rationibus tamen naturalibus, si pro sua altitudine non probatur, verisimiliter suadet: ut ipsi infideles ex hac scriptura ad fidem habeant auditum, et dicte scripturæ habere non renuant intellectum: dum advertunt, quod fidem nostram rationibus non possunt impugnare, quibus nequeant defensores fidei rationibus respondere. Unde cum prædictum librum scriberet, frequenter visus est quasi totaliter a sensibus alienus, qui divinis revelationibus semper erant intentus." (Toeco, *Boll.*, Cap. IV., n. 18, p. 663.)

† He had twenty brothers taught Arabic, and they converted as many as ten thousand Saracens in Spain and Africa. Raymund's successor John of Wideshusen was no less zealous. In the acts of the Provincial Chapter of Toledo, we find:—"Cupientes satisfacere mandato magistri et attendentes utilitatem negotii presentis, præcipue vero futuri, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti assignamus ad studium Arabicum, hoc indugentes in remissionem peccatorum auctoritate magistri et nostra, idque impetrantes virtute obedientie, Fr. Arnoldum Guardiam, F. Petrum de Cadixeta, F. Rainmundum Martin, F. Petrum Ariam, F. Petrum de Pateo, F. Petrum de Sanctofelice, F. Dominicum Estevan, et F. Petrum de Canoles: supradictum vero F. Arnoldum De Guardia aliorum prælatum designamus. Numerum duodecimium complebitur, cum primam facultatem nobis Deus concesserit." (Eckhard et Queff. I., p. 396.)

‡ De Rubels has written a useful *Dissertation* on the *Contra Gentiles*. The headings of the chapters suggest, sufficiently for the present purpose, the bearing of his argument, and his con-

a high position. It was speedily translated into Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, most probably by friars living in the Spanish colleges established by S. Raymund for the study of Oriental tongues. It was in writing this work that the Angelical manifested so great a love of holy poverty, that he made use of refuse paper, such as any other would have thrown away.* He appears to have completed it between 1261 and 1264.

In this "*Summa Philosophica*" a decided advance is perceivable towards scientific exposition.† Though it may not be compared with the "*Summa Theologica*" in its perfection of form, its grandeur of conception, and its multiplicity of parts, still it is a far more scientific and artistic work than either the *Compendium* of theology or the "Commentary" on the Lombard. The reading, study, and thought of years, the viewing difficulties in different aspects, a more intimate acquaintance with opponents' minds—all these combined, insensibly carry a theologian towards the best method of manifesting truth, and suggest a system to his mind, which will display it in its most engaging and most perfect shape.‡

The "*Contra Gentiles*," whilst principally aimed at a certain class of aberration, and at establishing the opposite truths, in reality strikes at error as a whole, and builds up from the ground, that is, from principles admitted by all who possess the light of natural reason, the fundamental positions of orthodox

ception of the work. "1. Veteres allegantur qui recensent S. Thomæ opus, quod *Summa Contra Gentiles* inscribi solet, hortatore S. Raymundo de Pennafort elucubratur. 2. Genuinus operis titulus constituitur (i.e. *De Veritate Fidei Catholice*). 3. Definitur tempus quo illud Aquinas confecit (between 1261—1264). 4. Operis distributio. 5. Theologia naturalis et revelata simul conjunctæ, ac methodus quæ in utraque illustranda servatur. 6. Commentarius Francisci Sylvestri. 7. Hebraica versio a J. M. Ciantes elaborata; græca a Demetrio Cydonio; itemque animadversiones. 8. Solidissima S. Thomæ doctrinæ specimen in eo argumento quod Religionis revelatæ veritatem spectat: ac primo nature lumine non omnes possunt veritates ad Deum pertinentes innotescere. 9. Istas veritates revelare gratuito favore potuit Deus; itemque alias quæ eodem nature lumine investigari possunt. 10. Utrasque veritates reipsa Supremum Numen revelavit. 11. Perperam objiciuntur quæ Mystéria revelata iustabant Gentiles ac jactant Mahumetani. 12. Rationi naturali adversa non sunt Mystéria Fidei christianæ. 13. Supra ipsam rationem attollitur ac ordinem constituent nature quælibet creatæ superiorem." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia*, p. 385—394, Vol. V.)

* Fr. Thomas . . . inter alia fuit præcipuus paupertatis amator, adeo quod, dum scriberet *Summam Contra Gentiles*, non habebat cartas de papyro, in quibus illam scriberet, ita quod illam scripsit in schedulis minutis." (*Processus, Boll., VII. Martii, Cap. VII., n. 66*, p. 706.)

† After speaking of the *Compendium* Werner says:—"Auf einer ungleich grösseren Höhe systematischer Durchbildung steht die *Summa contra gentiles*, welche ihren Eintheilungsgrund anschliessend vom Objecte hernimmt, und von dessen gedankenmässigen inneren Verhältnissen die Gründe der weiteren Gliederung und Stoffvertheilung entlehnt. Dieses Object ist die katholische Wahrheit und ihre Rechtfertigung gegen Andersglaubende der Zweck des Werkes, die Tendenz desselben somit vorherrscheidend apologetisch. Nun aber scheidet sich das Gebiet der katholischen Wahrheit in zwei grosse Kreise; in den ersten Kreis fallen diejenigen Wahrheiten des Glaubens, welche auch der Vernunft zugänglich sind und durch Demonstrationen erwiesen werden können; andere hingegen sind, weil sie über den Bereich der nothwendigen Vernunftinsicht erhaben sind, nur durch den Glauben gewiss, und die wissenschaftliche Rechtfertigung derselben beschränkt sich auf Darlegung ihrer Möglichkeit und Denkbareit durch analogische Erläuterungen und durch Widerlegung der Gründe, mittelst welcher man die Möglichkeit und Denkbareit bestreiten will. (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel*, p. 402—403.)

‡ The Saint begins with the words "Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum, et labia mea detestabuntur impium." (*Prov. VIII., 7.*) . . . Conventienter ergo, ex ore Sapientie, duplex sapientis officium in verbis propositis demonstratur, scilicet: veritatem divinam, quæ antonomastice est veritas, meditari et meditatum eloqui, quod tangit quum dicit: *Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum*; et errorem contra veritatem impugnare, quod tangit quum dicit: *Et labia mea detestabuntur impium*, per quod falsitas contra divinam veritatem designatur, quæ religioni contraria est, quæ pietas nominatur; unde etiam falsitas contraria ei, impietas sibi nomen assumit." (*De Veritate Catholice Fidei Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. I., p. 1, Vol. V.*)

religion. Then those other portions of the vast fabric of Christianity, though undemonstrable by mere arguments of human ingenuity, are proved to possess a higher sanction in the supernatural gift of faith.* It is the beautiful completeness of the whole, the fitting of part into part, the lucid evidence, the cogent proof, the firm links of reasoning, the crushing reply, the steady building up of the catholic Temple of Truth from the base to the summit, till it stands out majestically with its clearly-cut outline and harmony of colour, with its order, fitness, and proportion, which is as astonishing to the imagination as it is startling to the mind. It seems irresistibly to proclaim to the human reason, from the very unity of its design, that if the truths of the natural order are to be accepted, those of the supernatural cannot be denied; that if a part is to be received the whole must be admitted; for what is so perfectly harmonious cannot have fallen together by hazard, and the mutual bearing of part upon part, of stone upon keystone, proclaims to the intelligence that the architect was one, that what rests on the earth is intimately connected with what is lifted to the heavens, and that the supernatural revelation of Christianity is a gift, not clashing with, but elevating, perfecting, and adorning the initial revelation of the human conscience.†

The work occupies four hundred pages, and is divided into four books.‡ These may be separated into two main divisions.§ The two first books, and a portion of the third, appeal to the

* Nothing could be clearer or more concise than the words of De Rubels. He says, speaking of the construction of this work:—"In Libros quatuor tributum a sanctissimo Auctore prostat Opus. Singulis præmissum legitur Proœmium. Uno absolvuntur capite, quo tertio libro et quarto Proœmia præfixa sunt: capita complectuntur plura, que librum primum præcedunt et secundum. Singula vero ab aliquo ducta sunt aptissimo sacre Scripture textu."

† Tum naturalem Theologiam, tum revelatam versat omnem Aquinas. Divinas veritates illas tametsi divini manifestatis revelatione, nature tamen lumine adsequibiles, exponit ac vindicat duobus integris primis libris ac tertii parte. Tractat ac illustrat libro quarto Mystera Fidei, que luminis naturalis vim, potestatem et efficaciam excedunt; ejusmodi sunt Personarum trinitas, Filii divinitas et Spiritus Sancti, Verbi Dei incarnatio, una in dupliçi natura persona cum dupliçi voluntate et operatione, Conceptio ex Virgine matre, Sacramenta, Resurrectio corporum, Judicium duale. Tertii superioris libri partem residuam in his exponendis legis evangelicæ documentis lumen, quæ ad partem moralem pertineant: ultimum vera hominibus beatitate, amore Dei ejusque cultu, consiliis evangelicis, peccato, et merito, nec debita poem, divine gratie auxiliis." (Vid. *Opp. Omnia S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Vol. V., Fr. Jo. Franc. Bernardi *Marie de Rubels Ordinis Prædicatorum Dissertatio*, § IV., p. 367.)

‡ The following passage indicates the Angelical's method of showing how harmoniously one step leads to another in the theological order. The *italics* mark out the expressions bearing specially on the point in hand:—"Considerandum etiam videtur quod res quidem sensibiles [et creature omnes], ex quibus *humana ratio* cognoscitur principium sumit, *aliquale vestigium in se dicitur imitationis* retinet [videlicet quod sunt et bonæ sunt], ita tamen *imperfectum* quod ad declarandum ipsius Dei substantiam *omnino insufficiens* invenitur. Habent enim effectus sanarum causarum, suo modo, similitudinem, cum agens agat sibi simile; non tamen effectus ad perfectam agentis similitudinem *semper* pertingit. *Humana igitur ratio* ad cognoscendum Fidei veritatem, que solum videntibus Divinam substantiam [altiori lumine glorie roboratis] potest esse notissima, ita se habet quod ad eam potest *aliquis veras similitudines* colligere; quæ tamen non antecedunt ad hoc quod predicta veritas, *quasi demonstrative* vel per se intellecta comprehendatur. *Utile* tamen est ut, in huiusmodi rationibus *quantumcumque debilibus* se meus humanus exerceat, dummodo desit comprehendendi vel demonstrandi præsumptio; quia de rebus altissimis, etiam parva et debili consideratione, aliquid posse inspicere jucundissimum est." (*De Veritate Catholice Fidei Contra Gentiles*, Lib. I., Cap. VIII., p. 5, Vol. V.)

§ Lib. I., Cap. I.—CII., p. 1—68; Lib. II., Cap. I.—CI., p. 68—159; Lib. III., Cap. I.—CLXIII., p. 159—291; Lib. IV., Cap. I.—XCVII., p. 129—384. Vol. V.

§ See the high opinion entertained of this work by Vicluna:—Hieronymi Viclunil *Episc. Amonienis de Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis*, Lib. II., p. 108—109; *Brizius MDCCXLVIII.*

light of natural reason, and elicit their arguments from principles which would be admitted by Saracens, Jews, Mahomedans, Arabs, heretics, and rationalists of all degrees. The first book dwells upon God., His being, eternity, simplicity, essence, perfection, goodness, intelligence, truth, will, life, and beatitude, forming in all one hundred and two chapters, Thus the Supreme Being, as He is in Himself, is treated of: the Lord is shown to be God.* Having established the Centre of being in His position, the Angelical proceeds in the second book to manifest His relations to the works of His hands; and in this portion of the work it is that the master-heresies of the thirteenth century are riven to pieces with a power which was certainly novel in those days.† Experience, reading, arguments drawn from the 'Commentary' on the Lombard, and from some of the *Opuscula*, are thrown again into shape, united with more recent matter, and whilst forming an impregnable defence of the truths of Christianity, become a most powerful apology in their favour with the unbeliever. The Saint begins on common ground, and steadily advances, with firm step, to the full view of the Catholic Church. The third book still carries on the work which had been initiated in the second: God's divinity, providence, miracles, law, grace, are fully analyzed, and brought into bold relief;‡ and the fourth book, while putting, as it were, the keystone in the arch, dwells upon the supernatural truths of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Sacraments of Grace, and Life Eternal.§ Thus the City of God stands out clear and

* LIB. I. Proœmium, p. 1—6; Deum esse, p. 6—12; De Dei Æternitate, p. 12; De Simplicitate Dei, p. 13—18; De Dei Essentia, p. 18—23; De Dei Perfectione, p. 23—27; De Dei Bonitate, p. 27—29; De Dei Unitate, p. 29; De Dei Infinitate, p. 31; De Dei Intelligentia, p. 33—41; De Dei Veritate, p. 42—50; De Dei Voluntate, p. 52—65; De Dei Vita, p. 65—66; De Dei Beatitudine, p. 66—68. Each of these divisions includes a certain number of chapters; take, for example, *De Dei Simplicitate*, Cap. XVI.—Quod in Deo non sit potentia passiva; Cap. XVII.—Quod Deus non est materia; Cap. XVIII.—Quod in Deo nulla sit compositio; Cap. XIX.—Quod in Deo nihil est violentum nihilque præter naturam; Cap. XX.—Quod Deus non est corpus.

† LIB. II. Proœmium, p. 68—70; De Dei Potentia, p. 70—71; De Dei relationibus ad creaturas, p. 71—73; De Creatione in genere, p. 73—85; De Æternitate mundi, p. 87—93; De Distinctione rerum, p. 94—100; De Substantiis intellectualibus, p. 100—106; De Unione anime et corporis, p. 106—122; De Intellectu, p. 122—133; De Anima, p. 134—149; De Substantiis separatis, p. 150—159. The number and length of the chapters at once point to the salient questions of the day. Take the chapters under *De Intellectu* as specimens; Cap. LXXIII.—Quod intellectus possibilis non est unus in omnibus hominibus; Cap. LXXIV.—De opinione Avicennæ qui posuit formas intellectibiles non conservari in intellectu possibili; Cap. LXXV.—Solutio rationum quibus videtur probari unitas intellectus possibilis; Cap. LXXVI.—Quod intellectus agens non sit substantia separata, sed aliquid anime; Cap. LXXVII.—Quod non est impossibile intellectum possibilem et agentem, in una substantia anime convenire; Cap. LXXVIII.—Quod non fuit sententia Aristotelis quod intellectus agens sit substantia separata sed magis quod sit aliquid anime, p. 122—134, Vol. V.

‡ LIB. III. Proœmium, p. 159; De intentione agentis, de bono et malo, p. 160—169; De fine rerum, p. 170—176; De fine et felicitate hominis, p. 177—184; De contemplatione Dei, p. 184—206; De providentia Dei, p. 206—239 (as an example of some of the chapters of this important argument; Cap. LXIV.—Quod Deus sua providentia gubernat universa; Cap. LXV.—Quod Deus conservat res in esse; Cap. LXVI.—Quod nihil dat esse, nisi in quantum agit in virtute divina; Cap. LXVII.—Quod Deus est causa operandi omnibus operantibus; Cap. LXVIII.—Quod Deus est ubique et in omnibus rebus; Cap. LXIX.—De opinione eorum qui a rebus naturalibus proprias subtrahunt actiones; Cap. LXX.—Quomodo idem effectus sit a Deo et a naturali agente; Cap. LXXI.—Quod divina providentia non excludit arbitrii libertatem); De miraculis et de mirabilibus, p. 241—251; De lege Divina, p. 252—279; De Gratia Divina, p. 280—291.

§ LIB. IV. Proœmium, p. 291; De Sancta Trinitate, p. 293—323; De incarnatione Dei, p. 324—350; De Sacramentis, p. 354—368; De Vita æterna, p. 369—384. See the Angelical's grasp of the heresies of the past; Cap. XXVIII.—De errore Photini circa incarnationem; Cap. XXX.—De

bright before the eye of the mind, casting into shade the mystic and volatile dreamings of the Easterns, and shaming rationalism and irreverence itself into the homage of genuine admiration. It is such mighty constructions as these which really impress and captivate the educated mind.

Then the Angelical wrote other works of great polemical importance, touching upon certain salient errors which called for special attention at his day. Besides the rationalism and irreverence of the schools, which the Saint waged war against by the gentle majesty of his personal character, and by the great architectonic creations of his genius, there were the three rampant evils, Greek schism, Jewish obstinacy, and Eastern pantheism to be met.* Against each of these the Saint directed the logic of his powerful intelligence. It is true that in reality he refutes them in his larger works, but that did not prevent him dealing with them singly, and combating in detail the fallacies by which they were supported.

Whilst Pope Urban IV. was endeavouring to negotiate a union between the Greek and Latin Churches, the Angelical was steadily writing his celebrated "*Opusculum Contra Errores Græcorum*."†

The cardinal questions of dispute were regarding the Holy Spirit, the primacy and power of the Pope, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and Purgatory. Both Greeks and Latins quoted tradition. Photius, in his "*Mystagogia Spiritus Sancti*,"‡

errore Manichæorum circa incarnationem; Cap. XXX.—De errore Valentini circa incarnationem; Cap. XXXI.—De errore Apollinaris circa corpus Christi; Cap. XXXII.—De errore Arii et Apollinaris circa animam Christi; Cap. XXXIII.—De errore Apollinaris dicentis animam rationalem non fuisse in Christo, et de errore Origenis dicentis animam Christi ante mundum fuisse creatam; Cap. XXXIV.—De errore Theodori Mopsuesteni circa unionem verbi ad hominem.

* Werner's remarks are worth careful study. Speaking of the "*Contra Gentiles*," he says:—"Die *Summa adversus Gentiles* soll keine Palästra für dialektische Denkbübungen sein; der dialektischen Function des Abwägens von Satz und Gegensatz zum Zwecke einflussreicher Erörterung und feiner, scharfer Begründung einer in *thesi* feststehenden Wahrheit ist in diesem Werke nicht Raum gegeben. Denn es handelt sich hier weit mehr um Begründung, als um Ausführung der fraglichen Sätze; daher das Bestreben, durch die Wucht einer möglichst gehäuftten Zahl von Gründen in strenger, kurzer Fassung der in Frage gestellten Wahrheit die gerechte Geltung und nothgedrungene Anerkennung zu vindiciren. Diese vielen Gründe, die als Beleg für einen bestimmten besonderen Satz angeführt werden, sind aber in der Regel nichts anderes, als Beleuchtungen desselben aus allen Fundamentalsätzen seines Systems; sie dienen ihm dazu, die Beziehungen jeder besonderen Wahrheit zu allen Seiten des Ganzen hervorzuheben, zeigen also den Sinn des Ganzen an jeder einzelnen Hauptwahrheit.

Manichæismus und Patalismus, emanatantistischer Pantheismus und hylzoistischer Sensualismus rangen mit dem Rechte der christlichen Ueberzeugungen: Islam und Judenthum, Häresie und Schisma forderten die Kirche zum Kampfe heraus. Allen diesen Feinden sollte nun, so weit der Kampf mit geistigen Waffen geführt wurde, die *Summa philosophica* als geschlossene Plalaux entgegengestellt werden." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 404—405.*)

† *Contra Errores Græcorum ad Urbanum IV. P.M. (Opusc. VI.) Cap. I.—XXXVII., p. 239—258, Vol. XV.* In the *Proœmium* the Saint indicates the cause of his writing:—"Libellum ab excellentia vestra mihi exhibitum, Sanctissime Pater Urbane Papa, diligenter perlegi: in quo invenimus quamplurima ad nostræ fidei assertionem inutilia et expressa. Consideravi autem, quod ejus fructus posset apud plurimos impediiri propter quedam in auctoritatibus sanctorum Patrum contenta, que dubia esse videntur, et inde posset materiam ministrare errorum, et contentiones dare occasione, et calumnie. Et ideo, ut remota omni ambiguitate, ex auctoritatibus in predicto libello contentis veræ fidei fructus purissimus caplatur, proposui primo ea que dubia esse videntur in auctoritatibus predictis, exponere; et postmodum ostendere quomodo ex eis veritas catholice fidei fideliter doceatur et defendatur." (p. 239.)

‡ "Den Lateinern blieb die *Mystagogie* des Photius durch fast drei Jahrhunderte unbekannt, was nicht Wunder nehmen darf, da die schliessliche Wendung der Geschichte des Pho-

endeavoured to show that the Fathers and Popes were in his favour. He said that if S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, or S. Augustine appeared to agree with the Latins, it was either because their works had been tampered with, or because they condescended to the weakness of those with whom they were in communion; or finally because, like many of the eminent Greek Fathers such as Denis of Alexandria, Methodius of Patara, Pierius, Pamphilus, Theognostus, Irenæus, and Hippolytus, they had fallen into error; whilst with respect to the Sovereign Pontiffs, Popes Damasus, Celestine, Leo the Great, Vigilius, Agatho, Gregory the Great, Zachary, Leo III., Leo IV., Benedict III., and John VIII., were witnesses to the orthodox doctrine of the Greek Church.*

Now the Angelical was employed by Pope Urban IV. to bring out before the Catholic world the true voice of tradition, and to make manifest the erroneous teaching of the Greeks. The *Opusculum* of the Saint originated in a book on the Greek question, containing arguments in favour of the Latins, which had been sent to him by the Sovereign Pontiff.† In his *Prooemium* he says that he has discovered much in it which would serve the Latin cause;‡ and continues:—

But as it appeared to me that its effects may be lost on many because of certain statements made on the authority of the Holy Fathers, which in reality seem doubtful, and which hence might generate error, and breed contention and calumny; in order to remove all ambiguity, and that the most pure fruit of the faith may be gathered from the authorities contained in the said work, I have proposed first to explain what appears doubtful in these authorities, and then to show how the truth of the Catholic faith is taught and defended in them.

The Saint, in fact, writes a critique upon the work, and mentions various expressions of the Fathers to which exception

tins und die darauf folgende Erneuerung der Einheit zwischen Griechen und Lateinern bis auf Michael Cæularius das Interesse an dieser Frage hinter andere näher liegende zurücktreten machte. Auch später, als das Schisma zum zweiten Male anhub, lernten die Lateiner die griechische Begründung der Verwerfung des *filioque* erst allmählig im näheren Verkehr mit byzantinischen Theologen und Gelehrten kennen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 728.)

* Cf. Werner, *Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 728.

† A general idea of the contents of the *Opusculum* may be gathered from the headings of some of the chapters: *Cap. I.*—Quomodo intelligitur hoc quod dicitur quod Filius habet esse a Patre sicut causatum a causa; *Cap. II.*—Quomodo intelligitur eum dicitur, quod Filius sit secundus a Patre, et Spiritus Sanctus sit tertius; *Cap. III.*—Quomodo intelligitur hoc quod dicitur, quod Spiritus sanctus sit tertium hominem; *Cap. IV.*—Quomodo intelligitur, quod essentia sit genita in Filio, et spirata in Spiritu Sancto; *Cap. V.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Jesus dicitur filius paternæ essentie; *Cap. VI.*—Quomodo intelligitur, quod quæ sunt propria naturaliter Patris, sunt propria Filii; *Cap. VII.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Pater neque Filio neque Spiritu Sancto indiget ad sui perfectionem; *Cap. VIII.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Spiritus Sanctus dicitur ingenuus; *Cap. IX.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Spiritus sanctus dicitur medius Patris et Filii . . . Then *Cap. XXXII.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod sola definitio Nicaeni Concilii est unica et vera possessio fidelium; Quod Spiritus sanctus est Spiritus Fili; Quod Filius mittit Spiritum Sanctum; Quod Spiritus Sanctus accipit de eo quod est Fili; Quod Filius operatur per Spiritum Sanctum; Quod Spiritus Sanctus sit imago Filii; Quod est character Filii; Item quod est sigillum Filii; Item quod Spiritus sanctus est a Patre per Filium; Quod Spiritus sanctus sit a Filio; Quod simul est a Patre et Filio . . .

‡ It has never been published. It rests with the other works of the Angelical, No. 808, in the library of the Vatican.

might be taken. His logical mind, modelled in the school of orthodoxy, and possessing a steady light, with masterly skill draws out the real meaning of the holy Doctors; and where they appear to use terms which could be misconstrued or which are evidently inaccurate, he casts them into their true theological position. No man who had not gone through a thoroughly sound training, and who had not been familiar with the mind and system of the Fathers, could have succeeded as our Saint has done in so delicate an operation.*

The principal writers whom he explains are S. Athanasius and S. Basil; then S. Gregory Nyssen and Nazianzen, S. Cyril, S. Epiphanius, S. Hilary, S. Chrysostom, S. John Damascene, and S. Augustine, as well as Richard of S. Victor's, S. Denis, the Lombard, and Maximus the monk. The following shows his method. He says:—

In many places these authorities [the holy Doctors] teach that the Holy Ghost is the image of the Son, as Athanasius says in the third Sermon on the Nicene Council: "The Holy Spirit of the Father and Son is called one deifying and life-giving Spirit, and is the true image of the Son, containing Him essentially, and naturally representing Him in Himself, just as the Son is the image of the Father;" and in the Epistle to Serapion: "The Holy Spirit contains the Son naturally in Himself, as His true and natural image." So Basil: † "The Holy Spirit is called the finger, the spiration, the unction, the breathing, the sense of Christ, procession, production, mission, emanation, effusion, vaporation, image, character, true God;" and again: "The Holy Spirit of the Father and the Son is the true virtue and the natural image of the Father and Son: He naturally represents them both to us. But it has not been the custom among the Latins to call the Holy Spirit the image of the Father or the Son; for S. Augustine says that the Son alone is

* As this *Opusculum* is a crucial test of the Angelical's familiarity with the Fathers, Scripture, and dogma, as well as of his critical acumen, it will not be beside the mark to offer a few specimens. *Cap. XXI.*—"Item dominum est de hoc quod Athanasius dicit in eadem epistola: 'Filius Dei, ut hominem ad se reduceret, hominem in sua hypostasi assumens dedicando Deum fecit.' et in III. Sermone Niceni Concilii: 'Ipsos consummari impossibile est nisi ego incipientem perfectum hominem, et deficientem, et necum Deum faciam.' Ex quibus datur intelligi quod hæc sit vera, Homo factus est Deus. Sed sciendum, quod secundum illam opinionem que in Christo dicit duo supposita, æqualiter utraque est vera: Deus est factus homo, et homo factus est Deus. Est enim sensus secundum eos, cum dicitur, Deus factus est homo: Suppositum Divine nature unum est supposito humane nature; et e converso cum dicitur, Homo factus est Deus, sensus est: Suppositum humane nature est unum filio Dei. Sed tenendum quod in Christo sit unum tantum suppositum, hæc est vera et propria: Deus factus est homo, quia ille qui fuit Deus ab æterno, incepit esse homo ex tempore. Hæc autem non est vera proprie loquendo: Homo factus est Deus: quia suppositum æternum quod supponitur nomine hominis, semper filius Dei: unde exponenda est sic: Homo factus est Deus; id est, factum est ut homo sit Deus." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXI., p. 246, Vol. XV.*)

† Now take S. Basil:—"Item videtur esse falsum quod Basilus dicit in 3 sermone de Spiritu Sancto contra Eunomium hæreticum: 'sicut,' inquit, 'Filius se habet ad Patrem, eodem modo Spiritus Sanctus se habet ad filium.' Et propter hoc dicitur, quod verbum Patris est Filius, verbum autem Filii Spiritus. 'Portat,' inquit Apostolus (*Hebr. I., 3*) 'omnia verbo virtutis sue.' Verbum enim, ut Augustinus dicit in lib. de Trinitate, solus Filius est. Unde et Joannes nomen verbi pro nomine Filii ponit. Nec refert, si quia translationem mittit, ut loco verbi eloquium ponat: nam id quod quis loquitur, verbum ejus est. Unde sicut solus Filius in Divinitate est verbum, ita solus est eloquium. Sed dicendum, quod verbum Dei quandoque dicitur etiam sermo divinitus inspiratus et prolatus: et de hoc verbo hic Basilus intelligit, dicens Spiritum Sanctum esse verbum vel eloquium Filii effective, inquantum Sancti ab eo inspirati de Filio sunt locuti, secundum quod dicitur (*Joan. XVI., 13*) de Spiritu Sancto: 'Quæcunque audiet, loquetur.' Et quod hic sit intellectus Basilii, patet ex eo quod addit: 'Ex quo eloquium filii per Apostolum: Gladium spiritus, dicit, sumite, quod est verbum Dei.' Ipsum enim verbum fidei a sanctis prolatum, gladium spiritus manifeste dicitur." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XII., p. 243-244, Vol. XV.*)

signified by the Word, and thus word means image; and that the Son alone is the image of the Father, as well as being the Son. Richard of S. Victor's also gives the reason in his book on the Trinity why the Holy Spirit cannot be called, like the Son, an image.*

Some say that the Holy Spirit cannot be called image on this account: because then he would be the image of two, viz., of the Father and the Son, since he proceeds from two, and there cannot be one image of two things. Speaking on the authority of Sacred Scripture, which must not be overstepped in treating of the Divinity, it is expressly said that the Son is the image of the Father: for it is said, "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love. In whom we have redemption of sins. Who is the image of the invisible God"† And of the Son:‡ "Who being the brightness of his glory and the figure of His substance."§

But it must be known that two authorities of Sacred Scripture are brought forward by the Greeks in which the Holy Spirit seems to be called the image of the Son; for it is said: "For whom he foreknew he also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of his Son."|| Now the image of the Son seems to be nothing else than the Holy Ghost. Again: "As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly,"¶ that is of Christ: by which image they understood the Holy Spirit, although in these authorities the Holy Spirit is not expressly called image.** It can be thus understood that men are conformed to the image of the Son, or that they bear the image of Christ, inasmuch as holy men are perfected by the gifts of grace so as to resemble Christ, according to that of the Apostle: "We all beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord."†† For here he does not say that the image is the spirit of Christ, but something existing in us from the spirit of God.

* Now take S. Gregory Nazianzen:—"Item videtur esse dubium quod Gregorius Nazianzenus in sermone de Epiphania dicit, quod 'Spiritus Sanctus secundum quod est in Deo, procedit ut sit ingenuitus et non filius, medius ingenuiti genitique.' Non enim videtur quod Spiritus Sanctus ingenuitus dici possit. Hilarius enim dicit in *lib de Synodis*, quod 'si quis duos ingenuitos dicit, duos Deos facit.' Item Athanasius dicit in Epistola ad Serapionem, quod 'non est ingenuitus Spiritus Sanctus, quia inprincipiatum esse et ingenuitum soli Deo Patri catholica Ecclesia congregata apud Niceam recte et fideliter attribuit, et de solo Patre hoc esse credendum et predicandum, toti mundo sub anathemate mandavit.' Sed dicendum, quod 'ingenuitus' dupliciter accipi potest. Uno modo pro eo quod caret principio; et sic soli Patri convenit, ut ex dictis Athanasii patet. Alio modo pro eo quod non est genitum, licet sit principium habens; et sic non solum Gregorius Nazianzenus in verbis præmissis, sed etiam Hieronymus in regulis definitionum contra hæreticos Spiritum Sanctum dicit esse ingenuitum." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. VIII., p. 242; Vol. XV.*)

† Take S. Chrysostom:—"Et Chrysostomus dicit super epistola ad Romanos: 'Si Spiritus est character et sigillum Christi: qui non habet sigillum et characterem Christi, hic non est ipsius Christi.' Constat autem quod character et sigillum derivantur ab eo cuius sunt. Unde per auctoritates Doctorum dictorum aperte ostenditur, quod Spiritus Sanctus a Filio derivatur. Horum autem Doctorum auctoritates etiam ex auctoritate sacre scripture, confirmantur. Dicitur enim *II. Corinth., l. 21*: 'Unxit nos Deus, et signavit nos, et dedit pignus spiritus in cordibus nostris: quod quidem de Patre et Filio intelligi oportet; cum interque Spiritum Sanctum dicit, ut ostensum est: et ad *Ephes. l., 13*: 'In quo,' scilicet Christo, 'credentes signati estis Spiritu promissionis Sancto, qui est pignus hereditatis nostre.'" (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 251; Vol. XV.*)

‡ *Coloss., Chap. I., 13.*

§ *Rom., Chap. VIII., 29.*

¶ *Heb., Chap. I., 3.*

|| *I. Cor., Chap. XV., 49.*

** Bareille speaks thus of the method of the *Contra Errores Græcorum*.—"C'est la puissance de l'analogie qui force le Docteur à reconnaître que le dogme de l'Esprit-Saint, procédant du Père et du Fils, fait partie de l'essence même du christianisme. La prééminence de rang et d'autorité du pontife romain est prouvée par la même méthode. Le purgatoire repose également sur des bases inébranlables. Quand les propositions de la foi se prêtent aux deductions de la logique, celle-ci devient entre les mains de Thomas une arme toute-puissante; il remonte à toutes les origines, il interprète tous les monuments; les anciens Pères de l'Eglise grecque répondent manuellement aux Pères de l'Eglise latine. Les images sont dissipées, les difficultés disparaissent, les motifs de haine et de division sont complètement détruits; il ne tient plus au saint Docteur que l'union ne s'établisse désormais sur les fondements de la doctrine et de la charité." (*Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XX., p. 239-240; Quatrième Edition.*)

†† *I. Cor., Chap. III., 18.*

But because it is presumptuous to go against the express authority of such distinguished Doctors, we can say that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Father and the Son, in so far forth as by image nothing else is meant than something existing *ab alio* and bearing its similitude.* But if by image is understood something existing from another, and bearing its similitude from the very fact of its origin, as a son who is begotten, or a word which is conceived, then, in that case, the Son alone is called an image. It belongs to the son to have a similitude to the father in whatever nature; and similarly it is of the nature of a word to be the similitude of that which is expressed by the word, whosoever word it be; but it is not of the nature of spirit or of love to be in the similitude of him from whom it is, in everything, but this is the case in the Spirit of God on account of the unity and simplicity of the Divine Essence, from which it follows that whatever is in God is God. Nor is there anything against the idea of an image that the Holy Spirit does not resemble the Father in any personal specialties; because the similitude and equality of the Divine persons does not depend upon personal specialties, but upon essential attributes.† Nor should inequality and dissimilitude be spoken of in the Divinity on the strength of difference of personal specialties, as S. Augustine says in his book against Maximus. When it is said that the Son is begotten of the Father, inequality of substance is not indicated, but order of nature. In like manner it makes no difference that the Holy Spirit proceeds from two; for he is from two inasmuch as they are one, since the Father and the Son are the one principle (*unum principium*) of the Holy Ghost.

Having explained his authorities, the Saint proceeds to show how they minister to truth and strike at error.‡

* "Sed quia presumptuosum est tantorum Doctorum tam expressis auctoritatibus contraire, possumus quidem dicere Spiritum Sanctum esse imaginem Patris et Filii, ita quod per imaginem nihil aliud intelligatur quam existens ab alio et ejus similitudinem gerens. Si autem per imaginem intelligatur aliquid existens ab altero, ex ipsa sua origine ratione habens quod similitudinem gerat ejus a quo existit, in quantum ab altero, ut filius genitus, vel ut verbum conceptum: sic solus Filius dicitur imago; de ratione enim filii est quod similitudinem patris habeat in quocunque natura; et similiter de ratione verbi est quod sit similitudo ejus quod verbo exprimitur cujusvisque sit verbum; sed non est de ratione spiritus vel amoris, quod sit similitudo ejus cujus est, in omnibus; sed hoc in spiritu Dei verificatur propter divine essentie unitatem et simplicitatem, ex qua oportet quod quicquid est in Deo, sit Deus. Nec obstat ad rationem imaginis quod Spiritus Sanctus non coevertit cum Patre in aliqua personali proprietate, quia similitudo et aequalitas personarum divinarum non attenditur secundum proprietates personales sed secundum attributa essentialia." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. X., p. 243, Vol. XV.*)

† Here is a specimen of brevity and clearness: *Cap. XVII.*—"Quomodo intelligitur, divinam essentiam increatam, conceptam esse et natam? Item videtur esse dubium quod Athanasius dicit in epistola ad Serapionem, 'essentiam divinam increatam, conceptam esse et natam ex Virgine matre.' Magister enim in 3 Sentent., dist. 8, dicit, quod 'quæ res non est de patre genita, non videtur esse de matre nata, ne res aliqua filiationis nomen habeat in humanitate quæ non habet in Divinitate.' Et sic, cum divina essentia non sit nata de patre, non potest dici esse de matre. Sed dicendum, quod sicut improprie essentia divina dicitur generans vel genita secundum generationem æternam, in quantum essentia ponitur pro persona, ut intelligatur essentiam generare quia Pater, qui est essentia generat; secundum eundem modum dicitur essentia divina nata de Virgine, quia Filius Dei, qui est divina essentia, natus est de Virgine." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XVII., p. 245, Vol. XV.*)

‡ It has been controverted whether the Angelical was acquainted with the Greek tongue. The Dominican Guyard wrote a dissertation on the point, entitled, "Dissertatio, utrum S. Thomas enluerit linguæ græcæ: sequuntur observationes in tres priores Latuoli epistolæ et in 2 epistolam ad Thomam Fortinuum." Guyard would establish that the Saint was very well acquainted with the language. Vincent Baro and Nicolaus do not agree with him in this. The fact appears to lie between the two; that, though the Angelical understood Greek to a certain point, still he had never learnt it systematically. What Werner says in the following interesting words fully bears this out:—"So z. B. die Herleitung des Wortes *μανια* von *manere* (2, 1 qu. 46, art. 8); *αγίος* von *α—γῆ*=quasi sine terra (2, 2 qu. 81, art. 8 und *caten. cur.* über Luc. 1, 49); *ἐπίκλη*=*ἐπι δίκαιον*, quod est *supra justum* (2, 2 qu. 102, art. 2); Prophet von *προ pro*, procul und *φανος* i. e. apparitio, quia scilicet eis aliqua, quæ sunt procul, apparent; *διαβολος*=circumcedens (comment. in Job, c. 1, lect. 2); archangelus von *αρχος* (ein gar nicht existirendes Wort)=princeps, und angelus (ad 1 Cor. 15, lect. 3); *orthodoxus*=recte glorians, von *orthos* i. e. rectum, und *doxa* i. e. gloria (*Opusc. 24*). Im Comm. zu Politic. lib. VIII, lect. 1, h: *Mechanica* ideo dicitur,

For it must be considered that "for this purpose the Son of God appeared that he might destroy the works of the devil."* Hence the devil directed, and still directs all his efforts to dissolve those things which are of Christ. And this he first of all attempted to do by means of tyrants, killing the ministers of Christ, and afterwards by means of heretics, through whose instrumentality he put many to death spiritually. Hence whoever diligently studies the errors of heretics will find them principally tend to this—to derogate from the dignity of Christ. For Arius detracted from the dignity of Christ when he denied that the Son of God was co-essential with the Father, asserting Him to be a creature. Macedonius also did the same, because whilst he called the Holy Spirit a creature he deprived the Son of the authority of breathing a divine person. Manes did in like manner, because by asserting that visible things were created by a wicked God, he denied that all things were created through the Son.† Nestorius also dissolved the things which were of Christ; for in teaching that the person of the Son of man was one, and the person of the Son of God was another, he denied the oneness of Christ. Eutyches dissolved Christ; because whilst he would of two natures—the divine and the human—form one in the Incarnation of Christ, he destroyed both, for what is made up of two things cannot truly be called either of them. Pelagius dissolved Christ, who by saying that grace was not necessary to man for salvation, frustrated the coming of the Son of God in the flesh; "for grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."‡ Jovinianus also lowered the dignity of Christ; for by equalling persons living in wedlock to virgins, he struck at that dignity of Christ by which we confess Him to be born of a virgin. Vigilantius did in like manner: because in attacking poverty practised out of love of our Lord he aimed at the perfection which Christ observed and taught.§ It is not said, without a meaning, that "Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God, and this is Antichrist."||

quia mechari facit quo dammodo intellectum circa ea, quæ non sunt sibi propria u. s. w. Uebrigens darf nicht übersehen werden, dass sich auch viele richtige Erklärungen griechischer Ausdrücke bei Thomas finden, z. B. über *ethos* (2, 1 qu. 58, art. 1): *eubulia* (2, 2 qu. 51, art. 1): *Stilbon* = *scintillans* als Bezeichnung des Mercur (*de celo* II, l. 12), *aphatesis* und *cercisais* (*Phys.* VI, lect. 3) u. s. w. Man kann also nicht sagen, dass er des Griechischen gänzlich unkundig gewesen; aber so viel steht fest, dass er es nicht methodisch erlernt hat. In ähnlicher Weise urtheilen auch *Vielmius* (*de Divi Thomæ doctrina ac scriptis*, 1564, neu edirt Vindobon. 1763), *Tavella* (*de Laudibus S. Thomæ*, Genua 1738) u. s. w." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 766.)

* I. John, Chap. III., 8.

† See how the Angelical combines the teaching of Greek and Latin Doctors:—"Considerandum est etiam, quod eisdem rationibus utuntur Doctores Græcorum ad ostendendum processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio quibus et utuntur Latini Doctores. Argumentatur enim Anselmus in Lib. de Processione Spiritus Sancti ad ostendendam processionem Spiritus Sancti ex hoc quod Pater et Filius sunt unus essentialis. Ex quo sequitur quod Pater et Filius non differant ab invicem nisi in hoc quod hic est Pater, ille Filius. Habere autem Spiritum Sanctum ex se procedentem non pertinet ad rationem paternitatis, neque ad rationem filiationis. Non enim ex hoc Pater dicitur Pater, quia Spiritus Sanctus ab eo procedit: neque filiationi repugnat quod habeat ex se spiritum procedentem. Relinquitur ergo quod habere ex se Spiritum procedentem, est commune Patri et Filio. Et similiter Athanasius in Teca super Joannem sic argumentatur. 'Ex quo Filius omnia quæ Patris sunt, essentialiter habet, habet et Spiritum:' et Cyrillus dicit in Lib. Thesaurorum: 'vere spiritum Christi, spiritum Patris Apostolus dicit esse unum, et non plures: quoniam omnia quæ sunt Patris, veraciter et proprie transeunt secundum naturam in vero Filio.'" (*Contra Errores Græcorum*, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 254.)

‡ John, Chap. I., 17.

§ I. John, Chap. IV., 3.

|| The Saint continues showing the harmony of teaching in Greek and Latin thus:—"Ex hoc autem patet quod cum dicitur in Evangelio, Spiritum Sanctum a Patre procedere, datur intelligi quod procedat a Filio, licet in Evangelio non addatur. Enim quæ essentialiter dicuntur de Patre et Filio, dicta de Patre, oportet quod intelligantur de Filio, etiam si cum exclusionem dicantur: sicut cum dicitur *Joan.*, XVII., 3: 'Ut cognoscatur de solum Deum verum:' et *I. Tim.* VI., 15: 'Quem' scilicet Christum, 'suis temporibus ostendet beatus' et solus potens Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, qui solus habet immortalitatem. Intelligitur enim huiusmodi et de Filio verificari ea ratione, quia Filius et Pater secundum essentialitatem unum sunt, secundum quod dicitur *Joan.*, X., 30: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus.' Cum igitur habere spiritum ex se procedentem, sit commune Patri et Filio, sicut ea quæ dicuntur essentialiter, ut ex dictis patet; cum dicitur in Evangelio, Spiritum Sanctum a Patre procedere, intelligendum est quod

And so also there are said to be some in these days who are trying to dissolve Christ, and to diminish His dignity in as far as is in them. For when they say that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, they diminish that dignity of His by which, together with the Father, He is the "spiration" of the Holy Spirit. And whilst they deny that there is one head of the Church, that is to say the holy Roman Church, they manifestly dissolve the unity of the mystical body; for there cannot be one body if there is not one head, nor one congregation where there is not one rector. Hence "there shall be one fold and one shepherd."* And whilst they deny that the Sacrament of the altar can be consecrated of unleavened bread, they manifestly go against Christ Himself, who on the first day of the azymes (when by the law of the Jews nothing leavened was to be found in their houses), according to the Evangelists, instituted this Sacrament.† They seem also to cast a reflection on the purity of the Sacramental body of Christ, concerning which the Apostle exhorts the faithful, saying that they are not to feast "with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."‡ They also diminish the virtue of this Sacrament by denying purgatory; because it is the custom to offer mass in the Church for the living and the dead, and by doing away with purgatory the efficacy of the mass is destroyed in its relation to the dead. For it can do no good to those in hell, out of which there is no redemption, nor to those who are in glory, who do not need our suffrages. Therefore I will briefly show how errors of this kind are confuted by the authorities above-mentioned, beginning first with the procession of the Holy Spirit.§

After proving that it is necessary for salvation to believe in the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, S. Thomas says:—

The error of those who say the Vicar of Christ, the Pontiff of the Roman Church, does not possess the primacy of the Universal Church, is like the errors of those who declare that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son.¶ For Christ Himself the Son of God consecrates His Church, and seals

procedat a Filio. Eadem ratione cum in Symbolo a Patribus edito dictum est quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Patre, intelligi oportet quod procedit et a Filio; sicut cum de Patre in eodem Symbolo dicitur quod sit omnipotens, visibilium et invisibilium factor, oportet quod et de Filio intelligatur." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 255.*)

* John, Chap. X., 16.

† Here is a fair specimen of the Saint's method of arguing from Holy Scripture:—"Ad ostendendum autem quod Spiritus Sanctus a Patre procedat et Filio, primo sciendum est quod etiam ab ipsis errantibus negari non potest, cum expresso auctoritate sacre Scripture probetur: quod scilicet Spiritus Sanctus sit spiritus Filii. Dicitur enim ad Galat., IV., 6: 'Quoniam autem estis filii Dei, misit Deus spiritum Filii sui in corda vestra clamantem, Abba, pater;' et Rom. VIII., 9: 'Si quis spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus:' et Actuum, XVI., 7: Cum vellent Misiiani, tentabant ire in Bithyniam; et non permisit eos spiritus Jeau.' Dicitur etiam I. Corinth., II., 16: 'Nos autem sensum Christi habemus;' quod de Spiritu Sancto necesse est intelligi, ut patet per ea quæ ab Apostolo premituntur. Dicitur etiam Spiritus Sanctus, spiritus veritatis, Joan., XV., 26, ubi dicitur: 'Cum venerit Paraclytus, quem mittam vobis a Patre, spiritum veritatis.' Dicitur et spiritus vite, Rom. VIII., 2: 'Lex spiritus vite in Christo Jeau;' unde cum Filius de se dicat, Joan. XIV., 6: 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita;' concludunt Doctores Græcorum, quod sit spiritus Christi: quod similiter adstruunt ex hoc quod habetur in I. psal., XXXII., 6: 'Verbo Domini celi firmati sunt, et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.' Nam os Patris Filius dicitur, sicut et verbum." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 248—249.*)

‡ I. Cor., Chap. V., v. 8.

§ Chap. XXXII., p. 248.

¶ Fr. Alessandro Reali (de Predicatori Maestro in Sacra Teologia et Reggente del Collegio di S. Tommaso alla Minerva in Roma) has written an able treatise to prove that, though the Angelical makes use of the authority of the Greek Doctors in touching on the prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff, he does not found his teaching upon them, but rather on the words of Sacred Scripture. That such is the case is evident from the way in which the Saint treats the same point in his Commentary on the Lombard, in the *Catena Aurea*, and in the *Summa Theologica* itself. Fr. Alessandro Reali says:—"Certamente nell'opuscolo *contra errores Græcorum*, che è l'unica opera ove si serve l'Aquinate delle Greche testimonianze a lui esibite dal Pontefice Urbano, dovrebbe chiaramente apparire, quelle autorità essere state il fondamento sul quale

it to Himself by the Holy Spirit, as it were, with His own character and seal, as is manifest from the aforesaid authorities.* And in like manner the Vicar of Christ, by His primacy and providence, like a faithful minister, keeps the Universal Church subject to Christ. It must be shown therefore, on the authorities of the Greek doctors, that the aforesaid Vicar of Christ possesses the plenitude of power over the whole Church. That the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ, is the first and greatest of all bishops, the Canon of the Council expressly shows, saying: "We venerate according to the Scriptures, and the definition of the Canons, the most holy Bishop of ancient Rome, as the first and greatest of all bishops." The Sacred Scriptures agree with this authority, and both in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles, give the first place to Peter amongst the Apostles. Hence Chrysostom says in his Commentary on Matthew upon the words: "The disciples came to Jesus saying: who is the greater in the kingdom of heaven?" that "they conceived a certain human scandal which they were unable to conceal, and they could not bear the ulcer in their heart on seeing Peter preferred and honoured before themselves."†

It is shown also that the aforesaid Vicar of Christ obtains universal prelacy over the whole Church of Christ. For we read in the Council of Chalcedon that the whole Synod exclaimed to Pope Leo: "Long life to Leo, the Most Holy, Apostolical, and Œcumenical [that is, Universal] Patriarch." And Chrysostom upon Matthew: "The Son conceded to Peter power belonging to the Father and Son all over the earth, and gave authority over all things which are in heaven to a mortal man, granting to him the keys that he might spread the Church throughout the earth." And upon John in the eighty-fifth Homily: "He circumscribes James locally in a given place, but he appoints Peter the master and doctor of the whole world." Likewise upon the Acts of the Apostles: "Peter received power from the Son over all who are sons, not as Moses, over one people, but over the whole world." This also is drawn

innalzò la propria dottrina. Ma si manifesta tutto il contrario. In quell' Opuscolo, come lo dimostra il titolo *contra errores Græcorum*, ha di mira l'Angelico abbattere le false opinioni che avevano corrotto la fede di molti fra i Greci: perciò lo intitola *contra errores Græcorum*. Ora stiliò conveniente servirsi delle autorità di Greci Dottori, perchè siccome venerati da Greci, più facilmente avrebbero abbracciate le sentenze contrarie insegnate dalla Chiesa latina." (*San Tommaso d' Aquino e L' Infallibilità dei Romani Pontefici*, p. 7. Roma, 1870.)

* There are five headings under Chapter XXXII. of the "*Contra Errores Græcorum*" which bear upon the privileges of the Sovereign Pontiff. 1. *Quod Pontifex Romanus est primus et maximus inter omnes Episcopos*. 2. *Quod idem Pontifex in totam Ecclesiam Christi universalem prelationem habet*. 3. *Quod idem habet in Ecclesia potestatem plenitudinem*. 4. *Quod in eadem potestate quæ collata est Petro a Christo*. 5. *Quod ad eum pertinet determinare quæ sunt Fidei*, p. 256—258. "In questi cinque paragrafi," says Reali, "preziosi siccome cosa divina, l. pone ben formata la sua tesi: 2. la vendica e la libera dall' errore contrario sostenuto dai Greci per mezzo dell' autorità dei loro Dottori: 3. dimostra che la greca autorità è conforme alla Sacra Scrittura. Difatti nel paragrafo ove incomincia a trattare del Romano Pontefice formulata la tesi che *Pontifex Romanus est primus et maximus inter omnes Episcopos*, così esordisce: *Similis autem error est dicentium, Christi Vicarium, Romanus Ecclesie Pontifex, non habere universalis Ecclesie primatum, error dicentium, Spiritum Sanctum a illo non procedere*: quindi rigetta quest' errore greco per l' autorità dei loro Dottori: finalmente conchiude: *hoc autem auctoritatis consonat Sacra Scriptura quæ inter Apostolos Petro attribuit primum locum, tam in Evangelio, quam in Actibus Apostolorum*. Similmente nel paragrafo *Quod idem Pontifex in totam Ecclesiam Christi universalem habet prelationem*, conchiude, che *Petro indistincte omnes suas Christus commisit, dicens Joan. ult. v. 17. Puerce oves meas, et Joan. 10. 16. ut sit unus ovile et unus Pastor*: e nell' ultimo per tacer degli altri, leggiamo, *Item etiam hoc patet ex auctoritate Domini dicentis: Luc. 22. 23. Tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos*," (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 10—11.)

† Here is the real foundation of the teaching of the Angelical:—"Ma vediamo quali siano in detta luogo, i fondamenti sopra i quali stabilisce l' infallibilità Pontificia. Sono tre pietre, una all'altra subordinata, e non mobile arena come vorrebbe l' autor dell' opuscolo. Prima pietra, e questa durissima, è la Sacra Scrittura e sono i testi Luc. 22. *Ego pro te rogavi Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos*: e l' altro ad Corinths I. *Idipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis schismata*. La seconda, le Decretali extra de Bapt. cap. *Majores*, nelle quali si dice che *majores et difficiliores Ecclesie questiones ad Summum Pontificem referuntur*. La terza è la ragione che trae, parte dalla scrittura, e parte da' suoi principi generali sì cui come Filosofo appoggia le dottrine che fonda, e col quali le illustra. E neppur là ove data occasione parla dell' infallibilità dei Romani Pontefici perde di mira il solido fondamento su cui sempre edificò questa dottrina." (*San Tommaso d' Aquino e L' Infallibilità dei Romani Pontefici*, p. 13. Roma, 1870.)

from the authority of Sacred Scripture; for Christ committed His sheep to Peter, saying, without distinction, "feed my sheep;"* and "that there be one fold and one shepherd."† It follows from the authority of the said Doctors that the Roman Pontiff possesses the plenitude of power in the Church.

S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria,‡ S. Chrysostom,§ and the Evangelist S. Matthew,|| are quoted in support of this doctrine:—

It is also shown that Peter is the Vicar of Christ, and that the Roman Pontiff succeeds to the power given by Christ to Peter. For the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon says: "If any bishop is declared of bad name he has the free choice of appealing to the most blessed Bishop of ancient Rome: for Peter is our Father of refuge, and he alone has the right, in the place of God, freely to determine the guilt of a criminated bishop, according to the keys given him by the Lord;" and lower down, "and let all things defined by him be looked upon as coming from the Vicar of the Apostolic throne."¶ So Cyril the Patriarch of Jerusalem says, speaking in the person of Christ: "Thou with an end, and I without end, will be with all whom I shall put in thy place, as I am with thee, fully and perfectly in sacrament and in authority." And Cyril in the book of *Treasures* says, that "the Apostles have affirmed in the Gospels and Epistles that in all questions of doctrine Peter is in the place of God and of His Church, giving him place in every chapter and synagogue, in every election and affirmation." And further on: "Before whom," that is, Peter, "all bend their heads *jure divino*, and whom the rulers of the world obey as if he were the Lord Jesus Himself." And S. Chrysostom says, speaking in the person of the Son: "Feed my sheep; that is, preside over the brethren in my place."***

* John, Chap. XVII.

† John, Chap. X., 16.

‡ These are the words, as given by the Angelical out of the *Liber Thesaurorum*:—"Sicut Christus accepit a Patre dux sceptrum Ecclesiæ gentium ex Israel egrediens super omnem principatum et potestatem, super omne quodcumque est, ut ei cuncta veniant, plenissimam potestatem; sic et Petro et ejus successoribus plenissime commisit: et etiam: 'Nulli alii quam Petro Christus quod suum est plenum, sed ipsi soli dedit:' et infra: 'Pedes Christi humanitas est, scilicet ipse homo, cui tota æternitas plenissimam dedit potestatem; quem unus trium assumpsit in unitate personæ, transiit ad patrem super omnem principatum et potestatem, ut adoret eum omnes Angeli Dei; quem totum dimisit per sacramentum et potestatem Petro et Ecclesiæ ejus.'" (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 256, Vol. XV.*)

§ "Et Chrysostomus dicit ad consulta Bulgarorum (which is in all the editions, but wrong; it should be, *Supra Joannem Hom. LXXXVIII.*) ex persona Christi loquens: 'Ter te interrogo, an amas, an diligas, quia ter me trepidus et timidus negasti. Nunc autem reductus, ne credatur te fratres gratiam et clavium auctoritatem amisisse, quia amas me, coram ipsis id tibi jam confirmo quod meum est plenum.'" (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 256, Vol. XV.*)

|| "Hoc etiam trahitur ex auctoritate Scripturæ: nam Dominus, Matth. XVI., 19, multiversaliter Petro dixit: 'Quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cælis.'" (*Ibidem.*)

¶ It has been the fashion to try and prove not only that the Angelical grounded his teaching on the Greek Fathers, but moreover that those passages which he relied upon were not written by them at all. Regarding the infallibility of the Pontiff, four of the Fathers are adduced, and three Councils. (1) S. Cyril of Jerusalem, (2) S. Cyril of Alexandria, (3) S. John Chrysostom, and (4) the Abbot Maximus; then two Councils of Chalcedon, and one of Constantinople. The *Libellus* from which the Angelical quotes not only gives the names and words of the authorities quoted, but also the references to the various works or places whence the extracts were drawn. For instance, S. Cyril of Jerusalem: "in XVIII. Tractatu super illius articulum Synboli Nicæni, in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam." S. Cyril of Alexandria: "De eodem (argumento) S. Cyrilli patriarchæ Alexandrini tertii Concilii maximi defensor in tertio Libro Thesaurorum de Passione Domini." S. John Chrysostom: "Beatus Joannes Chrysostomus patriarcha Constantinopolitanus super Matthæum: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram, &c.' Ideo in eodem Matthæo quum dicitur: 'In illa hora accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum dicentes, quis major est in regno colorum.' Idem Chrysostomus super Joannem [not 'ad consulta Bulgarorum'], Hom. LXXXVIII;" and finally: "Beatus Maximus magnus Doctor in epistola orientalibus directæ." It is hardly credible that the Angelical, who knew the Fathers so intimately, and who lived upon S. Chrysostom's Homilies on S. Matthew, should have been deceived when not the words only, but the references, were before him. S. Cyril of Alexandria is continually cited in the *Catena Aurea*, and Cardinal Mai has in thirty-two instances in the *Commentary* on S. Luke shown the accuracy of the Angelical in his quotations. (*Cf. Ueber die Väterstellen in des heil. Thomas Op. Contra Errores Græcorum, Der Katholik, § XII., p. 217; August, 1871. Mainz.*)

** *Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 256—257, Vol. XV.*

It belongs to the said Pontiff to determine matters of faith, for Cyril says in the book of *Treasures*: "As members let us bide in our head the Apostolic throne of the Roman Pontiffs, from whom it is our duty to inquire what we ought to believe and what we ought to hold." Maximus* in a letter directed to the Orientals also says: "All the ends of the earth which sincerely receive the Lord, and the Catholics of the whole world who confess the true faith, look upon the Church of the Romans as upon the sun, and receive from her the light of the Catholic and apostolic faith: nor without reason, for we read that Peter was the first to confess perfect faith, under divine revelation, when he said "Thou art Christ the Son of the living God."† Hence the Lord says to him: "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not."

It is evident also that he is the Prelate of Patriarchs from what Cyril ‡ says, namely, that it is "its place alone," that is, the Apostolic throne of the Roman Pontiffs, "to reprehend, correct, decree, dissolve, loosen, and to bind, in the place of Him who built it up." And S. Chrysostom in his *Commentary* on the Acts of the Apostles says, that "Peter is the most holy summit of the blessed Apostolic throne, the good shepherd." Again; this also is evident from the authority of our Lord saying: "And thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren."§

It is of necessity for salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontiff; for Cyril says in the book of *Treasures*: "Therefore, brethren, let us so imitate Christ that we His sheep may hear His voice, abiding in the Church of Peter; and let us not be inflated with the wind of pride, lest perchance the coiling serpent cast us out for our contentiousness, as he did Eve of old, from paradise."|| And Maximus says in the Epistle directed to the Orientals: "We

* If the words quoted by S. Thomas from the *Libellus* are not to be found, others equally impressive can be brought forward from another place:—"Nur möge er beachten, wie der heil. Thomas die Worte des anonymen Verfassers buchstäblich und textgemäss citirt, was bei einer kritischen Arbeit ganz natürlich ist; aber nicht so der Ungenannte. Sondern dieser führt die Väter an 'ad sensum,' nicht 'ad literam,' indem er oft ihre Aussprüche zusammenfasst, so z. B. wenn er eine Stelle aus der Katechese des heil. Cyrillus, welche aus drei Perioden besteht, in eine einzige zusammenzieht. Launoy sagt, dass das Zeugnis des heil. Maximus, 'epistola ad orientales,' nicht vorhanden sei; doch wenn man nachforscht, begegnet man auch dieser im zweiten Bande der Werke dieses Vaters unter dem Titel 'Ex epistola Romæ scripta,' und dieser enthält die nämlichen Meinungen, welche ihm der Unbekannte und der heil. Thomas zuschreiben, und sogar die Worte. Man vergleiche nur den Anfang: 'Omnes enim orbis terrarum fines, et qui ubique gentium Dominum vera rectaque fide confitentur, velut in solem sempiterna lucis in Sanctissimum Romanam Ecclesiam, ejusque Confessionem ac fidem recta intoris oculis respiciens, ex ipsa effulgurans expectantes jubat, Petrum doctrinae sanctorumque prout sincere omnique pietate Numine afflatæ atque divine sex Synodi exposuere, explicatissime fidei symbolum edentes.'" (*Ueber die Väterstellen in der heil. Thomas Op. Contra Errores Græcorum, Der Katholik*, § XII., p. 218; August, 1871. Mainz.)

† Matth., Chap. XVI., v. 16.

‡ The reference to the third book of S. Cyril's *Thesaurus* cannot be collated, because only one book is extant. However, Cardinal Mai has published in his *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*, Vol. II., p. 420; Vol. III., p. 144; and in the Homily *De Deipara*, p. 380, sufficient evidence to prove that S. Cyril did hold the doctrine attributed to him. Take these three quotations from the three several places referred to:—(1) In the *Commentary* on S. Luke: "Cum ergo Dominus discipuli negotiationem inmisisset, iis verbis quibus dicit: oravi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua: infert statim consolatorum sermonem, atque; et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos, idest Firmamentum atque Magister esto illorum qui per fidem ad me accedunt. Et mirare rursus sermonis solertiam et divine placiditatis cultum. Ne enim in desperationem adduceret discipulum quasi de apostolatus gloria foret expungeandus, postquam negasset. Implet enim bona spe, fore ut promissa bona consequatur. At enim: et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. O ineffabilis benignitas! nondum erat peccatum, et jam veniam prebet, rursusque illum, in apostolica dignitate constituit." (2) On Psalm CXXX.: "Vel etiam fortasse Ecclesiam suam appellat sanctorum civitatem, Sæculæ inextinguibilem, et nunquam capiendam, magnum tum et inextinguibilem murum." (3) In the Sermon *De Deipara*: "Quod autem ita se habeant, testem proferamus fide dignum, sanctissimum scilicet et totius mundi Archiepiscopum, patrem et Patriarcham Cælestium, magne Urbis Romæ." (*Cf. Loc. Cit.*)

§ Luke, Chap. XXII., 32.

|| Regarding the Councils which are quoted in support of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff:—"Es sind deren drei; zwei vom Concilium zu Chalcedon, eine dritte vom zweitem Concil zu Constantinopel. Die Zeugnisse vom Concil zu Chalcedon beziehen sich auf die Acclamationen, welche man dem Papste Leo darbrachte, auf einen Canon in Betreff der Appellationen. Und hier muss man vor Allem wissen, dass der heil. Thomas diese Zeugnisse nicht in einer Partialsammlung, sondern in den Acten selbst gelesen hatte, weil er diese in seinen Schriften anführt, wie er auch die Acten des Concils von Constantinopel gelesen hatte. Jetzt besitzen wir diese Acten nicht mehr unversehrt. Sie sind von den Griechen verfälscht

declare the Universal Church, according to the definition of the Saviour, to be compacted and founded upon the rock of the confession of Peter, in which Church it is necessary for us to remain for the salvation of our souls."

Besides this Tractate against the special errors of the Greeks, the Saint also wrote another in answer to a certain Cantor of Antioch, who proposed a series of difficulties to him regarding the religion of the Saracens.*

S. Thomas begins by reminding the Cantor of S. Peter's words:—

"Sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts;"† that is, by faith, which will keep us safe under the attacks and ridicule of the enemy; hence he adds, "being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you." For Christian faith principally consists in confessing the Holy Trinity, whilst it glories in a special manner in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. For "the word of the Cross," as S. Paul says, "to them indeed that perish is foolishness; but to them that are saved, that is to us, it is the power of God."‡ Our hope consists in two things: in that which we expect after death, and in God's help towards attaining our expectation. And these are the things that you say are attacked and ridiculed by the infidel: you allege that the Saracens laugh at us for calling Christ the Son of God, seeing that God has no wife; and hold us to be mad for confessing three persons in God, and at the same time holding that there are not three Gods. They mock also at our saying that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was crucified for the salvation of the human race; because if the Omnipotent God could have saved mankind without the passion of His Son, He could also have made man so as not to be capable of sinning.§ They blame Christians

worden, wie Gregor der Grosse und andere Schriftsteller nachgewiesen haben. Doch sind genügen, um die Aechtheit der Acclamationen festzustellen, welche Thomas anführt, da wir wissen, dass auf diesem Concil Leo viele Acclamationen gebracht wurden. Denselben gibt eine lange Reihe davon in der Sammlung seiner Canonen, welche Monsignore Martinecci, zweiter Custos der vaticanischen Bibliothek, und die Brüder Baillet in den Werken des heil. Leo veröffentlicht haben. Der Canon in Betreff der Appellation an den Papst in grösseren Streitfragen findet sich in den Concilien von Nicäa, von Sardica und an anderen Orten. Man misste das ganze canonische Recht und die ganze Kirchengeschichte vernichten, wenn man dieses Fundamentalprincip verwerfen wollte."

"Es eribrigt nur noch der Canon des Concils von Constantinopel; worin der Papst genannt wird "primus et maximus episcoporum." Dieser Canon befindet sich nicht in den Concilsacten, wie wir sie jetzt haben; aber dennoch muss selbst Lannoy zugestehen, dass er im römischen Ordo steht und echt ist." (Ueber die Väterstellen in des heil. Thomas Op. Contra Errores Græcorum, Der Katholik, § XII.: August, 1871.)

* *Declaratio quorundam Articulorum contra Græcos, Armenos et Saracenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum, Opusc. II., Cap. I. - X., p. 86-96; Opp. Omnia, Vol. XVI. Cap. II.—Qualiter sit disputandum contra infideles; Cap. III.—Qualiter in divinis sit accipienda generatio; Cap. IV.—Qualiter in divinis sit accipienda processio Spiritus Sancti a Patre et Filio; Cap. V.—Quæ fuit causa incarnationis Filii Dei; Cap. VI.—Qualiter debet intelligi hoc quod dicitur: Deus factus est homo; Cap. VII.—Qualiter sit accipiendum quod dicitur verbum Dei passum; Cap. VIII.—Qualiter sit accipiendum quod fideles accipiunt corpus Christi; Cap. IX.—Qualiter est specialis locus ubi animæ purgantur antequam sint beatæ; Cap. X.—Quod divinitus predestinatio humana actibus necessitate non imponat. Rubels says of this *Opusculum*—"Recessitum legimus apud synchronos sparsæque testes omnes, hæcenus adhibitis in Operum Aquinatis cœcura: Ptolæum Lucensem, Bartholomæum Logothetam, Bernardum Guidonis, Nicolaum Trivetum, Joannem de Columna, Ludovicum Vallesolanum, Sanctum Antoninum, Superiorem Opusculi inscriptionem diserte notant Bernardus Guidonis et S. Antonius: inscriptumque: 'De Rationibus Fidel,' recensent alii. 'Cantori Antiocheno' nuncupatum est. Quisnam ille fuerit, ignotum plane. De Cantoris munere apud Græcos et apud Latinos consule Ducangium in utroque Lexico Mediæ et Infimæ Græcæ et Latinitatis." (Bernardus Mariæ de Rubels, *Dissertatio III., Cap. III., p. 426; S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Opp. Omnia, Vol. XV.*)*

† *I. Peter, Chap. III., 15.*

‡ *I. Cor., Chap. I., 18.*

§ The Saint indicates how the heathen is to be met:—"De hoc tamen primo admonere te volo, quod in disputationibus contra infideles de articulis fidei, non ad hoc conari debes, ut fidem rationibus necessariis probes. Hoc enim subtilitati fidei derogaret, cuius veritas non solum humanas mentes, sed etiam Angelorum excedit; a nobis autem creduntur quasi ab ipso Deo revelata. Quia tamen quod a summa veritate procedit, falsum esse non potest nec necessaria ratione impugnari valet quod falsum non est; fides nostra necessaria rationibus sicut probari non potest, quia humanam mentem excedit, ita improbari necessaria ratione non

for eating their God upon the altar, and say that if the body of Christ had been as big as a mountain it would by this time have been consumed. And you say that the Greeks and Armenians err in holding that the souls of the dead, up to the day of judgment, will be neither punished nor rewarded, but that they are as it were hidden away; because since they are without their bodies they ought to be neither punished nor rewarded. And they quote the words of our Lord in the Gospel in support of their error: "In my Father's house there are many mansions."* With regard to the merit which depends on free will, you say that both Saracens and others assert the necessity of human acts on account of the Divine prescience and ordination, and declare that man could neither die nor sin had not God so ordained; and that every man has his destiny written on his forehead. With regard to these things you ask for moral and philosophical reasons such as the Saracens admit, for it is vain to argue from authority against those who reject authority.†

The Saint then sets himself to give the solution of these difficulties; insinuating how controversy against infidels is to be conducted, explaining the meaning of the term *Generation*, elucidating the doctrine of *Procession*, the reasons of the Incarnation of the Word, and unfolding, in a long argument, how the words "God was made man" are to be understood, as well as this expression, "The Word of God suffered." Next, objections regarding the Blessed Eucharist are solved, and the doctrine of Purgatory is proved; whilst finally it is shown that the admission of the theory of predestination is not equivalent to admitting the necessity of human acts; and thus ends this able paper in answer to the difficulties of the Cantor of Antioch.‡

potest propter sui veritatem. Ad hoc igitur debet tendere christiani disputatoris intentio in articulis fidei, non ut fidem probet, sed ut fidem defendat; unde et beatus Petrus non dixit: 'Parati semper' ad probationem, sed 'ad satisfactionem,' ut scilicet rationabiliter ostendatur non esse falsum quod fides catholica confitetur." (*Cap. II., p. 86, Vol. XVI.*)

* John, Chap. XIV., 2.

† See how the Saint meets the difficulty regarding the real Presence:—"Si quis autem infidelis velit dicere hanc conversionem impossibilem esse, consideret Dei omnipotentiam. Confitemur quidem quod per virtutem naturæ possit una res converti in aliam quantum ad formam, sicut quod aer in ignem convertitur, dum materia quæ prius erat subiecta formæ aeris, postea formæ ignis subijcitur. Multo magis ergo virtus omnipotentis Dei, quæ totam rei substantiam in esse producit, non solum transmutando secundum formam, ut facit natura, poterit hoc totum in illud totum convertere, ut sic panis in Corpus Christi convertatur et vinum in sanguinem. Si quis vero Dei omnipotentiam non confitemur, contra talem in hoc opere disputationem non assumimus, sed contra Saracenos, et alios qui Dei omnipotentiam confitemur. Alia vero hujus mysteria sacramenti non sunt hic magis descendienda, quia infidelibus secreta fidei pandi non debent." (*Contra Græcos, Armenos et Saracenos, Opusc. II., Cap. VIII., p. 93; Vol. XVI.*)

‡ See how well the Saint argues with regard to liberty and Providence:—"Sicut autem divina scientia contingentibus necessitatem non imponit, sic nec ejus ordinatio, quæ providit ordinat universa. Sic enim ordinat res sicut agit res: non enim ejus ordinatio cassatur, sed quod per sapientiam ordinat, exequitur per virtutem. In actione autem divinæ virtutis hoc considerare oportet, quod operatur in omnibus et movet singula ad suos actus secundum modum uniuscujusque; ita quod quedam ex motione divinæ ex necessitate suas actiones perficiunt, ut patet in motibus celestium corporum; quedam vero contingenter, quæ interdum a propria actione deficiunt, ut patet in actionibus corruptibilium: arbor enim quandoque a fructificando impeditur, et animal a generando. Sic ergo divina sapientia de rebus ordinat, ut ordinata proveniant secundum modum propriarum causarum. Est autem hic modus naturalis homini ut libere agat, non coactus: quia rationales potestates ad opposita se habent. Sic igitur Deus ordinat de actibus humanis, ut actus humani necessitati non subdantur, sed proveniant ex arbitrii libertate."

"Hæc igitur quæ sunt ad præsens, visa sunt de propositis questionibus conscribenda; quæ tamen alibi diligentius pertractata sunt." (*Declaratio quorundam Articulorum contra Græcos, Armenos et Saracenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum, Cap. X., p. 96; Vol. XVI.*)

Regarding the Jews, with whom there was great contention in the middle ages,* the Angelical not only dwells upon the way they should be met in his "*Summa Philosophica*," and fairly confronts them in the "*Summa Theologica*," but he enters into personal conflict with them, and by the clearness and power of his reasoning converted them to the faith. For instance, Paul de Burgos, one of the most famous Jewish Rabbies of the fifteenth century, adjured Judaism after studying the Angelical's exposition of the mysteries and prophecies in the old Law, and of the figurative meaning of the ceremonies, sacraments, and sacrifices of the Jewish dispensation.

The Saint met two celebrated Rabbies at the country-house of Cardinal Richard, when on his way from Rome to Naples.† They had the reputation of being wealthy, learned, and stubborn men. They soon entered into controversy with S. Thomas, and descanted with great eloquence on the grandeur and antiquity of their religion, on the sanctity of their law, on the privileges of their order, and on how the Lord had solemnly sworn to be for ever the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Angelical without difficulty was able to testify to the truth of the greater part of what they said; and, like an able controversialist, knew how to turn it to advantage. Whilst he admitted with them the canonicity and authority of the Sacred Scriptures, he maintained the necessity of conciliating God's promises with His menaces, and of interpreting each according to the true sense of Holy Writ. He proved, from express texts, that the Lord was to make a new alliance with His people; that the Old Testament was but a prophecy and a figure of the New, just as the New is the explanation and the complete fulfilment of the Old.‡ He discussed the most striking passages

* See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p. — .

† Gibelli puts it thus:—"Tommaso Ito un giorno a visitare il Cardinal Riccardo, che dimorava in una sua villa non di lungi da Roma, trovò ivi due Rabbini tanto tenaci manteutori del giudaismo, che dir non si potrebbe. Il Santo Dottore, a cui sempre era in cuore di ridurre gli erranti a via di salute, entrò per dolce e caro modo a ragionamento con essi. Egliu tollerò a magnificare l'antichità della loro religione, la santità della legge, le solenni promesse, di che il Dio di Giacobbe avea consolato il suo popolo. Tommaso molto benignamente consentì loro tutto ciò che di vero aveano reanto, e rimase con loro in concordia dell'autorità de' divini dettati; poscia del successo si valse contra di loro. Fece vedere la necessità di concordare le promesse colle minacce, e d'intendere le une e le altre a dirittura di sentenza; dimostrò allegando i testi opportuni, come il Signore dovea concludere una nuova alleanza col suo popolo: come tutto il vecchio testamento non era più che una profezia e figura del nuovo; produsse in mezzo i vaticinii di Giacobbe, di Daniele, d'Aggeo e degli altri profeti, i quali diffinirono e circoscrissero per l'appunto il luogo, il tempo ed ogni circostanza della vita e della morte del Redentore; disse in somma ogni cosa che all'inteso fine tornar dovesse opportuna. I Rabbini tuttavia perfiaviavano; sempre le medesime opposizioni mettevano in campo; egli a strettissimo discorso di ragione li prese, e a tale li condusse che, chiusa loro ogni uscita, non ebbero che apporre." (*Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Cap. XXIII., p. 88—89; *Seconda Edizione*. See also Baveille, *Chap. XXI.*, p. 253—258; *Toumon, Liv. II., Chap. XX.*, p. 179—182; *Tocco, Boll.*, cap. IV., n. 23, p. 665.)

‡ It was prayer, as usual, which in the end prevailed:—"Non si diede però egl'vanto di vittoria; troppo sapea che la fede è dono di Dio; sapea che l'uomo può sì bene sonare in parole, ma non già aprire l'intendimento, nè volgerà a vera conversione il cuore. Pregò earnestmente i due Rabbini di tornare il giorno appresso; in quel mezzo non fosse lor grave di ripensare alle cose discorse e di venire rivolendo fra se medesimi; procacciassero a tutto potere che la mente loro fosse libera da ogni preoccupazione; procacciassero che l'affetto del cuore non

of the Prophets—of Jacob, Daniel, and Aggeus—who foretold the character and the coming of the Messiah, and spoke with clear utterance of the place, time, and circumstances of His birth, life, actions, and death. Then, by carefully comparing what had been foretold of our Lord with the accomplishment of the prophecy, the Saint clearly demonstrated that the Christ who had already come was the promised one of Israel.

The Rabbies were excessively struck by the ability of the Christian doctor, and they were still more amazed when, after stating as forcibly as possible the strongest arguments of their cause, they found that the calm self-possessed Angelical separated truth from error, exploded sophistry, and maintained the Christian position all the more startlingly in proportion as they plied him with difficulties against it.*

The upshot of the encounter was that the Rabbies were converted; and to the surprise of the Roman people, these two proud Israelites made their public recantation and received Holy Baptism in the Eternal City, and filled with the spirit of the true Gospel, began to live the lives of humble, zealous, and devoted servants of the Cross.

Besides confronting rationalism and irreverence in the schools, and writing *ex-professo* against the Greeks, Saracens, Armenians, and Jews, the Angelical exerted his greatest energies in oversetting the special error of Avicenna,† Avicbron,‡ and

impedisse il discorso della ragione. Venuta la notte, egli, secondo suo usato, si gettò ginocchione davanti all'altare, e accessamente supplicò il Signore che di sua grazia ralluminasse la loro mente. Fattosi giorno, quando fu tempo, i due Rabbini (sempre presente il Cardinale) tutti mutati da quel che erano, ritornarono, e senza più, datisi per vinti confessarono se non poter resistere a quello spirito di sapienza, che parlava per bocca di Tommaso; e presti e parati, com'erano, ricevettero la grazia del Santo Battesimo." (Gibelli, *Cap. XXIII.*, p. 63.)

* Tocco relates the story thus:—"Nam lu Molaria castro Domini Richardi Cardinalis prope Romani, cum predictis Doctor in festo Nativitatis Domini cum predicto Domino moraretur, et ad eum duo magni Judaei litterati et divites, sicut omni anno consueverant, convenissent, rogavit predictus Dominus, ut praefatus Doctor cum eis de eorum conversione tractaret. Cum quibus cum diutius contulisset de Lege veteri et Salvatoris adventum probasset per dicta plurimum Prophetarum, dedit eis tulinum in crastinum, ut de eorum conversione, et super his, quae proposuerat, responderent. Pro quorum conversione cum plus Doctor orasset; et eam petivisset a Dei Filio, ut sibi in sua natiuitatis gaudio concedere dignaretur, ecce Judaei in termino praefato ad predictum Doctorem conveniunt, converteruntur, confitentes se non posse spiritum sapientiae, qui in ipso loquebatur, resistere, nec contra hoc, quod pure auaserat, respondere. Fuit magnum de festo Nativitatis Dominicae gaudium, et pro eo quod Judaei perdidit conversionis beneficium hoc est Deo miserante donatum, Dominus Cardinalis de utroque festum cum magno gaudio celebravit." (Tocco, *Bolk.*, *Cap. IV.*, n. 23, p. 665.) Werner says:—Thomas hat kein Werk hinterlassen, welches speciell gegen die jüdische Theologie gerichtet wäre. In seinen Schrifterklärungen nimmt er, wie wir oben sahen, gelegentlich auf die jüdische Interpretation Rücksicht, hat aber die wenigsten jener Bücher commentirt, aus welchen die christlichen Polemiker ihre Beweisstellen sammelten. In dem Eingange seiner Summe *contra gentes* erklärt er ausdrücklich, dass er zwischen besonderen Classen seiner Gegner nicht unterscheiden, daher auch nicht speciell gegen die Juden aus dem alten Testamente argumentiren wolle." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 661.)

† See S. Thomas Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. XVI., *De Substantiis Separatis* (*Opusc. XIV.*); *Cap. II.*, *Opinio Aristotelis et Avicennae de numero substantiarum separatarum*, p. 184—186; *Cap. X.*, *Opinio Avicennae de fluxu rerum a primo principio, cum sua reprobatione*, p. 184—195.

‡ *Ibidem*, *Cap. V.*, *De substantiarum separatarum essentia secundum Avicbron*, p. 187—188; *Cap. VI.*, *Reprobatio opiniois Avicbron quantum ad modum ponendum*, p. 188—189; *Cap. VII.*, *Reprobatio opiniois Avicbron de materialitate substantiarum separatarum*, p. 189—190; *Cap. VIII.*, *Solutio rationum Avicbron opiniois*, p. 190—192. And thus the Angelical goes on oversetting the teachings of the Arabians and Jews. See, for instance, *Cap. IX.*, *Opinioes dicentium substantias immateriales causam sui esse non habere, et earum reprobatio*, p. 192—194; *Cap. XI.*, *Opinio Platoniorum de effluxu rerum a primo principio, cum reprobatione*, p. 196—197; *Cap. XIII.*, *Opinio antientium rerum providentiam a Deo et substantiis separatis, et ejus reprobatio*, p. 197—199; *Cap. XIV.*, *Quod divina providentia ad minima se extendit*, p. 199—200;

Averroës.* He is continually coming across them in his various works, and never tires of advancing his powerful arguments from reason against them.

This he aimed at doing in an *Opusculum* especially dedicated to the purpose, called "*De Unitate Intellectus*." Here is evinced the high esteem in which he held Aristotle, his exact knowledge of the Stagyræ's teaching, and the spread of Averroistic errors in many minds in the Christian schools. The main object is to prove that Aristotle did not teach the doctrine of the unity of the intellect, and that other peripatetics were on the orthodox side. Themistius is quoted in the Catholic sense, as well as Theophrastus, whilst even Averroës himself is proved to have held that Alexander maintained the passive intellect to be the form of the body.†

Next, the authority of the Arabs is quoted; Avicenna and Algazel are brought to bear, and the Saint shows, by many arguments, that the operations of the intellect are not effected by a corporeal organ. He says:—

We premise these things, not because we want to condemn the above-mentioned error on the authority of the philosophers, but in order to show that not only the Latins (whose expressions some do not approve), but the Arabs and the Greeks also, held that the intellect is a part or a power, or a virtue of the soul which is the form of the body.

He cannot understand how men should glory in their error—

Unless it be that they are less desirous of holding the true doctrine with the rest of the Peripatetics, than of falling into error with Averroës, who was not so much a Peripatetic as a corruptor of Peripatetic philosophy.‡

The treatise begins thus:—

As all men naturally desire to know truth, so they naturally wish to avoid error, and, if they can, to confute it. That seems to be the most unbecoming error which is committed with regard to the intellect—the very instrument

Cap. XV., *Solutio rationum predictarum pro predicta opinione*, p. 200—201; Cap. XVII., *Quod omnes substantie separatas sint a Deo producte*, p. 202—203. Thus the Angelical refutes the errors drawn out in Chapter XIII. of the First Volume of this work; see also Chap. XVIII., p. —.

* See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., *Arabians and Jews*, p. —.

† *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas* (*Opusc. XV.*), p. 208—224; S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. XVI.

‡ The Saint argues with as great cogency against Avicenna and Avicenna and Avempace in *Opusc. XIV.* (See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII.), as he does in this one against Averroës. Avicenna's great error was resolution of all things, ultimately, into material principles. This, says S. Thomas, is the error of the ancient natural philosophers, who admitted nothing but matter. Avicenna held that all forms considered in themselves are "accidents," and thus he does away with *materia prima*. For if it belongs to the notion of *materia* to be something in *potentia*, *prima materia* must be altogether in *potentia*; and hence is not predicated of anything in act. And thus he destroys the principles of logic, doing away with the conception of *genus* and *species* and substantial *differentia*; for he converts all things into accidental predication. He ruins the foundation of natural philosophy in doing away with the theory of generation and corruption, like the ancients, who held the doctrine of one material principle. He also oversets philosophy, doing away with the unity of singulars, and in consequence with true entity and diversity. The Saint shows that were the materialistic principle admitted it would be necessary to proceed *ad infinitum* in material causes; that there would be only one *forma*, and that there could be no such thing as diversity. He furnishes an abstruse scholastic argument, saying:—"Unde patet falsum esse principium quod supposebat, dicens potentiam et receptionem in omnibus eodem modo inveniri." (*Opusc. XIV.*, Cap. VI., p. 188—189; Vol. XVI.)

given us for avoiding falsehood and for apprehending truth. And an error of this kind has been gaining ground for some time past in many minds, in consequence of Averroës teaching that the intellect is a certain substance separate in its being from the body, and in some sort of way to be united to it as its form; and that the passive intellect is one in all men, a doctrine against which we have written much. But since the impertinence of those who are in fault does not cease to strike against the truth, we propose to write in opposition to their false doctrine, and to confute it.*

The Saint then proceeds to analyze Aristotle's teaching, and to show how the fair interpretation of his system is strongly opposed to those tenets which the Arabs and Averroës would father upon him; and he concludes this portion of his treatise thus:—

It appears therefore most manifest, without any sort of doubt, from Aristotle's own words, that this was his teaching regarding the passive intellect, namely, that it is a part of the soul which is the *act* of the body; but in such wise that the intellect does not possess any corporeal organ, as is the case with other powers of the soul.†

He then proceeds to prove, by an elaborate argument, that it is not impossible for a certain "form" to be in "matter" at the same time that its virtue or power is separate, as is the case with the intellect. Then it is objected that if the intellect be the form of the body, it necessarily follows that it is corruptible.‡ The Saint says that this argument has had its influence with many. Some held on this account that the soul passes from body to body, others that it possesses a certain incorrup-

* *Opusc. XV., De unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas*, p. 208; *Vol. XVI.* Avicbron held again that corporeal and spiritual substances are *una materia*. The Saint argues: If the matter is the same in both, a distinction must be admitted in it, anterior to the difference of forms, namely, of spirituality and corporeity. But this cannot be through quantity in spiritual substances, for dimensions do not exist in them, therefore it must be according to forms or dispositions, or according to the matter itself; but since it cannot be according to forms or dispositions *ad infinitum*, it must be, after all, according to the matter itself. Therefore the matter of corporeal and spiritual substances is altogether different. Next the Saint proves with great force that it cannot be the same in both, because the mode of receiving forms is different in spiritual and corporeal substances. After fully entering into the various proofs against the materialistic teaching of Avicbron, the Angelical proceeds to attack the error of the Easterns against creation. He says that just as Avicbron deviated from Plato and Aristotle regarding the condition of spiritual substances, robbing them of their spirituality, so some have erred from truth regarding the mode of their existence, denying that they proceeded from the First and Supreme Author. Some held that they had no cause; others, that they proceeded from the First Principle through intermediate principles; others, that as to being, they came from the First Cause immediately, but received their special character from those above them. These errors the Saint replies to at length. (See *Opusc. XIV., De Angelorum Natura*, *Cap. VII.—IX.*, p. 192, sqq.; *Vol. XVI.*)

† *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus*, p. 211; *Vol. XVI.*

‡ Speaking of errors regarding the origin of beings, the Saint proves with great penetration how they flow from Avicbron's teaching. They proceeded from men who could not rise above their imaginations, and made spirit and matter one. The intellect seemed incapable of uniting another mode of causation from that which relates to material things. Still the mind of man progressed by degrees towards the right solution. First, men put everything down to change, regarding *feri* as nothing more than *alterari*, and matter as eternal. They could not intellectually transcend the distinction of substance and accidents. Others advanced further, holding that some substances were self-caused; but since these men saw nothing but matter, they resolved substances into certain corporeal principles, and placed the origin of things in congregation and segregation. Others went still further, and resolved sensible substances into matter and form, and so placed the *feri* of things in change of forms. But beyond this "making," with Plato and Aristotle we must place a higher principle. For as the First Principle should be most simple, it must not be a participation, but an *esse* existing of itself; but since subsisting being can be *unum* only, all others must possess their *esse* by participation. Therefore the Intellect should be able to resolve each one of them into *id quod est*. Therefore besides the composition of matter and form, another origin of things should be presupposed, according to which from the First Cause, "being" is attributed to all things. (*Opusc. XIV., Cap. IX.*, p. 193; *Vol. XVI.*)

tible body which will never be separated from it; and then the Angelical begins to show that Aristotle in reality maintains the intellectual soul to be the form of the body in such a way as is compatible with the doctrine of its being incorruptible.

He then goes on to prove that neither the Greeks nor the Arabians taught the heresy of the unity of the intellect; and after stating the arguments of the Averroistic school regarding the separate passive intellect, and its relations to the phantasms, the Saint gives three arguments which altogether upset their pretensions. Nor was it any use for them to shift their ground and say that the intellect is united to the body as a mover; for against this our author appositely cites the eighth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and advances a carefully-wrought argument thrown into the form of an illustration.*

After referring to Plato, S. Gregory Nyssen, Macrobius, Plotinus, and Themistius, he brings other arguments to bear. For instance:

The operation of a man, inasmuch as he is a man, is to understand, and in this he differs from other animals, and therefore Aristotle places his ultimate felicity in this operation. But as Aristotle says, the principle by which we understand is the intellect, therefore it must be united to the body as a form: not indeed so that the intellectual power itself should be the act of any organ, but because it is a power of the soul which is the act of a physical organic body.

Again: According to the position of the Averroists the principles of moral philosophy are destroyed, for according to it all individual power is withdrawn from us; for nothing is in our power except through our will; hence on this very account what we are able to do of ourselves is called "voluntary." But the will is in the intellect, as is evident from the teaching of Aristotle in his third book *De Anima*, and because there are will and intellect in separate substances, and because, as Aristotle says in his *Rhetoric*,† it is

* The Angelical combats Avicenna no less than Avicbron. The Saint begins by saying that some people assert that all things draw their being from the First and Supreme Principle, whom we call God; but not immediately. For since the First Principle of things is altogether one and simple, they hold that nothing proceeds from it but *unum*, which, although more simple than the rest of inferior things and *magis unum*, still possesses less simplicity than the first, because it is not its own *esse*, but a substance having *esse*: and this they name the first intelligence, from which they affirm many other things can proceed. For the second intelligence proceeds from it, as it turns to understand its simple first principle: and in its turning to understand itself, it produces the soul of the first Orb: and in its understanding itself on the side of its *potentia*, the first body proceeds from it; and so on from the First Principle to the last body. This is the position of Avicenna in the book "*De Causa*." To this the Saint says: The general good is more important than particular good. But if the perfection in the effect be not attributed to the agent, the *ratio* of good is destroyed in particular effects. Hence Aristotle reprobated the opinion that the forms of things come from the necessity of nature. Therefore the *bonum universale*, which consists in the distinction and order of parts, must proceed from the First Agent; therefore this distinction and order must pre-exist in the intellect of the First Principle. And since things proceed from it as from an intellectual principle, it is not necessary to maintain that one thing only proceeds from it, although it be simple in its essence. (*Opusc. XIV., Cap. X., p. 194—195, Opp. Omnia, Vol. XVI.*)

† The Angelical continues replying to Avicenna thus:—There is a two-fold mode of producing things, one according to mutation and motion, another without them. According to the first method, things proceed from the First Principle by means of second causes, just as plants and animals are produced into being by motion according to the efficacy of the supreme causes, which can be traced up to the First Principle. But according to the second method this cannot be, for what is produced into being this way is not only made *per se "hoc ens,"* but "*per se simpliciter ens.*" But effects must be in proportion to causes: a universal effect to a universal cause, a particular to a particular. So since by motion something is made *per se "hoc ens,"* the effect is referred to a particular cause, and when *ens* is made *simpliciter ens per se* and

through the will that a thing is loved or hated universally, as we hate the race of thieves. If, therefore, the intellect is not something belonging to an individual man, or is not truly one with him, but is united to him only by the phantasms, or as a motor, in these cases the will is not in the individual man, but in the separate intellect; and hence the individual man will not be master of his own acts, nor will any of his acts be worthy of praise or blame; and this is to destroy the principles of moral philosophy.*

Having entered still further into these questions, and stated all that can be advanced in opposition, as well as the proofs which establish the true theory and demolish the false one, the Angelical concludes:—

It is evident that what they say is false, namely, that all philosophers, Arab and Peripatetic, with the exception of the Latins, maintained as a principle that the intellect is not multiplied numerically.† For Algazel was not a Latin, but an Arab; whilst Avicenna, who was an Arab, writes thus in his book on *The Soul*: “Prudence, and folly, and opinion, and such like, are in the essence of the soul.” It is moreover evident from the words of Themistius—not to omit the Greeks—that neither the active intellect which illuminates, nor the passive intellect which is illuminated, is one; but that the principle of illumination is one, namely, some separate substance—that is either God, according to Catholics, or the ultimate intelligence, according to Avicenna. The unity of the separate principle Themistius proves from the fact that the teachers and the taught understood the same thing, which would not be the case if the illuminating principle were not identical.‡

The Angelical finally concludes:—

Therefore it is evident that Aristotle, and Theophrastus, and Plato himself, did not hold it as a principle that the passive intellect is one in all men. It is also clear that Averroës perversely alters the meaning of Themistius and Theophrastus with regard to the passive and active intellect; therefore we

not *per accidens*, the effect must be referred to the universal cause of being; and this is the First Principle, which is God. Therefore besides the method of mutation or motion, there is another way by which things are produced into *esse* by the First Principle without the assistance of second causes, and without motion, and this is called “creation,” and is referred to God alone: in this way alone immaterial substances can be produced into being. It follows, therefore, that all immaterial substances, and heavenly bodies, which cannot be produced into *esse* by motion, have God alone for the Author of their being. (*Opusc. XIV., Cap. X., p. 195; Vol. XVI.*)

* *Opusc. XV., p. 218, Vol. XVI.*

† Besides Avicenna and Avicenna, the Angelical overturns Avempace. This philosopher held with Abu-Bekr (Ibn-Zohr), according to Averroës (*De Anima, III. text. Com. V.*), that the passive intellect is identical with the imagination. The Saint disproves this position thus: Animals as well as men possess imagination, whilst men alone possess intellect: therefore intellect and imagination are not identical. Again: Imagination has only to do with corporeal and singular things, since phantasy is a motion elicited by sense (as is said in the second book *De Anima, text. Com. CLXI.*), but the intellect with universals and incorporeal things, therefore the passive intellect is not identical with the imagination. Moreover, it is impossible for the same thing to be the mover and the moved, but the phantasms move the passive intellect, as *sensibilia* do the sense, as Aristotle says (*De Anima, III. text. Com. XXV.*) It is therefore impossible for the passive intellect to be the same as the imagination. Again: It is proved in the third book *De Anima (Text. Com. VI.)* that the intellect is not an act of any part of the body, but the imagination has a determinate corporeal organ; therefore the imagination and the passive intellect are not the same. In reference to this fact it is written, “Who teacheth no more than the beasts of the earth, and instructeth no more than the fowls of the air” (*Job, Chap. XXXV., v. 11*), by which we learn that in man there is a faculty of knowledge beyond that of sense and imagination which animals possess. (Vid. *Summa Contra Gentiles, Lib. II., Cap. LXXII., p. 119; Vol. V.*)

‡ *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus, p. 223, sqq. Vol. XVI.* Besides refuting the Arabian philosophies, the Angelical, in his *Opusculum XIV.*, aims at the errors of the Platonists (*Cap. XI.*) and of Origen (*Cap. XII.*); establishes the rule of God’s Providence (*Cap. XIII.*), showing how it extends to the smallest creatures (*Cap. XIV.*); argues against the teachings of the Manicheans, and shows that all separate substances must have been created by God. (*Opusc. XIV., Cap. XVII., p. 262; Vol. XVI.*)

did well to call him the perverter of Peripatetic philosophy.* Wherefore it is strange that some, having seen merely the comments of Averroës, should have presumed to say that what he taught was held by all philosophers, Greek and Arabian, with the exception of the Latins. And it is a source of still greater astonishment, or even of indignation, that any man professing himself to be a Christian should dare to speak so irreverently of the Christian faith, as to say with Averroës that "the Latins do not hold it as a principle," that there is one intellect only, "because perchance their law is against it." Here Averroës commits two errors—first, by doubting whether his doctrine is contrary to faith, and secondly, by asserting by implication that he does not submit to the law; and what he afterwards adds is also wrong, namely, "This is the reason why Catholics seem to hold this opinion," putting down a declaration of faith as being merely an opinion.† Nor is there less presumption in what he next asserts, namely, that God could not ordain that there should be many intellects, because it would imply a contradiction to do so. And what he adds is still more serious: "I conclude, as a necessary consequence of reason, that the intellect is one numerically, still I firmly hold the opposite through faith."

Therefore he feels that there are some matters of faith the contraries of which are necessarily true. But since a conclusion is not of necessity, except with regard to necessary truth, the opposite of which is false and impossible, it follows, according to his *dictum*, that faith is the subject of the false and the impossible: a result that even God could not bring about, and a state-

* *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus*, p. 224, Vol. XVI. The Saint shows his full grasp of Aristotle and Plato when he draws out their points of agreement and difference regarding their theory of separate substances. They agree, he says, first in the *mode* of existence; secondly, that all separate substances are wholly free from matter; thirdly, in their view of Providence. They differ, first, in this: that Plato held a separate order of universals which Aristotle rejected; secondly, that Plato did not limit the number of separate intellects to the number of heavenly motions, and this Aristotle did; and, thirdly, Plato placed certain intermediate souls between those of the heavens and of men, which Aristotle did not do; and therefore neither he nor his followers make any mention of demons. (See *Opusc. XIV., Cap. III., p. 186; Cap. IV., p. 187; Op. Omnia, Vol. XVI.*)

† Here is a perfect specimen of the Angelical's method of reasoning on a deep philosophical point. Against Averroës he says:—"Est ergo dicendum secundum sententiam Aristotelis, quod intellectum quod est unum, est ipsa natura vel quidditas rei. De rebus enim est scientia naturalis et alius scientie, non de speciebus intellectis. Si enim intellectum esset non ipsa natura lapidis que est in rebus, sed species que est intellectui, sequeretur quod ego non intelligerem rem que est lapis, sed solum intentionem que est abstracta a lapide. Sed verum est quod lapidis natura, prout est in singularibus, est intellecta in potentia; sed intellecta in actu per hoc quod species a rebus sensibilibus mediantibus sensibusque ad phantasiam perveniunt, et per virtutem intellectus agentis species intelligibiles abstrahuntur, que sunt in intellectu possibili. Hæc autem species non se habent ad intellectum possibilem ut intellecta, sed species quibus intellectus intelligit; sicut etiam species que sunt in visa, non sunt ipsa visa, sed ea quibus visus videt; nisi inquantum intellectus reflectitur supra seipsum, quod in sensu accidere non potest. Si autem intelligere esset actio transiens in exteriorem materiam, sicut conburnere et movere, sequeretur quod intelligere esset secundum modum quo natura realiter habet esse in singularibus, sicut combustio ignis est secundum modum combustibilis. Sed quia intelligere est actio in ipso intelligente manens, ut Aristoteles dicit 9 Metaphysicæ, sequitur quod intelligere sit secundum modum intelligetis, id est secundum exigentiam speciei que intellectus intelligit. Hæc autem cum sit abstracta a principiis individualibus, non representat rem secundum conditiones individuales, sed secundum naturam universalem tantum. Nihil enim prohibet, si aliqua duo conjunguntur in re, quia unum eorum representari possit etiam in sensu sine altero: nunc color mellis vel poni videtur a via sine ejus sapore. Sic igitur intellectus intelligit naturam universalem per abstractionem ab individualibus principiis. Est ergo unum quod intelligitur a me et a te; sed alio intelligitur a me, et alio a te, id est alia specie intelligibili; et aliud est intelligere meum, et aliud tuum; et aliud est intellectus meus, et aliud tuus. Unde et Aristoteles in Predicamentis dicit, aliquam scientiam esse singularem quantum ad subjectum, ut quedam grammatica in subjecto quidem est in anima, de subjecto vero nullo dicitur. Unde et intellectus meus quando intelligit se intelligere, intelligit quendam singularem actum; quando autem intelligit intelligere simpliciter, intelligit aliquid universale: non enim singularitas repugnat intelligibilitati, sed materialitas. Unde cum sint aliqua singularia immaterialia, nihil prohibet hujusmodi singularia intelligi. Ex hoc autem apparet quomodo sit eadem scientia in discipulo, et doctore. Est enim eadem quantum ad rem scitam, non tamen quantum ad species intelligibiles quibus uterque intelligit. . . . Sicut enim in infirmo est principium naturale sanitatis, cui medicus auxilia subministrat ad sanitatem perficiendam; ita in discipulo est principium naturale scientie, scilicet intellectus agens, et prima principia per se nota. Doctor autem subministrat quedam adminicula, deducens consequens ex principis per se nota. . . . et sicut sanitas in infirmo fit non secundum potestatem medicæ, sed secundum facultatem nature; ita et scientia causatur in discipulo non secundum virtutem magistri, sed secundum facultatem addiscentis." (*Opusc. XV., p. 222, Op. Omnia, Vol. XVI.*)

ment which is unendurable to the ears of the faithful. Nor is he wanting in great temerity in presuming to dispute on matters which do not appertain to philosophy, but are of pure faith—as that the soul suffers in the infernal fire,—and in saying that the teachings of the Doctors are to be reprobated on this point. By parity of reasoning disputes could be started about the Trinity, the Incarnation, and subjects of a kindred nature, concerning which only a stutterer would talk.*

This therefore, is what we have written towards the destruction of the said error: making use not of documents of faith, but of the reasonings and *dicta* of philosophers themselves. If any one glorying in false science wishes to say anything against what we have written, let him talk neither in secret nor before boys who cannot judge of difficult questions; but let him write, if he dare against this work, and he will find not only that I, who am the least of all, but that many others who cultivate truth, will confront his error or expose his ignorance.†

It stands to reason that to understand fully the weight and accuracy of the Angelical's reasoning, the whole *Opusculum* must be carefully studied as it stands.

Then besides this, there are three interesting Expositions, which, together with his polemical tracts, still further prepared the Angelical for the great "*Summa Theologica*;" the *Expositio in Librum Boetii de Hebdomadibus*,‡ the "*Expositio in Librum Boetii de Trinitate*,"§ and the Exposition of the book *De Causis*,|| all of which display the singular gift of grasping the meaning of an author for which he was so especially famed. To give an analysis, however short, of these Commentaries, would take up too much space; besides, it seems

* Take the *Contra Gentiles*, and that work alone is sufficient to show the energy with which the Angelical combated the Eastern errors; he does not even let the early Greek philosophers escape. For example, see *Lib. I., Cap. XLIII.*, p. 32. Anaxagoras is replied to, *Lib. II., Cap. XL.*, p. 95; others, again, *Lib. I., Cap. XX.*, p. 17; then the Arabs, especially Averroës, are upset, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXXIII.*, p. 122; *Lib. II., Cap. XXII.*, p. 79—82; *Lib. II., LIX.*, p. 112; *Cap. LX.*, p. 113—114; then Aristotle is brought to bear against his own admirers, *Lib. II., Cap. LXI.*, p. 115—116; Aristotle taken out of the hand of Averroës, *Lib. II., Cap. LXX.*, p. 121; Aristotle brought to bear again, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXVIII.*, p. 133—134; Avicenna refuted, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXIV.*, p. 126; *Cap. XLII.*, p. 96—97; *Cap. XXI.*, p. 79; Averroës and Avicenna answered, *Lib. I., Cap. L.*, p. 36, *Cap. LXIII.*, p. 44; Algazel and Averroës answered, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXXIX.*, *LXXX.*, *LXXXI.*, p. 134—138 *sqq.*; Avempace refuted, *Lib. II., LXXII.*, p. 119. Sometimes these are made witnesses to truth, for instance, Averroës, *Lib. I., Cap. XIII.*, p. 12 and *Cap. XX.*, p. 17; Avicenna, *Lib. I., Cap. LX.*, p. 45; *Cap. XLIII.*, p. 63, whilst Pantheism is hit at, *Lib. I., Cap. XXVI.*, p. 21—23, and Alexander answered, *Lib. II., Cap. LXII.*, p. 116—117.

† *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus*, p. 224, Vol. XVI.

‡ In *Librum Boetii de Hebdomadibus Expositio*, *Opusc. LXII., Lect. V.*, p. 339—348; Vol. XVII. "Thomas erklärt den Ausdruck: 'de hebdomadibus,' als gleichbedeutend mit: 'de editionibus: quia in Græco hebdomada idem est ac edere' (Thomas las in seinem corrumpten Texte: 'eedomadilens,' und mochte hierbei an das griechische ἐκδοῦμι denken). Wie er das 'edere' verstand, erklärt eine andere Aeusserung: Solitus erat sibi commentari i. e. componere vel excogitare quasdam hebdomadas i. e. editiones seu conceptiones." Der Anlass zur Entschung dieses Auszuges aus den Hebdomaden ist nach Thomas' Angabe die Bitte des römischen Diacouns Johannes, Boëthius möchte einige Scheinwidersprüche auflösen, die in seinen 'Editionibus' sich fänden." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p. 469.)

§ In *Librum Boetii de Trinitate Expositio*, *Opusc. LXIII., Questiones VI.*, p. 349—396; Vol. XVII. The method followed is that of the "*Questiones Disputate*." Each *Questio* is divided into four articles. For instance, the first *Questio*, "*De Divinorum Cognitione*," *Art. I.*—Utrum mens humana ad cognitionem veritatis indigent nova illustratione divine lucis; *Art. II.*—Utrum mens humana possit ad Dei notitiam pervenire; *Art. III.*—Utrum Deus sit primum quod a mente cognoscitur; *Art. IV.*—Utrum ad Divine Trinitatis cognitionem mens humana per naturalem rationem pervenire sufficit.

|| *De Causis, Liber Unicus. De primis causis rerum in triplici ordine constitutis, earumque ad invicem distinctione et dependentia; Lectiones XXXII.*, p. 717—760; Vol. XXI.

hardly called for, since sufficient has already been done to suggest the labours and method of the Angelical in theological and philosophical disquisition.

There are many other *Opuscula* attributed to the Saint, but being of uncertain authenticity, they shall be mentioned in another place; enough has been said to prove him to be a profound philosopher and an incomparable theologian. Of his writings as a politician, this is not the place to speak; but it would be an oversight to forget his merits as a framer of holy Liturgy and as a Christian poet. His great gifts manifested themselves in the composition of the office and mass for the solemn feast of *Corpus Christi*.* It is said that Pope Urban IV. gave instructions to S. Bonaventure, as well as to S. Thomas, to construct the office; and it is related that when the Angelical was arranging the Vespers for the Feast, S. Bonaventure called upon him, and during conversation took up and read that beautiful antiphon for the *Magnificat*, beginning with the words, "*O Sacrum Convivium!*"† So overcome was he by its depth and sweetness, that he returned home, and cast into the flames as useless the work which he himself had been preparing.

And, indeed, how could the composition of the Angelical be surpassed? What office of the Church, used during the great festivals, is more touching, more soul-expanding, more full of unction than that of the feast of *Corpus Domini*?‡ See how the

* "Essendo dunque sì divoto del santissimo Sacramento dell'altare, meritaente gli fu e da Dio conceduto sì profondamente scriverne, ed ingiunto da Urbano Papa IV. di mettere in assetto la Messa e l'Officio per la solennità del Corpus Domini, da lui con ispirito veramente celeste compilato con gl'inni, antifone, responsori, versetti, lettoni, e la sequentin, che come appropriati alla detta solennità, servono per essa, e per l'ottava, ne' quali s'ammira l'artificio, l'altezza de' concetti, l'ordine, l'armonia, e la divozione; sì che con tutti gli altri divini officij infin hora messi in ordine dagli antichi padri può stare a paragone. Onde da Sisto Papa IV. da Santo Antonino, e da chiunque ne parlo, fu a ragione commendato." (Frigerio, *Vita di S. Tomaso d' Aquino*, Lib. II., Cap. II., n. 5, p. 75.)

† *Ad Magnificat, Antiph.* "O sacrum convivium! in quo Christus sumitur, recolitur memoria passionis ejus, mens impletur gratia, et future glorie nobis pignus datur. Alleluja, Alleluja." Then for the First Vespers: "O quam suavis est, Domine spiritus tuus! qui ut dulcedinem tuam in filios demonstrares, pane suavissimo de celo prestiti, esurientes replevis bonis, fastidiosos divites dimittis inanes." This is the Prayer:—"Dens qui vobis sub Sacramento mirabili passionis tue memoriam reliquisti, tribue quesumus Ita nos Corporis et sanguinis tui sacra mysteria venerari, ut redemptionis tue fructum in nobis jugiter sentiamus, Qui vivis, &c." Then the Hymns are "*Pange Lingua*," "*Sacris Solemnitas*," "*Verbum Supernum*," and "*Lauda Sion*." (See *Opusc. V., Officium de Feato Corporis Christi ad mandatum URBANI PAPÆ IV. dictum Festum instituentis*, p. 233—238; Vol. XV.)

‡ Take the hymn "*Verbum Supernum prodens*":—

"The Word, descending from above,
Though with the Father still on high,
Went forth upon His work of love,
And soon to life's last eve drew nigh.

He shortly to a death accurs'd
By a disciple shall be given;
But, to his twelve disciples, first
He gives Himself, the Bread from Heaven.

Himself in either kind He gave;
He gave his Flesh, He gave his Blood;
Of flesh and blood all men are made;
And He of man would be the Food.

At birth our brother He became;
At board, Himself as food He gives;
To ransom us He died in shame;
As our reward, in bliss He lives."

Caswall's *Lyra Catholica*, p. 114—115.

Saint culls from the sweet psalms of David, and from the ordinances of the Old Law, types and figures of the New ; see how his large heart, and his deep affections flow, with the overwhelming force of some majestic river, into those hymns which form the household words of the Sanctuary, and the very language of the Holy Place ! The "*Pange Ligua*" and "*Sacris Solemnis*," so exquisitely theological, so tenderly affective, so reverently adoring, so expressive of every want and aspiration of the human heart—where are two hymns so touching, so poetical, so angelical as they ? What writer has so fixed his name in every Sanctuary, or has made ten thousand churches ring for hundreds of years with such an ever-repeated, never-omitted anthem of joy and praise ? He who lived at the foot of the altar and drunk of the dew of heaven, he whose conversation was with the Saints of God, had learnt, as no other, how to throw into human words an angel's song. He, the champion of the Blessed Sacrament, as if by heavenly inspiration, poured out his numbers in a poet's prayer. Whether it be the beautiful simplicity of the "*Tantum Ergo*,"* the tender and strong love of the "*O Salutaris*,"† or the jubilant "*Lauda Sion*," it matters not ; the Angelical was master of every note of joy, adoration, and thanksgiving which could be breathed from the human soul fired with the grace of God ; and knew, as no other, how to stamp the impress of his own spirit on the treasures of his genius. It was his intense energy of devotion, and spotlessness of purity, which made him throw into divine song the deepest feelings of humanity ; for he summed up in himself all that is purest and tenderest, all that is most noble in the hearts of the redeemed.

Take a specimen of the "*Lauda Sion*" :—

"Lo ! upon the Altar lies,
Hidden deep from human eyes,
Bread of Angels from the skies,
Made the food of mortal man :

* "*Tantum Ergo*" :—

"Down in adoration falling,
Lo ! the sacred Host we hail ;
Lo ! o'er ancient forms departing,
Newer rites of grace prevail ;
Faith, for all defects supplying,
Where the feeble senses fail,
To the everlasting Father, &c."

—(Loc. Cit., p. 112.)

† "*O Salutaris Hostia*" :—

"O saving Victim ! opening wide
The gate of Heav'n to men below !
Our foes press on from every side :—
Thine aid supply, thy strength bestow.
To thy great Name be endless praise,
Immortal Godhead, One in Three !
Oh, grant us endless length of days,
In our true native land, with thee !"

—Loc. Cit., p. 115—116.)

Children's meat to dogs denied ;
 In old types foresignified ;
 In the manna Heav'n-supplied,
 Isaac and the Paschal Lamb.

Jesu ! Shepherd of the Sheep !
 Thou thy flock in safety keep.
 Living Bread ! thy life supply ;
 Strengthen us, or else we die ;
 Fill us with celestial grace :
 Thou who feedest us below !
 Source of all we have or know !
 Grant that with thy Saints above,
 Sitting at the feast of love,
 We may see Thee face to face."*

How full of large, free, tender adoration was the heart of the Angelical, can only be fully realized by studying in its integrity the office composed by him in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.

* See *Lyra Catholica*, by Edward Caswall, M.A., p. 240 ; London, 1840. The poem begins thus :—

I.

" Sion, lift thy voice, and sing ;
 Praise thy Saviour and thy King ;
 Praise with hymns thy Shepherd true :
 Strive thy best to praise Him well ;
 Yet doth He all praise excel ;
 None can ever reach His due.

II.

See to-day before us laid
 The living and life-giving Bread !
 Theme for praise and joy profound !
 The same which at the sacred board
 Was by our Incarnate Lord
 Giv'n to His Apostles round.

III.

Let the praise be loud and high ;
 Sweet and tranquil be the joy
 Felt to-day in every breast ;
 On this festival divine,
 Which records the origin
 Of the glorious Eucharist.

IV.

On this Table of the King,
 Our new Paschal offering
 Brings to end the olden rite ;
 Here, for empty shadows fled,
 Is reality instead ;
 Here instead of darkness, light."
 —(p. 236—237.)

CHAPTER X.

S. THOMAS AND FAITH.

PART II.

It will now naturally be asked what was the condition of the political and ecclesiastical world during the time that the Angelical was penning his treatises, delivering his lectures, and writing his poems.

By the death of our Saint's friend and patron, Urban IV., at Perugia (1264), the Church lost an able and accomplished Pope. Like many men of great energy and exceptional gifts, he had risen from the ranks to the highest dignities attainable in the Church. He started life in a tailor's shop, then received the tonsure, and having become in turn archdeacon, bishop, legate, and cardinal, was chosen Pope by eight of the nine cardinals at Viterbo, on account of his high character for saintliness and wisdom.*

To give a detailed account of the vigour with which he pursued the policy of Alexander IV., his predecessor, with respect to Manfred, the turbulent king of Italy, and of how he declared a crusade against him on account of his outrages on the Church and his oppression of the people, would take up too much room. Suffice it here to say that Guy, Bishop of Auxerre, and Robert, son of the Count of Flanders, overset Manfred in a pitched battle in Lombardy; but Manfred, with his noted elasticity, speedily recovered himself, and taking vengeance on his enemies, pushed his successes so far as to threaten to lay siege to Rome. Urban took refuge in Orvieto, and shortly afterwards

* "Ce pape fut le premier qui exprima le numéro de son nom. Il signait Urbain pape IV. On prétend qu'il existe une bulle de Pélage signée *Pelagius PP. II.*; mais beaucoup d'auteurs regardent cette bulle comme apocryphe. Urbain mourut le 22 Octobre, à Perugia. Il gouverna l'Eglise trois ans un mois et quatre jours. C'était un homme d'un esprit élevé, prudent. Il avait le cœur rempli de clémence, de mansuétude, de générosité, et de beaucoup d'autres vertus qu'on pouvait appeler vraiment royales. On a de lui une *Paraphrase des Pères*, et soixante et une lettres où respirent la sagesse et la bonté." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, Tome III., p. 15; Paris, 1851.)

died at Perugia.* Prudence, meekness, and generosity, combined with a deep love of literature and learning, were the distinguishing characteristics of this venerable Pontiff. He governed the Church three years, one month, and four days.

Five months elapsed before a successor was chosen. The cardinals assembled at Viterbo met at length in conclave, and elected Guy Foulquois, cardinal of Santa Sabina, successor of Pope Urban IV. Guy, like his predecessor, was a Frenchman; he belonged to a noble family of Saint-Gilles, on the Rhône. He had many high qualities and a wide experience to recommend him. He had been successively a soldier, a lawyer, a secretary, a husband, a father of a family, a widower, a canon, an archdeacon, a bishop, a cardinal, and, finally, he was nominated Pope.† He had been raised to the cardinalate by Urban IV., under the title of *Santa Sabina*, in recognition of the skilful manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of Apostolic Legate at the English Court.

Guy was absent at Boulogne-sur-Mer when the sacred college met in conclave at Viterbo, and it was at Boulogne that he first heard the astounding intelligence that he had been canonically chosen to succeed to the tiara.‡ It is said that the condition of Italy at this period was so insecure for prelates, on account of the violence of Manfred, that Guy was constrained, in passing through Italy, to dress himself as a mendicant friar; and that in this disguise he appeared at Viterbo, and implored the sacred college upon his bended knees, with many prayers and tears, to free him from the terrible burden they wished to place upon him. But his entreaties were of no practical avail. The cardinals persisted in their choice, private feeling had to give way

* It was at Orvieto, and at this period, that Pope Urban IV. instituted the feast of *Corpus Domini*, for which the Angelical wrote the office, as has been said already. "Refugié à Orvieto, le pape institua la fête du Saint Sacrement, qu'il célébra pour la première fois le jeudi d'après l'octave de la Pentecôte, en 1264. Il fit composer l'office de cette fête par saint Thomas d'Aquin, alors professeur de philosophie à Orvieto; c'est le même office que nous récitons encore. Mais le pape Urbain étant mort à Pérouse, la célébration de cette solennité fut interrompue pendant plus de quarante ans; elle avait été ordonnée dès l'année 1246, par Robert de Torote, évêque de Liège, à l'occasion des révélations qu'une sainte religieuse hospitalière, nommée Julienne, avait eues sur ces objets." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, Tome III., p. 14.)

† "Clément IV., appelé auparavant Guy Foulquois, appartenait à une famille noble de Saint-Gilles, sur le Rhône. On remarquera ici que c'est un Français qui succède à un Français. Guy fut successivement militaire, juriconsulte, secrétaire de Louis IX., marié, père de famille, vicaire, prêtre, chanoine, archidiacre, évêque, cardinal, et pape. Quelques auteurs prétendent que Guy fut aussi chartreux; mais il paraît qu'ils ont confondu le fils avec le père, qui, en effet, entra dans l'ordre de Saint-Bruno." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, Tome III., p. 14.)

‡ "Un Français, un Languedocien, Gui Fulcodi, cardinal-évêque de Sabine, l'un des membres les plus distingués du sacré collège, envoyé comme légat en Angleterre pour amener un accommodement entre le roi et les barons révoltés, apprend à Boulogne-sur-Mer que les suffrages de ses collègues réunis à Pérouse, l'appellent au trône pontifical. Il accourt en Italie et se rend à Pérouse, déguisé en frère mendiant pour échapper aux embûches de Manfred, toujours en guerre avec l'Eglise romaine. Il vient se plaindre de cet honneur imprévu, et tenter tous les efforts pour s'y soustraire; mais, ni ses prières ni ses larmes ne peuvent arrêter la justice d'une élection à laquelle il avait été d'ailleurs si complètement étranger; il est forcé d'accepter, le 3 février 1268; et le 22 du même mois, premier dimanche du carême, il est couronné sous le nom de Clément IV." (Bailleul, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXIII., p. 274-275.)

to public good, and Guy was with great pomp and ceremony enthroned and crowned (1265) under the title of Clement IV.*

Having been forced against his will to take the responsibility of government, he was determined that his relations should not feed and flourish upon the patrimony of the Church.† He wrote thus to his nephew, Peter the Fat: "We wish neither you nor your brother, nor any other member of the family, to come to us without our express command; for if you do, you will be disappointed in your expectations, and will be sent home again in confusion."‡

But if the new pope was severe with the members of his family, he was full of tenderness towards men who, by their talents and labours, had deserved well of the Holy See.§ His keen intelligence, which had been practised in so many varied experiences, found little difficulty in discovering where merit lay, or in hitting upon methods of rewarding it. If his first act was to calm the rising ambition of his relatives, his second may be said to have been to fix his eye upon the Angel of the Schools, whom he determined to raise to some conspicuous ecclesiastical position. If S. Thomas lost a friend in Urban, he found a warm admirer in Urban's successor.|| Indeed the Pope and the great theologian were by no means strangers; Clement, when a simple priest, had looked upon that quiet, marvellous Dominican with wonder and delight. He had marked the extraordinary and brilliant success of his career, and had been struck by his retiring modesty, his severe simplicity, his gentleness of life, and the spotless candour of his character. It

* "Novae ne peut se lasser d'admirer Clément IV. : 'Il fut,' dit cet historien, 'prédicateur éloquent, juriconsulte consommé.' Durant l'appelle lumière du droit, illustre en pénitence, en prière, en zèle apostolique, en modestie, en manières telles que plus il s'élevait en dignité, plus il florissait en sainteté. Il n'opéra jamais sous son règne une seule chose grave, qu'auparavant il n'eût consulté le sacré collège. Novae loue ensuite l'horreur de ce pape pour le népotisme, tant fut grand en ce pontife le détachement de son propre sang." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoires des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, Tome III., p. 23.)

† See Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. I., p. 200.

‡ Quelques papes jusqu'ici n'ont peut-être pas assez réprimé l'ambition de leur famille: aussi la conduite tout opposée de Clément IV., a fait l'admiration de la postérité. Il ne permit pas que ses parents venissent auprès de lui, et leur défendit toute recommandation. Il voulut que sa nièce fût mariée à un simple chevalier, et il ne promit que la plus modique somme pour sa dot. Il ne se montra pas plus favorablement disposé pour l'établissement des deux filles qu'il avait eues pendant son mariage: aussi embrassèrent-elles la vie religieuse dans l'abbaye de Saint-Sauveur, de Nîmes." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, Tome III., p. 22.)

§ Du Pin, speaking of the humble expressions this Pope made use of when writing to his friends, says:—"Il écrit toutes ces choses en secret, et à la charge qu'on n'en parlera point: c'est pourquoi il lui marque qu'il ne se sert point de Bulle, mais de l'Anneau du Pêcheur, dont les Papes se servent quand ils écrivent secrètement à des particuliers de leurs amis: ce qui fait voir que cette Lettre n'est point l'effet d'une vaine ostentation d'humilité; mais que ce sont ses véritables sentiments." (Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, Tom. X., *Seconde Édition*: Paris, MDCCL.)

|| "On voit par-là de quels yeux Clément IV. regardoit son élévation: quel étoit son mépris pour les grandeurs de ce monde, et son détachement de toutes les personnes qui lui étoient unies par les liens du sang. On le loue cependant d'avoir toujours estimé le mérite, et favorisé particulièrement ceux qui travailloient pour l'utilité, et l'édification de l'Eglise. Les vertus de Thomas d'Aquin, le zèle et les talents, qu'il lui connoissoit, le lui avoient rendu si cher, qu'une de ses premières attentions, lorsqu'il se vit sur la Chaire de S. Pierre, fut de l'avoir auprès de sa personne, et de l'engager à prendre quelque part à la sollicitude pastorale." (Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. I., p. 201.)

appeared to Pope Clement that such a man as this would render distinguished service to religion, were he raised from the lowly estate of a simple friar, and placed in an elevated position in the Church. He not only felt urged to reward S. Thomas, but also to benefit mankind.*

He caused a Bull or Brief to be drawn out, conferring upon the Angel of the Schools the Archbishopric of Naples; and the revenue of the monastery of S. Peter *ad aram*—so called from the legend that S. Peter said mass there before entering into the Eternal City,—was also made over to him, that he might not want for means to support the dignity of his position.

This formal document was in due course presented to the Saint, and when he understood its contents he was thrown into the profoundest melancholy. Neither prayers nor threats could induce him to accept the responsibility. The Bull had to be withdrawn, and S. Thomas was left in peace during the rest of his career, and allowed to prosecute that one great object to which he had dedicated his entire intellect.

He felt indeed that he was not made for the active strifes of ecclesiastical politics; he knew that his tastes and talents lay in another sphere. He was not a Basil or a Chrysostom, an Ambrose or a Gregory the Great. His vocation from the first had been in the World Unseen, and now he was about ripe for realising the one great hope for which he had lived his life. Had he consented to accept the Archbishopric of Naples, in all human probability the "*Summa Theologica*" would never have been written.†

The huge labour of preparation for this master-work had now been accomplished. The Saint's intellect had been impregnated with the spirit and temper of the classic Fathers of theology. He was master of the Church's past, and had grasped the whole dogmatic and moral teachings of the greatest intellects which

* See Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Chapter. XXIII., p. 275; Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 508; Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. I., p. 203; Frigerio, *Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino*, Lib. II., Cap. IX., n. 7, p. 114. Tocco speaks thus:—"Simile alias perfectionis exemplum et humilitatis ostendit, quia accepta Bulla ab eodem Pontifice de promotione sua ad Archiepiscopatum Neapolitanensem, cum additione reddituum monasterii S. Petri ad Aram, dignitatem accipere nolit, et quod Summus Pontifex ulterius non promoveret eum ad alia, suppliciter exoravit. O felix Doctor, contemptor sceculi! O amator celi; qui fecit quod docuit; qui sic terrena despiceret, quasi pignus haberet possessionis celestium, que speraret." (*Bolk*, Cap. VII., n. 43, p. 671.)

† Werner gives a reason which may have moved Pope Clement to offer the Archbishopric to the Angelical:—"Vielleicht auch deshalb, um dem gräflichen Hause Aquino einigen Ersatz zu bieten für die schweren Opfer, die es in jenen stürmischen Zeiten seit einer Reihe von Jahren seiner Treue gegen die Kirche und deren Oberhaupt gebracht hatte. Vergeblich bat Thomas auf das Instandigste, dass er seiner Zelle und seinen Studien nicht entrissen, und seinen Schülern keine Last aufgebürdet werden möge, unter deren Schwere er zu erliegen fürchte. Clement hoffte den Widerstand der frommen Demuth endlich doch zu besiegen, und Hess die Verleihungsbulle ausfertigen. Er versetzte aber hiedurch seinen heiligen Freund in eine solche Bestürzung, dass er, aus Furcht, ihm ein ernstliches Wehe zuzufügen, aus eigenem Antrieb die Bulle wieder zurücknahm, und den Verleihungsact irritirte, zur grossen Freude des in seinen innersten Gefühlen bedrängt gewesenen Thomas." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 508.)

had been raised up to expand and defend her doctrine. He was familiar with the special gift of each columnal Father; he knew where each was strong, where they diverged; he could contemplate them apart and in relation; he saw them as many, and yet as one.* He had written on them and quoted them, as well as read them; and by the labour of many independent works and tractates, he had made their sayings as familiar to himself as household words. He had thrown off an hundred sketches, drafts, *cartoni*, *imbozzi*, he had practised carefully and long, before he ventured to set himself to the grand construction of his life.

The same may be said of his mastery of Sacred Scriptures, which he knew by heart, and read by the light of the most brilliant minds which have ever illuminated the *Ecclesia Docta*. He fathomed every cavern in which a single gem of traditionary truth could lie concealed, and grasped the whole *scibile* of the Catholic Christian faith.†

Again, what was the secret of his intense labours upon the text of Aristotle? Why such wearisome commenting on so many of his works, on his metaphysics, politics, physics, ethics; why did the Saint think it necessary to steep his pure mind so deep, and for such a length of time, in that sea of pagan thought, save that he had some great end in view adequate to the intensity of the brain-work which he so freely exercised? If his study was thorough in tradition and in Scripture, no less was it so, even more if possible, in the order of human reason.‡ He took possession of the firm frame-work set up by Aristotle, hammered it into shape where it was required, changed its form in places, cut out all unfitting matter—all being done carefully and tenderly,—and then threw the moral and dogma of religion

* Then besides his mastery of the Fathers, his natural and supernatural gifts made him unapproachable as a theologian:—"No dubbio giammai gli nacque, che da lui sciolto non fosse; godendo insieme sì prodigiosa memoria, che mai sempre in essa tenacemente si fermò ciò, ch'una sol volta entrato vi fosse; servendogli appunto come una viva bibliotheca; di sorte che bene spesso di tre e quattro copiatori in un medesimo tempo si valeva, a' quali, (scrivendo egli parimente,) insiememente dettava materie, tanto fra di loro disperate e profonde, quanto sparse ne' suoi gran volumi hoggi si leggono; e con sì fatta celerità, che mentre un di quegli era uello scrivere occupato, egli ad altri diversamente dettava; essendo egli e scrittore senza riposo, e senza otio dettatore." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VI., n. 5, p. 27.*)

† The Paris University has spoken clearly enough:—"Tutte l'università delli studij generali dalla verità costrette hanno inalzato a i Cieli quest' Angelica dottrina, ed in particolare l'università di Parigi, quale dopo di haver preconizzato infinite lodi dice: 'Cnpientes igitur gloriosum Deum in sanctis suis apud fidelium devotionem in terris gloriosius exaltari, ac sacratissimæ Matris nostre Ecclesiæ desiderantes vestigia sancta imitari, et beatum Thomam gloriosum feliciter in cœlis regnantem apud terribiles devotus, et celebrius honorari: presertim cum fuerit universalis Ecclesiæ lumen præfulgidum, gemma radians Clericorum: fons Doctorum, universitatis nostre Parisiensis speculum clarissimum: candelabrum lusingue, ac lucens, per quod omnes, qui vias vitæ, et scholas doctrinæ suæ ingreditur lumen vident: claritate vitæ, fiamæ, et doctrine, velut stella splendida, et matutina refulgens.' " (*Vita*, p. 5.)

‡ Had he not thus worked, Pope Clement VIII. would not have written of him as follows:—"Ac doctrinæ quidem testis est ingens ille librorum numerus, quos ille brevissimo tempore, in omni fere disciplinarum genere, singulari ordine ac mirâ perspicuitate, sine ulla prorsus errore conscripsit: in quibus conscribendis interdum sanctos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum colloquentes, locosque illi quosdam Dei jussu enarrantes habuit. Quos deinde conscriptos expressâ Christi Domini voce comprobatos audit." (*Brief to the City of Naples*; see Barceille, p. 431.)

into it, manifesting in scientific form the connected and systematic teaching of the Church. If from the classic Fathers and from the Scriptures the Saint drew the pure waters of belief, and learnt such vastness of design, it was by the Greek philosophers that he was taught to display such breadth of reasoning, such clearness of elaboration, such minute development of detail, such unity in complexity of parts, such richness yet simplicity of thought—in one word, the highest gifts of analysis to be found in the history of human intellectual activity.*

What then, once again, are the elements of power which go towards the construction of the "*Summa Theologica*"? First, the inspired writers, the Prophets, the Seers, the Apostles, and the Evangelists; next, the classic Fathers of the Church, such as Athanasius, Basil, Gregory *Theologus*, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great,† with the Pontiffs and the Councils; and then all that is best in Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

It is an inaccuracy to call the philosophy of S. Thomas the philosophy of the Stagyrte: it is Aristotelian indeed, but corrected by the light of revelation, perfected by an effluence of Platonic elevation, and with just the *souçon* of the Socratic method in it, to make it charming to a crystal and active mind. The "*Summa Theologica*" exhibits the most successful manifestation of the harmony of fullest faith with the most perfect development of reason which—in spite of all the attractions and subtleties of German schools—has as yet been elaborated by the mind of man. If the "*Summa Theologica*" was not laid upon the table of the Vatican Council, there was no other book found worthy to take its place.‡

* Metteuleiter speaks well:—"Die ganze menschliche Wissenschaft seiner Zeit war in den Schriften des Aristoteles beschlossen. Logik, Physik, Naturgeschichte, Metaphysik, Moral, Politik, Alles lehrte Aristoteles, und in ihm verehrte man den Meister, der über Alles das letzte und tiefste Wort gesprochen. Indessen bedurfte es nur der flüchtigsten Durchsicht von einigen seiner Werke, um einzusehen, dass in diesem Philosophen nur sehr wenig von dem christlichen Geiste lebendig sey, und dass bereits das eifrige Studium desselben beklagenswerthe Früchte gebracht habe. Diess waren nun die wissenschaftlichen Elemente, über die Thomas verfügen konnte. Mit ihnen musste eine Psychologie, Ontologie, eine Moral und Politik geschaffen werden, die würdig waren, sich dem Dogma des Glaubens anzuschliessen. Und Aquino vollbrachte es. Indem er die Trümmereien und Verirrungen des Stagyrten überging, nahm er aus dessen Schriften, was sich Wahres und Gutes darin sammeln liess, verwandelte und entwickelte diese Materialien, und bildete so, ohne den Götzen des Jahrhunderts anzubeten oder anzustürzen, eine Philosophie, die zwar noch aristotelisches Blut, aber geklärt durch sein eigenes und das aller grossen Vorgänger in der Wissenschaft in den Adern hatte." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin, Einleitung, p. 27-28; Regensburg, 1856.*)

† "Au moment où il a exécuté cette vaste synthèse, déjà tous les dogmes fondamentaux avaient été successivement définis par les Athanase, les Basile, les Grégoire de Naziance, les Cyrille, les Augustin et les Jérôme; chacune de ces questions avait été pour ainsi dire épuisée par les longues controverses auxquelles elles avaient donné lieu, par conséquent en recueillant ce vaste héritage la science pouvait se considérer comme ayant dit sur beaucoup de points son dernier mot." (Drion, *La Somme Théologique, Introduction, § III., p. 30.*)

‡ "The obedience of faith which is due to the sovereignty of God, is the most reasonable act of an intellectual being, the most perfect act of which the human intellect in this state of mortality is capable. There remains after it nothing but the vision of the Uncreated Truth without a veil. After the *Summa* of S. Thomas there remains nothing but the light of glory," is not an academical exaggeration, but a very truth." (See the *Fourfold Sovereignty of God*, by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster, *Lect. I., p. 22: London, 1871.*)

It has been shown abundantly that no writer before the Angelical's day could have created such a synthesis. The greatest of the classic Fathers have been treated of, and the reasons of their inability are evident. As for the scholastics who more immediately preceded the Angelical, their minds were not ripe for so great and complete a work: the fulness of time had not yet come. Very possibly, had not Albert and Alexander preceded him, S. Thomas would not have been prepared to write his master-work; just as, most probably, Newton would never have discovered the laws of gravitation had it not been for the previous labours of Galileo and of Kepler.* But, just as the English astronomer stands solitary in his greatness, though surrounded and succeeded by men of extraordinary eminence, so also the Angelical stands by himself alone, though Albertus Magnus was a genius, Alexander was a theologic king, and Bonaventure a seraphic doctor. Just as the *Principia* is a work unique, unreachably, so, too, is the "*Summa Theologica*" of the great Angelical.† Just as Dante stands alone amongst the poets, so with S. Thomas in the schools.

It is not only on account of its being the most perfect synthesis of rational and Christian teaching that the *Summa* has excited so great a power in the world—that it has stood firm as the rock of Gibraltar amidst the ebb and flow of human thought; but because it brought into more perfect equilibrium the two great phases of philosophy which are represented by Plato and the Stagyrte. Its charm does not consist in the scientific harmony of faith alone, but in the scientific balance of human reason also.‡ The Platonic heaven had pierced into the Church, and

* "Diese *Summa theologie* ist ein unvergängliches Denkmal der Wissenschaft und des christlichen Glaubens. Thomas hat sich dadurch verewigt. Die Form der Lehre kann eine verschiedene seyn, aber die Lehre selbst bleibt unveränderlich! Die scholastische Form, in welche Thomas sein Werk gekleidet hat, wurde zwar in unseren Tagen hart angefochten, aber welche Philosophie ist im Stande, in diesem Werke ihre Stelle zu vertreten? Welcher Geist ist so gewaltig, den heiligen Thomas von Aquin von seinem Throne zu verdrängen!" (Mettenleiter, *Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin, Einleitung*, p. 26.)

† Professor Gibelli fully bears me out. Speaking of the *Summa*, he says:—"Il primo volume in 114 Questioni comprende 619 Articoli, il secondo in 189 Questioni comprende Articoli 917. Molto mi diffondevi in parole se dovessi pur lievemente toccare della materia di cosiddette Questioni; mi restringerò a dire che la prima delle due Parti tratta dell'ultimo fine dell'uomo, e delle virtù e de' vizii in generale; l'altra (cioè, come dicono, la Seconda della Seconda) tratta delle virtù e de' vizii in specie. Mai non ne vorrei a capo, se volessi (potiamo che mi bastasse l'ingegno e lo studio, il che non è) discorrere della perfezione e sapienza, ond'è incomparabile quest'Opera e massime la Seconda della Seconda; dirò solo che schiene da sei secoli ella sia stata messa in luce, pure non fu vinta giammai da nessuna di quelle tante Opere, di che i più dotti teologi e francesi e spagnuoli e alemanni e italiani intesero giovare il mondo e rallegrare la Chiesa; ed aggiungerò che se dalle tante opere e filosofiche e politiche e teologiche ed ascetiche, per le quali le più colte fra le moderne nazioni sentono alteramente di sé, si levasse via tutto ciò che o per diretto o per indiretto è stato tolto dalla *Summa Teologica*, non so per fermo quanta materia di gloria rimanesse ai loro autori." (*Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino*, Cap. XXVII., p. 104—105, Seconda Edizione.)

‡ The deep lament of the learned University of Paris on hearing of the death of the Saint conveys a vivid idea of his intellectual pre-eminence. The Doctors of the University thus address the General Chapter of the Dominicans:—"Singultuoso clamore, totius Ecclesie universale dispendium, nec non et Parisiensis studii manifestum desolationem lacrymabiliter deplangimus, et his diebus preelegimus in communi non immerito deplorare. Hen, hen, hen, quis det nobis ut representare possimus Jeremia lamentum, quod supra snbitum modum in mentes deinceps singulorum inauditam extasim causans, et inestimabilem stuporem adducens, demum vicem nostrorum luctu penetravit. Fateamur, vix valemus exprimere: amor enim

had done its work. The Alexandrian school had spread abroad its subtle influences, which had produced their effect in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and the Greek Peninsula; and, finally, had permeated to a great extent, through the Damascene and the Areopagite, into the Western Schools. It is sufficient to refer to the Angelical himself to bring vividly before the mind the strong influence of these two writers in the mediæval Church. Who so soaringly Platonic, for example, as Denis—who so abstract, who so difficult, so poetic, so borne away on the feathery wings of subtlest philosophy into the highest empyrean of thought? *

Then, take the period when Roman literature can hardly be said to have been absolutely dead. Who ruled? Plato still: that is, Boethius and S. Gregory, and the giant son of Monnica. Those Churchmen who wrote between the days of the great African Bishop and the Angelical shine mostly with a borrowed light, and recall the master-influences of Plato and S. Augustine.† The Fathers of the barbarian age, S. Martin, S. Isidore, Venerable Bede, Raban, and others of like calibre, did not construct an epoch-making theology, but, with simple faith, cherished in a stormy day, and handed down the treasures they had received.‡ Then Abelard,§ Roscelin,|| and William of Champeaux¶ were simply knight-errants, who loved adventure, and spent their energies in ventilating novel theories, and then in defending them with the sharp weapons of logic, sarcasm, and sophistry. S. Anselm** and S. Bernard†† were thinkers of a more serious cast, and men of high and soaring

retrahit; sed dolor et vehemens angustia dicere nos compellit ex communi relatu, et certo rumore multorum nos scire Doctorem venerabilem fratrem Thomam de Aquino, ab hoc seculo fuisse vocatum." (See Bareille, *Appendice*, p. 406.)

* Once more hear the Doctors:—"Quis posset æstimare divinam providentiam permisisse stellam matutinam præminentem in mundo, jubar in lucem sæculi, imò, ut verius dicamus, luminare majus, quod præerat diei, suos radios retraxisse? Planè irratiõnabiliter judicamus suum revocasse fulgorem, et passum fuisse umbrosam Eclipsim, dum toti Ecclesie tanti splendoris radius esset substractus. Et licet non ignoremus Conditorem nostrum ipsum toti mundo ad tempus, speciali privilegio concessisse, nihilominus si antiquiorum auctoritatis vellemus inuiti, eum videbatur specialiter posuisse naturam ad ipsius maturæ occulta illucidaunda." (*Datum Parisiis, Anno Domini 1274, die Mercurii autè Inventionem Sanctæ Crucis.*)

† Take the Greek and Latin writers of the sixth century. GREEKS OR ORIENTALS:—Æneus Gæzus, c.a. 500; Nemesius *Ep. Emisenus*, c.a. 500; Andreas *Ep. Cæsar. Capp.*, c.a. 520; Joan. Maxent. *Mon.*, *Ant.* c.a. 536; Joan. Climacus *Abbas*, c.a. 560; Leonilius *Byzant. Mon.*, c.a. 560; Anastasius *Ep. Antioch.*, c.a. 599; Procopius *Gæzus*, c.a. 560; Dorotheus *Archimandr.*, c.a. 560; Anastasius *Siaita*, c.a. 564; Evagrius *Histor.*, c.a. 598. LATINS:—Gennadius *Presb. Massil.*, c.a. 500; Victor *Uticensis Hist.*, c.a. 500; Boethius *Philos.*, a. 524; S. Avitus *Ep. Viennens. Gall.*, a. 525; S. Fulgentius *Ep. Rusp.*, a. 533; Dionysius *Episcopus Abb.*, c.a. 536; S. Cæsarius *Ep. Arclat.*, a. 543; Cassiodorus *Monachus*, a. 562; Junilius *Ep. Africanus*, c.a. 550; S. Gregorius *Ep. Turon.*, a. 596.

‡ Take the seventh and eighth centuries. GREEKS OR ORIENTALS:—S. Sophronius *Ep. Hieros.*, c.a. 650; S. Maximus *Mon. et Mart.*, a. 662; Joan. Moschus *al. Epiratus*, c.a. 650; Antiochus *Monachus*, c.a. 650; Isaias *Abbas*, c.a. 680; S. Germanus *Ep. C.Pianus*, a. 730; S. Joann. Damascenus *Mon.*, a. 754; S. Andreas *Cretensis*, c.a. 720. LATINS:—S. Ildephonus *Ep. Tolet.*, a. 669; S. Julianus *Ep. Tolet.*, a. 690; Desiderius *Ep. Cadure. Gall.*, c.a. 670; S. Theodorus *Ep. Cantuar.*, a. 690; S. Gregorius II. *Papa*, a. 714; Beda *Venerabilis*, a. 735; S. Bonifacius *Ep. Mogunt.*, a. 755.

§ See *Chap. IX.*, p. 84—95.

|| See *Chap. VIII.*, p. 80.

¶ See *Chap. IX.*, p. 86.

** See *Chap. IX.*, p. 81—82.

†† See *Chap. X.*, p. 96—109.

genius, but their lives, even had there been no other reason, were too much engrossed with the turbulence of ecclesiastical politics to have leisure for carrying out any continuous intellectual labour.* S. Anselm's greatest effort was simply written accidentally, at the request of some of his brethren, who wished to have his views on God's existence.† With the Lombard we perceive and advance towards some sort of synthesis; but even he, together with Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's,‡ simply reproduced Plato and S. Augustine in his philosophy, whilst his dogmatic teaching had not yet received the vivifying spark of a truly systematic life. Albert,§ Hales,|| and Bonaventure,¶ again, are men of larger growth; but Albert's mind was too miscellaneous to be truly scientific, Hales was too original to be completely safe, whilst S. Bonaventure, occupied as were his days with the weight of a heavy public responsibility, had he possessed the exquisite balance together with the breadth of the Angelical, would not have enjoyed the opportunity of doing that which his friend was only able to accomplish after a life of ceaseless toil and contemplation.**

How, then, do we stand? The great classic Fathers, with their Platonism and rhetoric, living in days of hand-to-hand clash and conflict, had neither time, nor opportunity, nor education to fit them for creating a vast scientific synthesis of theology. S. Augustine, who represents them all, and who approaches nearest to the idea of a "*Summa Theologica*" in his "*De Civitate Dei*," manifests the shortcomings, as well as the greatness, of works written during the heat of battle. The writers who succeeded him, from S. Martin to the first of the scholastics, had to be content, for the most part, with keeping the sacred fire from dying out; whilst those who followed these were simply in the bud what S. Thomas was in the bloom.

* It is but necessary to continue the list of Greek and Latin writers from the eighth century to the thirteenth, in order to perceive the position of the Angelical and his relation to S. Augustine.

† See Chap. XII., p. 72—93.

‡ See Chap. XI., p. 112, *sqq.*; Chap. XII., p. 142.

§ See Chap. VII., p. 64—73.

|| See Chap. XIX., p. 261—262, *sqq.*

¶ See Chap. XXI., p. 318—319.

** How well Werner speaks:—"Das Werk des heiligen Thomas ruht durchgängig auf dem Grunde wissenschaftlicher Traditionen; und deren wohlgefügte und durchgebildete Vermittelung macht die eigentliche Bedeutung desselben in geschichtlicher Hinsicht aus. Es bezeichnet nach dieser Seite einen Höhenpunkt in der Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Theologie, nicht so, als ob eine weiter fortschreitende Entwicklung nicht mehr stattgehabt hätte, sondern insofern die constitutiven Elemente und Factoren der mittelalterlichen wissenschaftlichen Theologie nirgends so harmonisch in einander griffen und zu einem so abgerundeten Ganzen sich zusammenschlossen, wie in dem theologischen Systeme des heiligen Thomas. Und so ist es in der That ein epochemachendes Werk im höchsten Sinne; der Entwicklungsprozess der theologischen Wissenschaft war in ihm zu einem relativen Abschlusse gelangt; und da die ganze mittelalterliche Theologie des Abendlandes auf Augustinische Theologie in Thomas' Summe für sein Jahrhundert und für eine Reihe der folgenden Jahrhunderte ihren systematischen Abschluss gefunden hatte, ohne dass man jedoch Thomas zu einem blossen Schüler Augustin's machen könnte oder andererseits verkennen möchte, dass in Thomas' System nicht der ganze Augustinus aufgegangen und erschöpft ist." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 821—822.*)

The Angelical's position as a theologian becomes evident at once by comparing the "*Summa Theologica*," first, with a classic work of each classic Father, from S. Athanasius to S. Augustine; secondly, with the leading Church writers from the Areopagite to Raban; thirdly, with those from Raban to the Lombard; and, finally, with the Lombard, and with Albert, Hales, or Bonaventure.* Or it may perhaps be said that the Angelical rendered a service to Christian science somewhat analogous to that which Aristotle rendered to the teachings of his day.

The greater portion of Greek scientific knowledge came, in the first instance, from the Egyptians, who to warmth of imagination and mystic bias, united the art of mixing, and, as it were shaking up together physics, morals, and mathematics in inextricable confusion. Pythagoras followed, and drawing his inspirations from Egyptian teachers, added to the original confusion an *imbroglio* of his own, composed of hard facts and untangible abstractions, which served as a solvent of every possibility of veritable science. It may be imagined that Plato's lofty enthusiasm did not effect much in the way of unity and order, his system being excessively erratic in its use of logic and metaphysics; and, what with the highly dramatic and eclectic elements of which his writings are composed, there is little trace of that calm and continuous analysis which divides science from science, and discriminates art from art.†

Now Aristotle had studied under Plato for twenty years, as S. Thomas had studied under Albertus Magnus. His shrewd intellect quickly perceived the chaos generated by the Eastern dreams, by the confusions of the Pythagoreans, and by the unsymmetrical mysticism of Plato. He set to work to reduce

* Take the names belonging to the early, middle, and later scholastic period, and the position of the Angelical comes out very clearly. In the *Early Period* we have Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne (Guillelmus Parisiensis), and Vincent of Beauvais; in the *Middle Period* Albertus Magnus, and S. Thomas of Aquin. Then the disciples and contemporaries of S. Thomas: Henry of Ghent, Richard Middleton, Ægidius Colonna and Godfrey of Fontaines. Next comes John Duns Scotus with his friends and opponents, such as Francis Mayronis, Hervaeus, Natalis, &c.; mysticism, natural philosophy, and theosophy are represented by S. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, and Raymond Lullus. In the *Later Period* we have the nominalist schools of Peter Aureolus, William Durandus de S. Pourcain, William Occam with his followers John Buridanus, Peter de Alliac, Gabriel Biel, &c.; and the realist school of Walter Burleigh, Thomas of Strasburg, Marsilius of Inghen, Raymond of Sabunde, and John Gerson, the mystic; then follow the German mystics, Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroek, &c. S. Thomas stands like a giant amongst these able men.

† "It seems to me," says Lewes, "that he taught nothing decisively, because, like many other active skeptical intellects, he was afraid of committing himself; and like many others, he concealed his own vacillations by assuming a native incompetence in the public. Plato was not wanting in dogmatic impulse, but he was unable patiently to think out a system; and the vacillating lights which shifted constantly before him, the very skepticism which gave such dramatic flexibility to his genius, made him aware that any affirmation he could make was liable to be perplexed by cross lights, or would admit of unanswerable objections. He is perpetually refuting himself. If there is one theory which might be attributed to him, and with all the greater show of reason because it is attributed to him by his pupil Aristotle, it is the theory of ideas; yet this theory is not only variously modified in various dialogues, but in the *Parmenides* is triumphantly refuted." (*History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Sixth Epoch, Chap. II., p. 219.)

this *materia informis* into symmetry and order; he separated off, each from each, those various groups of thought which were not homogeneous; he distinguished those several principles which lay at the basis of certain sciences; he constructed or attempted to build up different sciences logically, by clear definition and analysis, and did his best to introduce light and design into a mass of darkness and disorder. The treatises which form what is called *Organon*, as well as the *Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*, to this day witness to the success of the Stagyrte in this splendid undertaking.*

If Aristotle systematized the teachings of the Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Ancient Greeks, S. Thomas systematized the teachings of the Fathers, the Areopagite, and the Lombard; if the Stagyrte threw Plato (in as far as he held with him) into scientific form, the Angelical did the same for S. Augustine. The "*De Civitate Dei*" is to the "*Summa Theologica*" what the *Dialogues* of Plato are to the *Organon* of the Stagyrte. Plato created thought, Aristotle created system; S. Augustine gathered up the subject-matter of Catholic teaching, S. Thomas cast it into scientific form. Such, without being an accurate analogy, is a sufficient approximation to reciprocal relations to throw a light on the position and chief merit of the Angel of the Schools.†

The "*De Civitate Dei*" and the "*Summa Theologica*" stand like two great towers of David, representing the mightiness of the ancient and the modern world, marking out the ground, and by their very majesty showing how comparatively insignificant all other creations are which lie between them; the one standing like a massy, heaven-directed citadel, strong as Rome,

* "We begin by forming conceptions of phenomena, and then we proceed to enquire how those conceptions were reached; in the second enquiry we have to lay bare the genesis of our knowledge, and, in so doing, to discriminate between its objective and subjective elements; between what is *given* by the external order, and what is *brought* by the mind. This separation has been attempted with more or less success in all ages of philosophy; but it was only in Kant that it was attempted with a clear consciousness of its speculative importance. . . . we must fix our attention on Aristotle as the first who arranged speculative questions in such a systematic form as stimulated and suggested the research. He not only resumed all the speculations of his predecessors, and placed them in a clearer light by his redistribution of their questions,—he not only condensed the vacillating vapours of philosophy into tangible systems, he constructed an *Organon*, whereby all research might be carried on." (Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I., Seventh Epoch, Chap. II., p. 284.)

† "Augustinus war der geniale Schöpfer der abendländischen Theologie, und Thomas der systematische Vollender ihrer mittelalterlichen Ausbildung. Somit legt sich von selbst die Frage nach dem wechselseitigen geistigen Verhältnisse dieser beiden in ihrer Art grössten Geister nahe, und die Absicht einer geschichtlichen Würdigung der Leistungen des Theologen Thomas schliesst auch schon das Vorhaben einer Darlegung seiner Beziehungen zu dem heiligen Augustinus in sich. Diese lässt sich um so weniger umgehen, da es eben um die Cardinalpunkte des Thomistischen Systems sich handelt, deren Wesen und Bedeutung erst in Folge dieser Beleuchtung in ihr volles geschichtliches Licht tritt. Die Vergleichung zwischen beiden bewegt sich um die Haupt- und Grundfragen der religiösen und philosophischen, rationalen und apriorischen Erkenntnis, um die vornehmsten und wichtigsten Probleme der Theologie und Anthropologie, also um alles dasjenige, was eben die geistige Grundlage des Thomistischen Systems ausmacht. Was über diesen Grundlagen erbaut ist, ist nach seinen geschichtlichen Beziehungen und Voraussetzungen bereits im Vorausgehenden, wohl nicht erschöpfend, aber doch genügend beleuchtet worden." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 822—823.)

colossal as the East, irregular in form, and fashioned according to the growing need; the other looking more like a modern stronghold, with its crenellated walls, frowning earthworks, and gabioned parapets. All is constructed here on a scientific principle, the whole is the realization of one grand geometrical conception, and so set up that part becomes the defence of part, battery of battery, whilst a hundred combinations of thundering artillery can be turned upon the enemy, let him show himself at what point he may. The former fortress is more picturesque, more beautiful: this is more symmetrical, more terrible in its array of strength: the one resembles some huge Roman camp, the other is more like our modern Paris, the triumph of the scientific engineer, equally capable of fascinating the mind by its exquisite construction, and of forcing gainsayers into genuine admiration by its vastness of design, its harmony of parts, and its colossal power.* It forms the impregnable *enceinte* encircling the "*Civitas Dei*" on earth, whilst the works of other skilful men are but as *mamelons*, *redans*, or detached forts, formidable in themselves, serviceable in their place and measure, but of different shape and strength, and but fragments of defence, compared with the firm network of adamant and iron round which they stand at various intervals to occupy and guard the ground.†

Or it might, again, be looked upon as the *corps d'armée* itself which protects the Spiritual City, composed of several divisions, yet all commanded by one chief:‡ or, as Annat calls it, a "*terribilis castrorum acies ordinata, sub cujus vexillo militant omnes Theologi*."§ Tradition, reason, and revelation—artillery, cavalry, and infantry—are the three arms of this mighty

* Speaking of the *Summa* Werner says:—"Um der Bedeutung desselben als System vollkommen gerecht zu werden, muss man es in seinem Verhältniss zu den vorangehenden Gesamtdarstellungen der christlichen Theologie würdigen; und dann darf wohl gesagt werden, dass es, wie der Zeit, so auch seinem Range nach das erste durchgebildete System der Theologie gewesen, gross und einfach in seiner Anlage, reich und mannigfaltig in seiner Ausführung, mächtig und gewaltig in der imposanten Gesamtdarstellung seines wohlgefügten Inhaltes, bewundernswerth in der geschmackvollen Wahl und Aushebung des Passendsten und Zweckmässigsten aus dem reichen Schätze philosophischer und theologischer Bildung, der seinem Verfasser zu Gebote stand, in streng methodischem Fortschreiten ohne Lücke und Sprung, unter vielseitigster Beziehung jeglicher Einzelheit auf den Zusammenhang und die Grundvoraussetzungen des Ganzen, und in der kunstreichen Sorgfalt, die der dialektischen Bearbeitung und Verknüpfung aller Einzelheiten gewidmet ist." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band Fünftes Capitel*, p. 321.)

† Werner compares the *Summa* to the work of an Architect:—"Wie er selbst es liebte, den wissenschaftlichen Systematiker mit einem Architekten zu vergleichen, so ist auch der Charakter seines Werkes in der Hauptsache als ein architektonischer zu bezeichnen und das Werk einem erhabenen Dome zu vergleichen, dessen gewaltige Steinwucht, auf eine unermessliche Zahl kunstreich geschmückter Säulen gestützt, die Wunder und Denkmale der im Himmel und auf Erden, in Natur und Geschichte, Welt und Kirche sich offenbarenden Grösse des Herrn in sich fassen soll." (*Loc. Cit.*)

‡ "If the fine-edged sword could cut through and through the truest tempered mail on the infidel's breast, not because of the brute strength with which it was handled, but through the deftness and very delicacy of hand with which it was gracefully waved, no less easily were the intricacies of heresy or false theories ripped open, unravelled, and stripped off, by the intellectual keenness of a Thomas Aquinas, wielding the subtle weapons of the schools." (See Cardinal Wiseman's "*Inaugural Discourse*" to the *Essays on Religion and Literature*, p. 10; London, 1865.)

§ See *In Apparatu ad Positivam Theologiam*, Lib. IV., Art. XLIII., p. 496.

service, which, though different each from each, indeed because they vary, lend each to the other an overwhelming power when handled by a skilful captain, and form that *triplex funus* which possesses a proverbial strength.*

First, the enemy is reconnoitred from different points by various detachments of the *corps d'armée*, one or other branch being employed according to the character of the opposing troops and the nature of the ground. Thus the chief learns the position, strength, and resources of the enemy, and prepares accordingly to launch his grand attack. So was it with the Angelical. His various Lectures and *Opusculu*, his "Commentary" on the Sentences, his "*Questiones Disputatæ cum Quodlibetis*," his different Tractates on the inspired writings, his "*Opuscula Theologica*," his philosophical disquisitions, together with his "*Contra Gentiles*" and his "Expositions" on the labours of the Stagyrte are, as it were, advancing forces, apparently disconnected with each other, yet in reality directed in combination by a master-mind, each serving a special purpose, and preparing the way for victory in a general engagement.† At one time, for instance, S. Thomas marches boldly against rationalism and materialism, then he has a sharp encounter with the Saracens; now his cavalry sweeps in amongst the Averroists and the Arabians, and puts them to speedy flight; anon the three arms of the service are directed against the Greeks, who are principally defeated by the powerful artillery which thunders against their lines; then the Jews, unequal to resist a sudden onset, are cut down, taken prisoners, or made to serve in the victorious army: while as for minor raids, skirmishes, and brilliant affairs, they are too numerous to be mentioned, though most of them are recorded in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of this great chieftain's operations.‡

* The conceit that the *Summa Theologica* was not written by S. Thomas is too ridiculous to need refutation. Tournon has treated the point at length, and it is not necessary to enter into it here. (See *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. VI., § I., II., III., IV., V., VI., p. 645—682.)

† Mettenleiter grasps the special merits of the *Summa*, and shows them well. He says, amongst other things:—"Soll man sich über die Sprüche Peter Lombart's oder über die 'Categorien Aristoteles' anlassen? Die Gegenstände dieser Schriften, so bekämpft in den Schulen, wusste er durch geistvolle Schärfe, durch überzeugende Klarheit und lichtvolle Anordnung wieder zur Geltung zu bringen; es lag ihm mehr daran, das Rechte herauszustellen, als mit Texten zu prahlen. Doch verschmähte er nicht, dort wo es nützlich schien, Citate zu Hilfe zu rufen; wo sie aber auftraten, zeigte sich's, dass er sein eigenes Wissen nicht aus Mangelhaftigkeit, sondern im gewissen Taktgefühl in den Hintergrund schob. Seine Darstellung ist nicht so weitschweifig wie die Alberts, nicht so wortreich und deklamatorisch wie jene Alexanders von Hales; sie hat eine scharf zugespitzte Pointe, auf die Alles hinausläuft. Handelt es sich um eine Erörterung, eine Beweisführung? Wer wüsste so wie er mit Vernunftschlüssen umzuspringen? Wer vermöchte so frei das siegende Dilemma zu setzen oder das gewagte zu widerlegen? Wer so wie er das Epicheirema mit seinen streng begleitenden Beweisen zu entwickeln? Stösst ihn eine schwierige Frage an: so zergliedert er sie, breitet sich alle Lösungen aus, nähert sich ihnen und entfernt sich dann weider und fasst sie endlich alle zusammen, bis er seinen verwirrten, ermüdeten Gegner auf die einzige noch denkbare Lösung hindrängt, und das ist jene, wo Thomas ihn festen Fusses, unerbittlich wie die Vernunft, klar wie der Verstand selbst und unerschütterlich wie das gute Recht erwartet. Die Methode der Scholastik hatte sich in ihm zur höchsten Vollendung ausgebildet." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin*, Einleitung, p. 29.)

‡ It was the purity of his doctrine which gave and still gives the Angelical such influence. (See Tournon, *Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. IV., Chap. VII., p. 417—418.)

These more modest engagements, which would have made a lasting reputation for a smaller man, dwindle into insignificance when brought into comparison with that one decisive battle in which all the forces join, and then, by one combined movement against the enemy, achieve a masterful and crushing victory—in which all those who had been harassed one by one before, are now routed in company along the entire line. That is to say, having confronted the various aberrations of the human mind in his “Expositions” and *Opuscula*, the Angelical now concentrates his divisions, and by means of his great “*Summa Theologica*,” which unites the perfection of them all, simultaneously attacks and defeats those enemies against whom before he had combated in detail.*

Such pictures as these convey to the imagination a fair idea of the separate and combined operations of the great Angelical, of his preliminary battles, and of his general attack.

But to extricate oneself from figures, and to recur to a definition already hazarded,† this “*Summa Theologica*” may be fairly called “The Christian religion thrown into scientific form and the orderly exposition of what man should be.”

For just as the material world, created by God, adumbrates, in a dark manner though it may be, the unity, beauty, and order of the Divine mind—just as it is stamped with the royal mark of supreme omnipotence and wisdom—so, also, though in a much more perfect way, with the spiritual system which He has set up to manifest His glory and to secure the salvation of His creatures. This vast organic creation is called the Church of Christ, and it is vital and energizes through the Spirit of God that made it.‡ It bears His image and likeness, it is filled

* Nor are his weapons those of sarcasm and invective. Vichinus speaks well on this point:—“Nusquam amarulentus est, nusquam tragicus, aut nimium concitatus, et vchemens; sed æquabilis ubique, ubique mitis, atque religiosus: quamvis nunquam demissus, nunquam languidus; sed semper fortis, sublimis, excelsus. Quapropter Augustinum utilissimum Patrem (non vero Hieronymum, aut Hilarium, qui terrere magis, quam loqui, et laudare verius, quam scribere crebro videntur) sibi præter cæteros imitandum, et sectandum sumpsit. Scripsit Gregorius Nazianzenus de moderandis disputationibus Orationem eruditam sane, et valde piam: sed ejus præcepta multo melius Aquinas re ipsa expressit, quam Nazianzenus verbis. Probra, scommata, ulgros sales, sanuas, ironias, hyperboles in ejus scriptis (quod in scriptoribus plerisque, de rebus etiam sacris, prohi dolori cernere est) nusquam reperies. Strophas, captiuenculas, cavillos, vitiosos elenchos, et malas artes, quas idem Nazianzenus, non secus ac flagella quedam Egyptiaca, male in Ecclesiam nostram irrupsisse jamdudum deplorat, e suis libris penitus proscripsit. Araneæ telam, quod alunt, nunquam texit; hoc est, figmenta, vanasque, et nullius frugis, vel rerum, vel verborum meditationes, quibus nonnullorum voluminum refertissimæ aut, gravissimæ vir consulto omisit: ut verito sectatores illius in Scholis Reales jampridem, inepto fortasse vocabulo, sed verè tamen dicantur.” (Hieronymus Vichinus, *De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis*, Lib. II., p. 130—131.)

† See Chap. II., p. .

‡ The Bull of the Canonization of the Angelical, shows what a heart and mind he had—fit to grasp the fulness of church-teaching, and to appreciate the Bride of Christ:—“Lætare itaque Mater Ecclesia, exultet Italia, parens Campaula juncdetur, Predicatorum sacer Ordo jam jubilet, Religiosorum devotio concrescat, Doctorum turba complaudat, aulicorum ad studia juvenes, proveci non torpeant, senes delectentur in illis, omnes in humilitate proficiant, proveci contemplationem non deserant, mandata Dei æduli exequantur. Nam dedit illi Deus cor ad præcepta, et legem vitæ et disciplinæ; et sapientia humilitati exaltabit caput illius. In medio Ecclesiæ aperuit os ejus, et implevit eum Dominus spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus, stolam gloriæ induit eum. Nam veritas (quæ est Christus) ipsa veris, non fictis Doctoribus pollicetur: ‘Qui elucidant me, vitam æternam habebunt.’ Quamvis ipse verus justitiæ Sol, stellarum illustra-

with the plentitude of His truth and purity, it is representative to the world of the divinity and character of Jesus Christ, "Who is head over all the Church, which is His body, and the fulness of Him, who is filled all in all."* Or, to use another expression of the same Apostle, the Church is the Bride, Christ is its Head and Saviour, who loves, nourishes and cherishes it, "and delivered Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it, cleansing it by the laver of water in the word of life, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish."†

This glorious Bride, so cherished and nourished by our Lord, beautiful with His beauty, strong with His strength, exhibiting the highest gifts of faith, purity, and charity, manifests to the world the impress of the divine character and intelligence of Christ.‡ The scheme of God's glorification and the salvation of man, as it exists in the mind of the Bridegroom, is reflected, as it were, in the mind of the Bride. As Christ's blessed Spirit teaches the Church, so the Church teaches the world. To grasp, in as far as man may, the mind of the Church, is in so far to grasp the mind of the Saviour himself. The Prophets and Seers and Lawgivers of the Old Covenant, the Apostles and Evangelists and Doctors of the New, give testimony of her, as she witnesses to her Saviour. As she is formed upon Christ as her model, so man is formed by her into a likeness of Him. In the supernatural order and harmony of her hierarchy, in the imperishable stability of her faith, in the lucid development of her moral life, and in the magnificent unity and symmetry of her dogmatic teaching—which she unfolds as she advances towards the full exhibition of her glory,—we recognize her luminous intuition of the complicated method of salvation, and her scientific apprehension of the entire economy of grace. Christ has stamped her with His own image, and she in turn seals man with her own seal.§

tionem non egent, nec illarum irradiatione, cum illuminentur ab ipso, clarescant. Habitat enim lucem inaccessibilem, qui est splendor glorie, et figura substantias ejus; ideoque tenebris non obscuratur, ut deficiat, aut uerbis offuscatur, ut sue claritatis radios non diffundat." (See Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, p. 418—419.)

* *Ephes.*, Chap. I., v. 22.

† *Ephes.*, Chap. V., v. 23—27.

‡ And indeed not only is she strong through Christ, but those who defend her seem to partake of her strength. See how, even after his death, the Angelical asserted his purity and love. Speaking of various wonders worked by the relics of the Saint, the Bull of Canonization says:—"Alins dñi non devotè de sancto sentiret, virtutem Dei in sancto, in se duplicem est expertus, infirmitatis diu contemnit, sanitatis, diu à contemptibus culpâ discescit. Nam cum sibi devotionis causâ à quodam Capellano plures venerande reliquias monstrarentur, ipse quoque ostensor pretiosiores adhuc se habere reliquias videlicet manum B. Thomæ de Aquino fateretur, illico hunc derisorie de his infantem, cum eas videre non curaret, dicens: Sanctus non est, sed quidam Ordinis Predicatorum frater, tremor apprehendit, et caput ejus ad modum magnæ cistæ grossum, et valde ponderosum sibi esse videbatur. Sed infirmitate correptus, et penitus, simulque de sua incredulitate dietisque deplorans, diu veniam à Sacerdote petitam obtinuit, reverenter manum ejusdem Sancti deosculans, confestim à tremore, et inflatione capitis liberatus evasit, sensitque progredientem, ut retulit, maximum ex dietâ manû suavitatis odorem." (Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, p. 415.)

§ And in a particular manner she stamps her greatest Theologians with her imperial mark:—"Je ne suis ce qu'il faut pour mettre au monde une étoile qui éclaire le firmament; mais ce

Now, as has been suggested, the Angelical spent his life in mastering the Church's intellect;* and the impression left upon his mind by this familiar intercourse he reproduces, for the sake of others, in the "*Summa Theologica*." And what would this reproduction naturally represent save the Christian religion imaged, not in confusion but in scientific form?†

The "*Summa Theologica*" is more than this. As the Bride of Christ reproduces the mind of Christ, and is "nourished and cherished" by Him, as He fashions her into a likeness of Himself, so her children are formed according to her pattern. The Church is not a mere theory, but a living and huge energy, purifying, nourishing, and saving men, as Christ purifies, nourishes, and saves her. Her work is that of transformation—of turning men out of children of wrath into heirs of heaven. For that she lives and energizes, for that the grand scheme of her theology was drawn out, for that she casts the broad net to rescue man from the burning, and drag the fallen from the pit.‡ And such being the case, would not the accurate reproduction of her mind point out the road to man's salvation? If the physician commits to writing a minute description of robust health, and of the means of its attainment, does not his theory represent the first principle of practice? Would not his scientific method lead directly to such action in the concrete as would transform a sickly man into the very type of his own ideal? So it is with the "*Summa Theologica*;" it is no dead

qu'il faut pour mettre au monde un grand théologien, je ne l'ignore pas, vous ne l'ignorez plus vous-mêmes: il faut dans un même esprit une science étendue, une raison sublimée, une foi tranquille et ferme, pour qu'il la parole de Dieu n'ait point de secrets, et point de douteurs. A ce prix, vous aurez Saint Augustin et l'homme incomparable [S. Thomas] qui est l'objet de ce discours." (Lacordaire's *Conférences de Toulouse, Discours pour la translation du Chef de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Le 18 Juillet, 1852), p. 229; Paris, 1857.)

* See Chap. II., p. — .

† Rare indeed are the men who can reproduce the Church's mind with any approach to perfection:—"Qu'ils sont rares," exclaims Lacordaire, "les hommes à qui le ciel a dispensé l'éminence! Qu'ils sont rares les conquérants devant qui la terre s'est tene comme Alexandre, les législateurs qui ont tiré des peuples du néant comme Moïse, les orateurs qui ont ému la multitude comme Démosthènes, les poètes dont la postérité a retenu les chants comme Orphée! mais combien plus rares ces hommes, mortels comme nous, qui ont entendu la voix de la vérité dans toutes ses sphères, depuis le murmure qu'elle produit dans l'atome jusqu'à l'harmonie qu'elle fait tomber des lèvres de Dieu, et qui, paisibles possesseurs de ce concert, l'ont redit à notre oreille avec une puissance digne de notre âme, de l'univers et de Dieu lui-même. Tel fut saint Thomas d'Aquin." (*Conférences de Toulouse*, p. 229–230.)

‡ One of the most telling examples of the influence of the Church in forming men upon her own model is the Angelical himself. Mettenleiter gives the following symbols, which point to the various virtues of the Saint:—"Der Baum, den man bisweilen findet, und der seinen Schattentenen über S. Thomas ausbreitet, erklärt sich dadurch dass der Heilige einmal einen Baum mit seinem Gürtel von der Stelle gezogen haben soll. Man könnte übrigens darin auch eine Auspielung auf den 1. Psalm oder auf den Baum der heiligen Erkenntnis finden, von dem zum Heile der Kirche derselbe sich voll gegessen hat. Der Kelch mit der Hostie bezieht sich auf die ausgezeichneten Schriften des heil. Thomas über die heil. Eucharistie und das heil. Messopfer. Der Sonne, die auf seiner Brust glänzt, liegt die Hinweilung auf den in ihm wohnenden Jesus, die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, den Urquell alles geistigen Lichtes, zu Grunde. Der Stern auf seiner Stirne bedeutet die ihm von oben mitgetheilte Kraft des heiligen Geistes. Die Taube, die auf seiner Schulter sitzt oder schwebt, ist der heil. Geist, der ihn inspirirte. Die vierzehn schönen Frauen, mit denen Taddeo Gaddi in Florenz den heil. Thomas umgab, stellen, und zwar die eine Hälfte die 7 Tugenden, die andere die 7 Wissenschaften dar. Die Krone, der Bischofsstab und die Inful, die auf dem Boden vor ihm liegen, bezeugen die Thatsache seiner Abwesenung aller irdischen Macht und der bischöflichen Würden. Das aufgeschlagene Buch und das Crucifix vor demselben weisen auf seine Liebe zum Gebet und zur Betrachtung aus, denen er die Weisheit in seinen Schriften schöpfte." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin*, p. 1.)

theory, it is not only "the Christian religion thrown into scientific form," but it is also, as a necessary consequence, "the orderly exposition of what a man should be."* Indeed, because it is the most scientific manifestation of religion, therefore it is also the most secure instrument for directing men to heaven, just as the mariner's chart in so far forth indicates with precision how the navigator is to keep the ship clear of danger and to sail steadily into port, in proportion as it accurately points out the lie of the land and the depth and currents of the sea. The "*Summa*," in a word, represents in perfect system those vital principles which made the Christ-loving giants of the Early Church such splendid heroes. It is the Rule of Life, as well as the philosophy of Faith.

Hence it is a systematic exposition of the nature of the Divine Being, inasmuch as He is the Author and Finisher of all things, more especially of the rational being, or, in other words, it treats of God and man, and of the relations between them: it points out God to man, and indicates how the rational creature is to attain to eternal happiness.†

Hence, naturally, it is cast into three grand divisions. The first part treats of the Godhead, His life, relations, and attributes, of creatures, and emphatically of man; the second speaks of the rational creature as tending to or from God, his last and highest end; the third of Christ, in so far as He is the way, the truth, and the life. And thus the circle is complete; the Saint sets out with the Creator, and carries the creature through the course of his pilgrimage as a redeemed sinner, back to that Hand out of which he originally came. The design was never fully realized by the Angelical—he did not get beyond the ninety-ninth question of the third part.‡

* The theory of the *Summa*, whilst it corresponds to man's innate tendency towards the Supreme Good, lifts him higher than the level of natural religion into the purer and more ex-panding atmosphere. (See Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XVI., p. 336.)

† Werner speaks of the aim of our Saint in writing his *Summa* thus:—"Er will den Bedürfnissen Jener entgegenkommen, welche in das Gebiet der Theologie erst näher eingeführt werden sollen; diese sollen aus dem Hauptwerke seines Lebens einen vollständigen und zugleich fasslichen Einblick in das Gesammte der theologischen Doctrin nach ihrer seitherigen Entwicklung gewinnen. Dazu eignen sich nach seinen Erfahrungen andere Werke nicht, welche entweder durch massenhafte Häufung von Fragen und Untersuchungen den Ueberblick über das Ganze erschweren, oder vermöge eines besonderen Zweckes, den sie verfolgen, nicht Alles und in jener methodischen Ordnung bringen, welche den Lernenden erwünscht und dienlich ist. Also um eine systematisch gerundete, und darin selbst schon eine weise Beschränkung der luxurirenden Fülle von Distinctionen und Untersuchungen in sich schliessende Darstellung des gesammten Lehrinhaltes der kirchlichen Theologie handelt es sich in diesem Werke." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 801.)

‡ "Thomas erklärt als seine Aufgabe, das System der heiligen Wissenschaft anzuführen, welche von Gott handelt, nach dem, was er an sich ist und insofern er Princip und Zweck der Creaturen, der vernünftigen insbesondere ist. Darnach zerfällt sein Werk in drei Haupttheile: I. Von Gott an sich und als ursprünglichen Principe des creatürlichen Seins und Geschehens im Allgemeinen, des menschlichen Daseins im Besonderen. II. Vom Streben der vernünftigen Creatur, näher gesagt des Menschen zu Gott als seinem letzten und höchsten Zwecke. III. Von Christus, der als Mensch uns zum Wege dieses Strebens macht Gott geworden ist."

"Der erste Haupttheil zerfällt in die drei Abtheilungen von der göttlichen Wesenheit (qu. 2-26). Dreipersonlichkeit (qu. 27-43) und emananten (weltsetzenden und weltleitenden) Wirk-samkeit Gottes (qu. 44-109). Die Lehre von Gottes Wesen umfasst die drei Abhandlungen

He did not begin to set earnestly to work till after his refusal of the Archbishopric of Naples. Now that he felt himself secure, as Tolomeo da Lucca tells us, he laboured with redoubled energy. But even whilst occupied on the first portion of his great undertaking his time was taken up with many other duties. He now completed his "Commentaries" on S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. John, which he dedicated to his friend Hannibal di Molaria; and he republished his treatise on religious life in answer to another attempt of William of S. Amour.* Then he was summoned to attend the general chapter at Bologna, and was appointed, at the request of the great university, to throw fresh intellectual life into the schools, and to occupy the post of professor of theology. Before taking possession of his chair he visited the tomb of S. Peter Martyr at Milan. The miracles wrought at this sepulchre before, and particularly after the Saint's canonization, had created great excitement in the Church.† On his arrival, S. Thomas found the magistrates of the city superintending the erection of a magnificent mausoleum over the relics of the Saint, and his presence amongst them was no sooner made known than he was requested to compose an epitaph descriptive of the faith, zeal and charity of the holy athlete.‡

From Milan he went to Bologna, and took possession of his little cell in the convent of the order. Here he remained some weeks in retirement before commencing his lectures in the schools. His days were passed in silent meditation, and in that deep thought which seems to have been his greatest recreation, whilst the greater portions of his nights were spent at the tomb of the great S. Dominic, who lay buried in the convent church. It was at this very time that the solemn translation of the relics of that holy founder took place (1267).§ They were

über Gottes Sein (qu. 2), über die auf dem Wege der Negation zu ermittelnden Wesensbestimmungen des göttlichen Seins (qu. 3—13), über die göttliche Wesensbethätigung im Erkennen (qu. 14—18), Wollen (qu. 19—24) und Können (qu. 25)." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 802—803.)

* See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI. p. —

† "Is erat Petrus Veronensis nobili genere natus, qui in Catharis et Manicheis ad fidem adducendis, gloriosam operam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ navaverat, dein inopia scilicet manu crudeliter necatus, tot exantlato pro Christi legatione labores, martyrii pulma coronavit." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Ellogium, Historicum*, p. 25; *Ed. Parm.*)

‡ It reads thus:—

"Precor, lucerna, pignus, Christi, populi, fideique,
Hic ailet, hic legitur, jacet hic maceratus inique,
Vox ovibus dulcis, gratissima lux animarum,
Et verbi gladius, gladiis cecidit Catharorum.
Christus mirificat; populus devotus adorat.
Martyrioque fides sanctum servata decorat.
Sed Christus nova signa loqui facit, ac nova turbæ
Lux datur; atque fides vulgata refingit in Urbe."

—(Loc. Cit.)

§ "Hoc ipso anno 1267 die 5 Junii, Bononiæ interfuit secundæ translationi corporis S. Domini Legiferi Patris, cum ex humili sepulchro in urnam egregii operis, regio ac magnifico amplexu ornatam ejus ossa reposita sunt, beato Joanne Verceilensi VI. Ordinis Generali Magistro. Aderant huius solenni ceremoniæ sex Episcopi, quorum tres Dominiæiani Instituti, nempe *Bartolomeus*

carried with public pomp from the humble sepulchre where they reposed, and were placed in a magnificent urn, chiselled with the most exquisite taste by the most celebrated artist of the day.* Bartholomew of Braganza, Arnulf of Viterbo, Ægidius Gallutius, all of them bishops, and all of them Dominicans, assisted at the ceremony. In the presence of these venerable men, and amidst the press of devout and eager friars, all that was mortal of the high patriarch of religious chivalry was lifted with great gentleness and reverence out of the tomb, and after having been kissed by fervent lips, and looked upon with loving eyes, was borne away to its more glorious resting-place.

The same kind of effect was produced by the presence of S. Thomas in the schools of Bologna as had been manifested at Paris and Cologne. His fame had preceded him. The hall was crammed.† Not students only, but the very citizens themselves pressed into the lecture-room to look upon and listen to the great serene Angelical, as, rapt in the contemplation of God's highest truth, he poured forth the clear-flowing stream of his simple oratory, and entranced his hearers by the lucidity, order, and profoundness of his teaching.‡ Indeed, it is not enough to say that the citizens were attracted to him—men from distant cities, professors, students, intellectual knight-errants of every temper, were drawn to Bologna as to a centre, just as of old Socrates, Plato, or Aristotle, Roscelin, Abelard, or William of Champeaux gathered together from all quarters of the world men, it matters not of what condition, who felt the charm of genius and the fascinating attractions of syllogistical display.§

de Bregantia Episcopus Vicentinus, *Arnulphus* Viterbiensis, *Humane* Episcopus in Piceno, quæ urbs hodie non amplius exstat, et *Ægidius Gallutius* Episcopus Torcellensis. Arca patefacta, Episcopi et Patres, collaudato Deo, qui admirabilis est in sanctis suis, venerabundi, summo cum lætitie ac pietatis sensu lacrymantes sacra pignora exosculati sunt; deinde ex suggestu extra Ecclesiam S. Nicolai, magni Patriarchæ capite ostenso, infinite multitudinis, quæ ad hoc religiose observantie spectaculum confluxerat, cupiditatis satiscerunt." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia*, Tom. I., *Ellogium Historicum*, p. 25.)

* Trabacchi speaks of it thus:—"E la migliore fra quante opere di scultura furono fatte in quei tempi, ed in cui forse travagliò anche Guglielmo Fante converso dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, similmente Pisano, ed eccellente discepolo di Niccolò." (*Biblioteca della letteratura Italiana*, Tom. IV., p. 392; *Prima Edizione*.)

† We can say with Lacordaire:—"L'œuvre était achevée. Prince, moine, disciple, Saint Thomas d'Aquin pouvait monter sur le trône de la science divine; il y monta en effet, et depuis six siècles qu'il y est assis, la Providence ne lui a point encore envoyé de successeur ni de rival. Il est demeuré prince comme il était né, solitaire comme il s'était fait, et la qualité seule de disciple a disparu en lui, parce qu'il est devenu le maître de tous." (*Conférences de Toulouse*, p. 240.)

‡ See Borellie, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXIV., p. 301.

§ It was at this period that the Angelical began his work, *De Regimine Principum*, for the instruction of Hugh, king of Cyprus. He did not, however, complete it, as the prince died before he came to man's estate. This work is to be found in the *Opp. Omnia* of the Saint, Vol. XVI. (See *Opusc.* XVI., *De Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri*, Libb. IV., p. 225-291.) The third and fourth books were not written by S. Thomas. Feugueray holds that the second half of the second book is by another hand. The *Ellogium Historicum* speaks thus:—"Anno 1267 Bononie vulgavit opus de Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri Hugonem, sed cum adhuc puer obisset, laborem intermisit. Totum opus constat IV. libris: quorum duos priores Thomæ abscribunt, posteriores vero B. Ægidio Columnæ, vel Ptolemæo Lucensi. Illos tamen libros genuinum esse ejus factum negat Bellarminus, in lib. de Scripp. Ecclesiasticis. Hinc est quod in editione Lovaniensi Operum D. Thomæ an. 1652, libri ejusmodi non inveniuntur inter opuscula S. Doctoris." (S. Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia*, Vol. I., p. 25.)

Whilst the Angelical was lecturing at Bologna, penning treatises on politics, morality, and dogma, preaching, teaching, journeying from place to place on business of the order, or practising strict observance in the convent, one abiding passion occupied his mind, and that was the gradual realization of the "*Summa Theologica*," of which mention has just been made. To this all was made subordinate. To perfect and elaborate this great conception he bent all the powers and instruments of his matured and mellowed mind.* A whole life of remote preparation, and two years of labour with the pen, produced the first part of the "*Summa*." As some mighty sculptor, who has spent from youth up learning first the rudiments and then the last perfection of his art, through simple cultivation can strike out a figure from the rough which would make ordinary men despair—summing up as it were at one stroke of the chisel the concentrated labours of a life,—so the great Angelical in the space of two short years laid the broad foundations of his lasting fame.

This first part occupies four hundred and fifty pages of the Parma Edition, and comprises one hundred and nineteen questions, divided into five hundred and eighty-four articles.†

* Even the learned and punderous Werner becomes eloquent when speaking of the advance made by the Angelical in theology upon the days of S. Anselm:—"Welche reiche Entwicklung hatte die Theologie inzwischen durchgemacht, welch hohen Grad von Ausbildung und Durchbildung errungen! Das positive, speculative und dialektische Element in jenem Anfangswerke in naiver Unmittelbarkeit mit einander geehrt, hatten seitdem jedes seine reiche Geschichte durchgemacht, sich gegenseitig mit einander vielseitig gemessen, mannigfaltig ausgeglichen und vernimmt; wozu Thomas selber durch seine bisher geschilderten Thätigkeiten in abschliessender und maassgebender Weise auf entscheidende Weise beitrug. Nun sollte das Resultat jener dreifachen, unter sich vielfältigst verzweigten und verschlungenen Entwicklung mit allen Errungenschaften gereifter Einsicht, welche ein zweihundertjähriger Entwicklungsprocess im geistigen Streben der vorzüglichsten Kräfte zu Tage gefördert, in einem grossen Ganzen, lichtvoll entwickelt und harmonisch ausgeglichen, dargestellt werden; und dass zu leisten war der *Summa theologiae* des heiligen Thomas Aquinas vorbehalten." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 802.*)

† "*Summam omnium in Prefationem . . . et Narrationem primam partem; Narrationem autem in duas deinceps partes; in quarum prima de necessitate, unitate, presentia, subjecto, et aliis ad sacram Theologiam spectantibus, tanquam secunda Prefatione, unica questione, quæ prima est tractat; quæ etiam benevolens . . . lectores sibi flectit; in posteriore . . . in altum divinitatis mare se immittit. Nam de Deo quadraginta tribus questionibus . . . verba facit; sed ita ut primum sex et viginti questionibus prius de his, quæ absoluta à Theologia dicuntur, quæ essentia Dei convenient, et ob id tribus personis Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto communia sunt, et quæ Philosophi . . . lumine nature non parum sunt consequuti; confestimque de Trinitate personarum . . . accuratissime agit; quæ, ut sunt creaturis incommunicabilia, ita Philosophi prorsus inaccessa fuisse etiam ostendit. Hanc partem 17. questionibus sequentibus complectitur, et à Deo in se, ad Deum extra se in ejus operationibus externis progreditur. Cumque quatuor sint hujusmodi operationes, rerum creatio, gubernatio, humani generis redemptio, et glorificatio; rerumque creationem distinctio et ornatus sequuntur, et creaturarum alia omnino spiritualis sit et incorporea, alia omnino corporalis, alia vero utriusque particeps, ac veluti nexus quidam; sic progreditur, ut primum de creatione, hoc est, de actione et modo, quo à Deo creatura in lucem prodiret. tribus questionibus agit, 44. 45 et 46. deinde in 47. de earum distinctione in communem; subindeque in 48. et 49. de speciali hæc earum distinctione, quæ passim homines utitur in bonum, et malum; et postremo de spirituali creatura, quæ Angelus est, à 50. questione ad 64. usque, ubi essentiam, locum, motum, potentiam, operationem, et alias bonorum, et malorum Angelorum . . . affectiones perscrutat. Quo peracto, in 65. questione de creatum omnino corporali, tanquam de altero extremo, et superiori opposito, usque ad 74. verba facit; quo loco primum libri Geneseos caput . . . explicat. In 75. vero usque ad 90. inclusive, naturam et affectiones hominis, qui nexus quidam ligamentumque rerum esse videtur, et quod ad animam, ejusque facultates, et operationes attinet . . . explicat. Cum vero constitutionem, et etiam humani corporis diligentius discutere Philosophi naturalis . . . quam Theologi esse videntur, de ea pauciora verba . . . facit à 91. questione usque ad 102. Ac ibi quidem et de prima hominis productione, tam maris, quam femine, ac de statu et conditione utriusque, quod ad intellectum spectat, et voluntatem, quoad corpus, et vitæ conservationem, liberorum procreationem: locumque demum, in quo*

Forming the basis of a great superstructure, like all moral foundations, it deals with first principles, first truths, and first facts; a subject-matter which offers scope to endless development and comparison, and represents the material out of which the orderly and scientific *corpus* of theology is fashioned.

The Divine Being, His existence, attributes, knowledge, name, ideas, life, and will; the blessed Trinity of Persons, the Divine processions, relations, unity and plurality; the Divine Persons, the Father and His special attributes, then the Adorable Son and Ever-blessed Spirit, their relations, equality, and similitude—all presenting before the mind an overwhelming abundance of dazzling mystery and greatness incomprehensible, overawing the faculties, and by that very power witnessing to the pre-eminent greatness of the Creator above the creature of His hands,—are some of the subjects discussed in *Pars Prima* of the "*Summa Theologica*."

Having taken the student up to heaven's gates, and pointed out to him the majesty of the Triune God, the Angelical next treats of the Almighty's creative act and power. And here it is that the Catholic theologian cut his way clear of the pantheism of the east, with its doctrine of emanation, and of that materialism which is the genuine fruit of the rationalizing spirit. The unmistakable establishment of this great truth—the emphatic assertion that between the Divine nature and all things else there is an immeasurable gulf; that the creature is not the mere effluence or exuberance of the substance of the Divinity, but a creation out of nothing by His *fiat*; that the infinite and the finite, the eternal and the temporal, the primeval Cause and secondary agencies, are not simply different in kind, but absolutely distinct in essence as well as mode; that nothing is of itself independent, but all is preserved as all was first created by the Omnipotent,* by Whom everything exists, without Whom

feliciſſime degebat, qui Paradisus, ut plurimum, dicitur, tractat . . . Et cum hactenus de creationis opere . . . egisset, confestim de gubernatione, quia omnia suaviter regit, et moderatur: deque illius effectibus, qui varii et multiplices sunt, tam in creatura corporea, quam in incorporea, et media, quae homines ipsi sumus, ad calcem voluminis usque, disertissime, et locupletissime disputat." (Hieronymus Viehmans, *De Dicit Thomas Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis*, Lib. II., p. 116—117; *Briete*, MDCCXLVIII.)

* There is little doubt that it was his scientific exposition of the untenable nature of the Averroistic theory which gave the Angelical so great a name. The very perfection of the harmony of the *Summa*, which of itself excludes all heresy—as a healthy body rejects what is deleterious to it,—is one of the greatest arguments for the truth of Christianity. Error could not be so much in time. Mettenleiter says:—"Aber was schädete das dem Ruhme des heil. Thomas! Dieser bleibt für alle Ewigkeit der grösste Name in der Geschichte der Scholastiker und in den Jahrbüchern der Kirche; er war es, der den katholischen Geist des heil. Augustin mit dem Bosanets durch eine eiserne Kette verband. Der ruhmvolle Sohn des heil. Dominikus, grösser noch als sein Vater, vereinigte Thomas in seinem Geiste all das Wissen des Mittelalters, das gesammte Lehrgebäude der Kirche. Sein Wort ist ein Orakel der Gottheit selbst. So beurtheilte ihn Johann XXII., als er von ihm sagte, dass Thomas mehr Licht über die Erde verbreitet habe, als alle Doctoren zusammen, und dass er an Wundern reicher denn an Schriften sey. Ein ebenso gewichtiges Urtheil sprach das Tridentinische Concil, als die Väter auf den Tisch des heil. Hauses drei Bücher niederlegten: Die heilige Schrift, die Dekrete der Päpste und das Summarium. Seit dem heil. Dominikus war der Orden im wahren Sinne des Wortes ein Orden der Beredsamkeit. Der heil. Thomas fügte ihm den Namen eines "Ordens der

everything would cease, and in Whom all things live, and move, and have their being—this gulf-separation of essence and this intimate connection in the creative act, whilst establishing a cardinal dogma of religion, strikes straight out on two sides against the dreams of a philosophy which has not been set up in the light of faith: it destroys the moral disease of pantheism on the one hand, and, by proving a Divine Providence over the world, does away with fatalism on the other.*

Having thus established the relative position of creature and Creator, of God, angel, and man, the Angelical speaks in detail of the angels' life, of their trial, and the fall of some amongst them; then, of the next creation of God—that of the world and of man during the Scriptural week, thus bringing into prominence other important subject-matter for development. Next, man in particular, his soul, body, mind, and their various relations, are considered; whilst procreation and the different influences, spiritual and corporeal, which act upon mankind are carefully discussed.

In a word, in this first part of the "*Summa*" the Saint draws as it were a sketch of the *dignissima scientia*, that is, of wisdom in the highest sense, and lays out the groundwork for the realization of that vast conception which possesses equal grandeur and simplicity in its design.†

But though this portion of the great edifice of theology may justly be considered as fundamental in its relation to the *Prima*

Wahrheit" hinzu. Schönes Loos unsers grossen Heiligen, der stets den Glanz des Ruhmes gefolgt hat, und von dem schönsten Ruhme, dem eines katholischen Heiden, auch noch in seiner Nachfolge ererbt wurde." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquino, Einleitung*, p. 32—33.)

* Here is a specimen of the various "Questiones" from I. to XLIII.:—I.—De sacra doctrina, qualis sit et ad quæ se extendat; II.—De Deo, an sit; III.—De simplicitate Dei; IV.—De perfectione Dei; V.—De bono in communi; VI.—De bonitate Dei; VII.—De infinitate Dei; VIII.—De existentia Dei in rebus; IX.—De immutabilitate Dei; X.—De aternitate Dei; XI.—De unitate Divina; XII.—De cognitione, et visione Dei; XIII.—De nominibus Dei; XIV.—De Scientia Dei; XV.—De ideis; XVI.—De veritate; XVII.—De falsitate; XVIII.—De vita Dei; XIX.—De voluntate Dei; XX.—De Amore Dei; XXI.—De iustitia et misericordia Dei; XXII.—De providentia Dei; XXIII.—De predestinatione Dei; XXIV.—De libro vitæ; XXV.—De potentia Dei; XXVI.—De beatitudine Dei; XXVII.—De processione, sive origine divinarum personarum; XXVIII.—De relationibus divinis; XXIX.—De personis divinis; XXX.—De pluralitate personarum in divinis; XXXI.—De his quæ pertinent in divinis ad unitatem, vel pluralitatem personarum; XXXII.—De cogitatione divinarum personarum; XXXIII.—De his quæ pertinent ad personam Patris; XXXIV.—De Verbo in divinis; XXXV.—De hoc nomine Filii, quod est imago; XXXVI.—De pertinentiis ad nomen Spiritus Sancti; XXXVII.—De nomine Spiritus Sancti, quod est amor; XXXVIII.—De nomine Spiritus Sancti quod est donum; XXXIX.—De personis in comparatione ad essentiam; XL.—De personis in comparatione ad relationes, sive proprietates; XLI.—De personis per comparationem ad actus rationales; XLII.—De equalitate et similitudine divinarum personarum ad invicem; XLIII.—De missione divinarum Personarum; XLIV.—De prima causa omnium entium, &c. (*Vid. S. Thomas Aquinatis, Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., p. 1—183.*)

† The "*Prologus*" of the Angelical shows his own humility, and the wants of the age in which he lived:—"Quia catholice veritatis doctor non solum provocatus debet instruere, sed ad eum pertinet etiam incipientes erudire (secundum illud Apostoli I. ad Corinth. III., 1: *Tamquam parvulus in Christo, loc vobis potum dedi non escam*), propositum nostræ intentionis in hoc opere est ea quæ ad christianam religionem pertinent eo modo tradere secundum quod congruit ad eruditionem incipientium. Consideravimus namque hujus doctrine novitiam in his quæ a diversis scripta sunt plurimum impediri: partim quidem propter multiplicationem inutilium questionum, articulorum et argumentorum; partim etiam quia ea quæ sunt necessaria talibus ad sciendum non traduntur secundum ordinem disciplinæ sed secundum quod requirebat librorum expositio, vel secundum quod se præbebat occasio disputandi; partim quidem quia eorundem frequens repetitio et fastidium et confusionem generabat in auribus audientium. Hæc igitur et alia hujusmodi evitare studentes, tentabimus cum confidentia divini auxilii ea quæ ad sacrum doctrinam pertinent breviter ac dilucide prosequi, secundum quod materia patietur." (*S. Thomas Aquinatis, Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Prologus, p. 1; Vol. I.*)

Secundæ and the *Secunda Secundæ*, and the *Tertia Pars*, still it would be a mistake to imagine that there is anything about it unfinished, or wanting in logical accuracy or precision of sequence, or in the concatenation and development of its members. The network of systematic integrity, with its lines and joints, and unities, with its exquisite bearing of part on part, with its reciprocal illuminations, with its combined methods of support, with the multiplicity of its elaborated detail, and with the marvellous synthetical oneness of its complete design, appeals as much to the reason and the imagination as does the majestic simplicity of the original conception.*

It is to be regretted that, from the very nature of the case, assertion must here to a great extent take the place of proof. But if the reader would for example select at hazard one point out of this *Prima Pars* as a sample of the rest, he would speedily convince himself of the justice of the criticism: the "*Summa Theologica*" is as organic as the human frame itself, and its element are compacted together with as much nicety and harmony.

Quitting the form for a moment, and reverting to the subject-matter, which represents the whole store of learning of the past, it may be said that the intimate acquaintance which the Angelical manifests here with Scripture and the Fathers, the breadth and accuracy of his knowledge, have something about them of the preternatural at least. There is nothing of the sharpness and flippancy of the schools, no random brilliant Abelardine fencing, none of the dangerous originality of Roscelin, none of the extravagant philosophy of William of Champeaux, and none of

* Take, for instance, the organic development—which is but a figure of the whole—of the question of the "*Essentia Divina*."

		DE ESSENTIA DIVINA,	
(a) num sit:		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \alpha. \text{ sit vel potius non sit:} \\ \quad 1. \text{ simplicitas,} \\ \quad 2. \text{ perfectio (bonitas) remota omni imperfectione creaturarum,} \\ \quad 3. \text{ infinitas,} \\ (b) \text{ quomodo} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4. \text{ immutabilitas,} \\ 5. \text{ aeternitas,} \\ 6. \text{ unitas;} \\ \beta. \text{ a nobis cognoscatur,} \\ \gamma. \text{ a nobis nominetur;} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$	
(c) quomodo operetur	ad intra:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \alpha. \text{ cognoscendo} \\ \beta. \text{ volendo} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ de scientia Dei,} \\ 2. \text{ de ideis,} \\ 3. \text{ de vero et falso,} \\ 4. \text{ de vita Dei;} \\ 1. \text{ de voluntate divina,} \\ 2. \text{ de his, quæ absolute ad voluntatem pertinent:} \\ \quad \alpha\alpha. \text{ amor,} \\ \quad \beta\beta. \text{ iustitia et misericordia,} \\ 3. \text{ de his, quæ simul ad intellectum pertinent:} \\ \quad \alpha\alpha. \text{ providentia,} \\ \quad \beta\beta. \text{ prædestinatio (liber vitæ);} \end{array} \right.$
	ad extra:	$\gamma. \text{ de potentia Dei.}$	

—(See Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 803.)

the difficult mysticism of Richard of S. Victor's. Mere human talent counts for little, inventive genius is not rated high, self and simple ingenuity are altogether sunk, the tone and temper of the noisy self-asserting university, with its rationalistic tendency and irreverent spirit, with all its fallacies and smartness, are here thrown into their proper light, not by any direct attack, but by a method far more powerful than that;—by erecting a vast monument of organized truth, composed of the teaching of the massive-minded classic Fathers, of the words of Holy Writ confirmed by high authority, and of the purest of philosophies serving as handmaid gracefully and willingly to the more majestic truths of the supernatural order.* The appearance of the "*Summa Theologica*" in the midst of the crudities of the schools was as if the Basilica of S. Peter's were brought into juxtaposition with the Zions and Ebenezers of our more modern days.

For instance, in the first part of the "*Summa*" Scripture and the Fathers advance in support of reason, as drawn from the corrected teaching of the Arabians and Greeks. The royal Psalmist, S. John the Divine, and the Apostle of the Gentiles; then S. Augustine, S. Jerome, S. Hilary, the Areopagite, and Boëthius, each speaks authoritatively on his own strong point, and adds the weight of his own *prestige* to the well-digested teachings of the great Angelical.† Then from time to time,

* Take Werner's words regarding the divine "Trinity" and "Persons;" for they bring out the architectonic tendencies of the Angelical, to which I have often called attention before:—"Die Dreieinheitslehre zerfällt in die drei Partien vom Ursprunge des trinitarischen Verhältnisses (*de processione*, *qu.* 27), von den aus dem doppelten Hervorgange in Gott sich ergebenden Relationen in Gott (*qu.* 28), von den göttlichen Personen (*qu.* 29—43). Diese werden wieder zuerst absolut (*qu.* 29—32) und dann vergleichungsweise (*qu.* 39—43) zum Gegenstande der Erörterung gemacht, zufolge nachstehendem Schema:

- a) die göttlichen Personen absolut betrachtet:
- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. in communē | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> α. significatio, β. numerus, γ. quæ pertinent ad unitatem et pluralitatem, δ. notitia (Bezeichnung); |
| 2. in specie | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> α. pater, β. filius als verbum und imago, γ. spiritus s. als amor und donum; |
- b) die göttlichen Personen vergleichungsweise betrachtet:
- | | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| in Hinsicht auf | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> α. ihre Essenz, β. ihre persönlichen Proprietäten, γ. ihre actus notionales, δ. ihr Verhältniss unter sich | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> { æqualitas et similitudo, { missio personarum divinarum. |
|-----------------|---|--|

—(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 807.)

† "*Summa siquidem illius, plurima theologia est et minima: plurima questionum et articulorum ubertate, plurimum sensuum altitudine, plurima rationum pondere; minima verborum paucitate, ac simplicitate luculentia. Cujus ad commendationem dici jure potest, quod a S. Hieronymo canonicarum epistolarum auctoribus laudi datum (in epist. ad Paulinum): Brevis in verbis, longus in sententiis. Si in lectione sacrarum literarum summam experimur voluptatem; et in*

S. John of Damascus bears his witness, S. Gregory the Great confirms some weighty truth, S. Ambrose falls in with his high morality, whilst the pure philosophy of S. Anselm is not lost sight of amidst so many other glorious names. The creed of S. Athanasius, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and the Œcumenical Councils of the Church add their venerable testimony to the general teaching; so that the "*Summa*" seems to be as it were one glorious song, in which the voices of the greatest heroes of antiquity, the purest and the best, chime in with the solemn chaunting of Prophets and Apostles, who, full of the strength and sweetness of the Spirit of God Himself, seem, like the alternate Seraphim around the Throne, to proclaim the love, beauty, strength, and mercy of the great Omnipotent, and the nature, character, and the high destiny of man.*

And whilst the Angelical was thus working out the great scheme of salvation in the solitude of conventual life, or in presence of eager and earnest students, bitterness and strife were ravaging the world outside. A rapid sketch of the relation of the Empire and the Holy See must here find place, before proceeding to the consideration of the second portion of the "*Summa*."

So long as the spirit of Frederick Barbarossa or Frederick the II. animated the ruling spirits of the world, there was little chance of peace in Church or State. As was the case in the days of Gregory IX.,† the Pope and the Empire were still in violent antagonism; and Clement IV., in the main, was doing his best to carry out the policy of Urban and Alexander. The

operum S. Thomæ lectione incredibilem degustant, qui in eorum studio versantur. Quamobrem de angelici præceptoris doctrina citra censuræ metum prædicabo, quod de sacra Scriptura *Gregorius M., lib. 20. Moral. Cap. 1.* præclare dixit: 'Un fastidium tollit, et tanto amplius diligitur, quanto amplius meditatur; legentis animum humilibus verbis adjuvat, sublimibus sensibus levat; aliquo modo enim legentibus crescit; a rudibus lectoribus quasi recognoscitur, et tamen doctis semper nova reperitur; scientias omnes atque doctrinas ipso etiam locutionis suæ more transcendit: quia uno eodemque sermone dum narrat textum, prodit mysterium.' Quot articulos *Thomas* scripsit, tot miracula edidit, inquebat *Joannes XXII.* Christi doctrina index est mundi. *Sermo*, inquit, *quem locutus sum, ille judicabit in novissimo die* (Joan 6.). Et hunc doctrinæ Christi characterem habent S. Thomæ scripta, quæ infidelium et peccatorum pariter damnant contumaciam et fœnorâ. Angelus est, qui latam a supremo iudice in impios sententiam scribit ac denunciat, ut alius olim Balthussaris condemnationem in pariete exaravit." (*Natalis Alexandri Historia Ecclesiastica, Tom. XVI., Appendix. Panegyricus S. Thomæ, p. 787; Bingii ad Rhenum, MDCCXXXIX.*)

* "On ne doit pas être surpris, dit Saint Antonin, parlant de Saint Thomas, qu'un homme qui ne perdoit jamais Dieu de vûe, et qui conversoit si souvent avec les célestes Intelligences; un homme qu'on a vu tant de fois ravi en extase, dont quelques-unes ont duré trois jours entiers; un homme à qui les Apôtres saint Pierre et saint Paul ont souvent dicté l'explication de leurs propres ouvrages; on ne doit pas s'étonner, dis-je, qu'un tel homme ait en une science si profonde, et qu'il ait fait de si grandes merveilles pour la Religion. C'est aussi ce qui a mis de si mauvaise humeur contre notre Saint, tous les Hérétiques. Comme c'est à cet admirable Docteur qu'on doit cette méthode régulière qui regne dans l'école, avec laquelle on débrouille les opinions, on démasque l'erreur, on met la vérité dans tout son jour, et que l'on explique avec netteté les dogmes de la foi. Selon le vrai sens de l'Eglise et des Pères: l'hérésie n'a point en de plus grand ennemi, que notre Saint; parce qu'elle n'a jamais pu tenir contre sa solidité, et si l'on ose le dire, contre l'infailibilité de sa doctrine. C'est cette doctrine angelique dont tant souverains Pontifes ont fait l'éloge, car comme disoit le Pape Pie V.: Quelle hérésie, n'a pas été désarmée par l'érudition de ce saint Docteur; quelle erreur pourra-t-il jamais s'élever, dont on ne trouve le contre-poison dans sa somme." (*P. Crouzet—See Hondry, Tom. III., p. 261: Lyon, MDCCXIX.*)

† See Volume I. of this work, Chap. IV., p. — .

Sovereign Pontiffs had had enough of the Hohenstaufens. Bold, ambitious, and imperious, implacable as enemies and false as friends, they had done little else than upset religion, inflame discord, spill blood, and harass the Papal States.* The Popes at last made up their minds to use all their efforts to prevent any member of that family coming into power, either in Germany or in the South.

At the death of Frederick II., Innocent IV. emphatically declared that the Holy See would never consent to any one of his family being invested with the crown. Naples and Capua, and many other cities, sided with the Pope; and when the ambassadors of Conrad, son of Frederick, and of Manfred, Frederick's natural son, made advances to these Italian cities, they were informed that the Italians had grown weary of interdicts and excommunication; and that if their masters desired to be received, they must present themselves with the blessing and investiture of the Sovereign Pontiff.†

But there was far from being unanimity in respect of Pope Innocent IV. The restless and ambitious children of Frederick succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the Germans and Venetians, and were so powerfully supported by these, that for a course of years they were enabled to worry the Popes, and keep the greater part of Italy in continual fermentation. For instance, in 1251, Conrad entered Italy with a powerful army, and forthwith advanced against the Counts of Sora and Aquino, who had declared themselves in favour of the Pope.‡ Doubtless it was excessively mortifying to these princes that the Aquinos should not only have turned against them, but moreover should have preferred the policy of the Holy See to the traditions of the past, and have had the courage to maintain the Pope in opposition to the interests of their own relations. Whilst bravely resisting the pressure of numbers, the Count of Aquino was overpowered, and Conrad advanced through Puglia with his victorious force, anticipating, no doubt, an easy conquest, when he was struck down by death at the early age of

* See Tournou, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 215.

† "Les Successeurs d'Innocent, Alexandre IV., Urbain IV., Clément IV. agirent tous selon les mêmes principes, et suivirent les mêmes routes, pour exclure les descendants de Frédéric, de l'une et de l'autre Sicile. Quelques peuples d'Italie entrèrent d'abord dans les intérêts du Saint Siège; ils répondirent aux Ambassadeurs de Conrad, fils légitime de l'Empereur Frédéric, et aux Envoyés de Mainfroy, son fils naturel, qu'ils s'ennuyèrent d'être si long-temps frappés d'interdit, et d'excommunication; et que leur résolution étoit de ne prêter obéissance à personne, s'il ne venoit avec l'investiture, et la bénédiction du Pape." (Tournou, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 215.)

‡ "En 1251, Conrad entra avec une puissante armée en Italie, et marcha aussitôt contre le Comte d'Aquin et de Sora, qui s'étoient déclarés pour le Pape. Il les combattit avec avantage, le jour de saint Martin; et il continuoit ses progrès dans la Pouille, lorsque la mort l'enleva dans la fleur de son âge; il n'avoit pas fini sa vingt-septième année, et son fils Conradin, qu'il avoit laissé en Allemagne, n'étoit âgé que de deux ans." (*Loc. Cit.*)

seven-and-twenty, leaving Conradin, his son, a little child of two years old, the heir to all his troubles.*

But if Conrad had died, Manfred, a man of great vigour, and well versed in the arts of diplomacy and war, was still alive. He forthwith declared himself tutor of little Conradin, and in spite of the menaces of the Pope, and an actual threat of war, he carried everything before him. Pope Alexander, however, was not easily dismayed. He cited Manfred to appear before him; and as he took no notice of the summons, the Pontiff at once declared the crown of Sicily vacant; and according to the usage of those days, sent the Bishop of Bologna, James Bonocambio, to London, to present it to Edmund, second son of the English king. The kingdom so graciously offered was as graciously accepted; and in the midst of a splendid assembly of the great ones of the land, the Apostolic envoy placed a ring on the finger of the youthful Edmund, as the symbol of his acceptance of the crown. But all this pomp turned out to be merely an idle ceremony.† The English monarch was too much harassed at home, to be able to carry out ambitious projects in foreign parts in favour of his children. Manfred in the meantime was vigorously pushing his successes. He speedily possessed himself of the whole of Sicily, of the Principality of Trent, of Puglia, and of the Terra di Lavoro, and made the world conscious of his achievements by having himself crowned with great solemnity at Palermo in the autumn of 1258. This act, it might be called of bravado, added greatly to his *prestige*, and very shortly Sienna, Pisa, the larger part of Tuscany, and the Marches of Ancona, besides, many other portions of the Papal States, declared themselves subject to his authority.

Perceiving the critical position of affairs, Urban IV., who had succeeded Alexander, resolved to act with rigour against this disturber of the general peace.‡ In the presence of a great

* Cf. Werner, *Erster Band, Fünftes Capitäl*, p. 509.

† "Manfred, Conrad's Halbbruder, hatte nach dessen frühzeitigem Tode (1254) die Herrschaft über Stellen, über das Fürstenthum Tarent, Apulien, Terra di Lavoro errungen, und liess sich auf ein falsches Gerücht von Conradin's, seines Mündels, Tode zu Palermo zum König krönen. Vergeblich hatte Alexander IV. dem zweitgeborenen Sohne des Königs von England, dem Prinzen Edmund, die sicilische Krone angeboten und durch den nach London gesandten Erzbischof von Bologna, Jacob Bonocambio aus dem Prediger-Orden, den Belehnungsact vornehmen lassen. Der König von England verzog die nöthigen Massregeln zur Besitzergreifung des Reiches, Manfred hingegen brachte Selva, Pisa und ganz Tuscan auf seine Seite, überzog die Mark Ancona und die übrigen Theile des Kirchen-staats (Spoleto, Romagnola) mit seinen Söldnern." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitäl*, p. 509.)

‡ "Demzufolge behandelte ihn Urban IV. als offenen Feind der Kirche, und liess mittelst öffentlichen Anschlages an die Thore der Kirche zu Viterbo Manfred vor sein Gericht laden, um sich über verschiedene Grundsanktionen und Kirchenfrevel zu verantworten; er habe die Stadt Ancona durch seine Saracenen von Grund aus zerstören, mehrere Unterthanen des Papstes widerrechtlich hingerichten lassen, die kirchlichen Censuren verachtet und ungerecht derselben kirchlichen Gottesdienst für sich halten lassen, drückende Steuern anferlegt und die Saracenen augenfällig vor den Christen begünstigt. Da auf Genußthum von Selte Manfred's nicht zu rechnen war, eben so wenig aber auf den König von England, so wurde mit dem französischen Königshause angeknüpft, und Ludwig's IX. Bruder, Carl von Anjou, nach Italien zu kommen eingeladen (1263)." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitäl*, p. 509.)

multitude the Pope cited Manfred to appear before him, and caused the citation to be fixed against the doors of the church at Orvieto (1262), but Manfred made as light of this citation as he had before of the Papal censures. Urban then turned his eyes to France. He sent the Cardinal of S. Cecilia to wait upon S. Louis, who had just returned from his crusade, and to offer the crown of Sicily to his brother Charles, Count of Provence and Anjou.* The king at once perceived in what a difficult position the Pope was placed. He urged his brother to accept the offer, and with the agreement of Church and State a tax was levied upon the clergy to defray the expenses of the undertaking. But Pope Urban did not live to witness the issue of the enterprise upon which he had set his heart. However, Clement IV., who succeeded him, carried out his policy with the earnestness of a man who knew how great an interest was at stake. He published two Bulls: in one he annulled the gift made by his predecessor to Edmund (1265), in the other he conferred the kingdom of Sicily on Charles, Count of Anjou.†

Prince Charles did not lose time. Having celebrated Easter with King Louis, he hurried to Marseilles, embarked with a thousand knights, arrived at Ostia, and then without delay proceeded to Rome. He was received with acclamation by the Romans as the liberator of the Church, and the defender of the liberties of the people. The Pope, who was still at Perugia, sent four Cardinals to wait on him, and he was invested, amidst great ceremony and display, in the Lateran Basilica with the sovereignty of Sicily (1265).‡

Charles was not long in setting to work to consolidate his position. The armies of Manfred and of the new king came into collision at Beneventum. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody, but at length the French obtained an advantage; then Manfred himself was slain, and finally his whole army was routed and cut to pieces. This was a severe blow to the Ghibelines, and of immense benefit to the Pope.

But if Conrad had fallen in battle fighting for the Sicilian kingdom, and if Manfred had met a similar fate, there was still

* "Mais voyant que Mainfroy ne faisoit pas plus de cas de toutes ces citations, que des censures Ecclesiastiques, et ne pouvant plus rien attendre du Roi d'Angleterre, à qui les Seigneurs Anglois faisoient eux-mêmes une guerre opulente, le saint Pere eut recours aux Princes de la Maison de France, et fit traiter pour le Royaume de Sicile, avec Charles Comte d'Anjou, et de Provence. On envoya pour cela en France le Cardinal de Sainte-Cecile; et saint Louis étant de retour d'Orient, le Pape lui écrivit bientôt après, pour lui représenter le péril, où la Religion se trouvoit exposée en Italie, par la conduite de Mainfroy." (Toussaint, *Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 217.*)

† "Absorbée elle-même par la discorde qui régnaît entre son souverain, Henri III, et les barons révoltés, elle ne put répondre que par des promesses aux propositions du souverain pontife. Une crainte aussi éloignée n'ayant fait qu'activer les succès de l'usurpateur sicilien, Urbain IV avait révoqué la donation faite par son prédécesseur, et il avait fait appel aux princes de la maison de France, en offrant le royaume de Sicile à Charles d'Anjou, frère de Louis IX." (Bareille, *Histoire, de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p. 312.*)

‡ Toussaint, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 219.*

one more of that fierce and thirsty race remaining—the young Conradin, who had now attained his fifteenth year. Upon hearing of the death of Manfred he at once had himself proclaimed emperor: and urged on by the Germans,* and by a party which was always to be found in Italy, he gave himself out as king of Sicily. The Pope threatened those who dared to offer him encouragement and assistance with censure and interdict, and forbade the young Prince either to assume the title or to take possession of the crown. But Conradin cared about as much as those who had preceded him for the thunders of the spiritual power. He established his ministers in Tuscany and in the Italian kingdom; he himself invaded Italy, took Verona, advanced on Pavia, and having marched through Lombardy and Tuscany, entered Rome, where he was received with marks of extraordinary honour by the unprincipled and fickle inhabitants, as well as by Henry of Castile, who, in betraying Charles of Anjou, branded himself with the three-fold infamy of being a traitor to his relation, his benefactor, and his king.†

So far fortune seemed to favour Conradin in an extraordinary degree. He did not remain long in Rome. He marched out into Puglia with a large force, composed of Germans, Italians, and Saracens. Charles went forth to meet him, and Conradin prepared a second time to hazard the fortune of a battle. The armies came to collision near Tagliacozzo. Conradin's host, which was under the command of several princes, after a sanguinary engagement suffered total defeat.‡ The Pretender, Henry of Castile, the Duke of Austria, and many men of high distinction, were made prisoners of war. Henry, at the intercession of the Abbot of Cassino, was set at liberty; but Conradin and the Duke of Austria were both beheaded (1268). Such was the end of the fierce and warlike family of Suabia, such was the beginning of the mastership of the house of Anjou over the Sicilian kingdom. The Popes at length found peace, and the Aquinos at last found safety.§

* "Conradin âgé alors de quinze ans, ayant appris la défaite et la mort de Mainfroy, prétendit à l'Empire, et prit cependant le titre de Roi de Sicile, excité par la plupart des Princes d'Allemagne, et appelé en Italie par ceux qui favorisoient toujours son parti." (Toumon, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 216.)

† "Mals ce jeune Prince, qui avoit appris de ses peres à les mépriser entra toujours en Italie, et se rendit d'abord à Veronne, accompagné de son oncle le Duc de Baviere, et de son beau-pere le Comte de Tirol. De Veronne il alla à Pavie avec ses troupes choisies, et fit solliciter les Romains, à se révolter contre le Roi Charles. Enfin ayant traversé la Lombardie et la Toscane, il s'avança jusqu'à Rome, où il fut reçu avec des honneurs extraordinaires, par ce peuple inconstant, et par le Sénateur Henri de Castille, qui avoit trahi Charles I., son Parent, son Roi, son Bienfaiteur." (Toumon, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 219.)

‡ "Le 26 février 1266, il rencontre l'ennemi de l'Eglise dans la plaine de Grandella, près Bénévent. Mainfroy y trouva la défaite et la mort. Deux ans après, Conradin, qui avoit accepté l'héritage dangereux de ces luttes acharnées, succomba à son tour sous le génie militaire de la France, près de la ville de Tagliacozzo. Sa mort eut de près sa défaite." (Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXV., p. 313.)

§ Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXV., p. 313.

Clement IV. did not live long to enjoy the victory of Tagliacozzo. The Church was deprived of a great Pope, and Thomas of Aquin lost a great admirer and friend, when death carried him away.* Those who were acquainted with this Pontiff's daily life, those who knew of his rigid fasts, his hard bed, his hair shirt, and his mighty self-control—who were aware how charitable, prudent, and learned a man he was,—were conscious that a pillar of the Church, in his demise, had been removed. Few men have possessed so profound a knowledge of law, or have been so gifted with sweetness, tenderness, and zeal. He was buried amongst the Dominicans at Viterbo (1268), and upon his tomb reclines the graceful figure of S. Hedwige, whom, in his lifetime, he had catalogued amongst the Saints.

During all this period the great Angelical was living in his own ideal world, not so as to be useless to mankind, but so as to effect a work which, in its very first appearance, created a most unusual sensation. No sooner was the *Prima Pars* of the *Summa* published than the authorities of the various schools of Italy and France perceived it to be a book of priceless value. Many were the petitions made to the Saint to lecture, many the earnest efforts to secure his services in universities and schools.† But his obligations at Bologna retained him at his post. So high a *prestige* did his new work lend to the Dominicans, that simply on account of the reputation of S. Thomas many new foundations were commenced, and the power and the position of the Friars were greatly strengthened. For example, Archbishop Matthew della Porta, who had been the Saint's disciple, purely out of veneration for his master founded the Convent of S. Maria della Porta at Salerno; whilst the Abbot of Monte Cassino, at the Angelical's own request, and with the unanimous consent of a Synod of the clergy, established another House at San Germano.‡

During the interregnum which ensued between the death of Pope Clement and the election of a successor, S. Thomas went

* See Artaud de Montor's *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes*, Tom. III., p. 22—23.

† "Il n'y a donc point de quoi s'étonner, que des écrits de ce caractère, réveillant dans le cœur de ceux qui les lisoient, les plus justes sentimens d'estime pour leur Auteur, aient fait naître en même tems le desir de le voir, et de l'entendre lui-même. Comme les Villes de la Grece se disputoient autrefois l'honneur d'avoir été la Patrie du Prince des Poëtes, celles de l'Italie, et de presque tous les Royaumes Chrétiens, marquoient une semblable émulation, pour se procurer l'avantage de recevoir celui, qui est appelé à juste titre, l'Auge des Ecoles, et le Prince des Théologiens." (Toumou, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. V., p. 224.)

‡ "Der Bischof Cäsarius von Salerno wies den Dominikanern eine Kirche zu, sammt den dazu gehörigen Gebäuden, Gärten und sonstigen Appertinenzen an, aus Hochachtung vor den Verdiensten des Ordens—wie es in der Dotationsurkunde heisst—und aus besonderer Werthschätzung des verehrungswürdigen Mannes, des Bruders Thomas; in diesem neu gestifteten Kloster wurde später eine Hand vom Leichname des heiligen Thomas als Reliquie bewahrt, und seine Schwester Theodora, Gräfin von Sanseverino, beigesetzt. Der Abt Bernhard von Monte Cassino räumte dem Predigerorden in San Germano eine Stätte ein, um zu seiner eigenen Freude Thomas' Wünschen sich willfährig zu zeigen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 512.)

for a time to Paris. He had already spent three years lecturing in Bologna. During this period he had been actively employed on the second part of the "*Summa Theologica*."

He appears to have been called to France for several reasons. In the first place a general Chapter of the Order was about to be held in Paris (1269), at which many nice points of theology were to be discussed; then, John of Vercelli was particularly anxious to receive the Saint's advice; whilst some affirm that he was summoned as Definitor of the Roman province, and was entrusted with a delicate mission to the King of France in connection with the condition of the Church and of the clergy.

The king, who at this time was about to set out on his second crusade, received the Angelical with exceptional marks of reverence and affection. Anyone who has studied, ever so superficially, the character of that tender-hearted, just, and gentle monarch, so full of genuine heroism, so bright a picture of high chivalry and of the *cuor gentil*, will at once perceive how close a bond there must have been between him and the Angelical.* Who, in history, has ever read of so priestly a prince, and of so princely a Dominican? Naturally of lofty mind, nurtured from his tenderest infancy by a mother who was a Saint, formed on the highest model—his one striving was to promote his people's greatest good, to maintain truth, to foster justice, and to avenge wrong.

"Indeed he seems to me

Scarce other than my own ideal knight,

'Who revered his conscience as his king;

Whose glory was redressing human wrong;

Who spoke no slander—no, nor listened to it."

There is no question that the bloom of such a character as his was brought to its full perfection through the influence of such men as S. Bonaventure and S. Thomas.† Both king and priest were chosen souls and governing spirits, each in his own special sphere; S. Louis in the active, ruling a kingdom; S. Thomas in the contemplative, dealing with high theories of philosophy.‡

* How familiar they were, and how the king treated the friar, comes out in the following:—"Fuit præterea predictus Doctor consilio providus, quia consequens erat, ut, qui divina cognosceret, de humanis certissime judicaret. Qui licet a temporalibus negotiis et mundanis miro modo esset extraneus, quia divinis rebus totaliter erat intentus; tamen cum intellectum suum speculativum, requisitus in consilio, ad agibilia et temporalia convertit, tam subtiliter et utiliter consultabat, quasi videretur quis consilium requisivisse divinum; utpote qui illas regulas habebat præ oculis, a quibus omne, quod humanitas agitur, divinitus diffunditur. Unde de illustri Rege Francie S. Ludovico dicitur, quod semper in rebus arduis dicti Doctoris requirebat consilium, quod frequenter expertus fuerat esse certum: ut intrinsece in hoc perpendere-tur sanctitas, et Illustris Regis, quod in dubiis Doctorem consulendum requireret, et sancti Doctoris, qui divino Spiritu, quid esset verius, responderet." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap.* *VI.*, n. 36, p. 689.)

† There is little doubt regarding the influence of the Angelical:—"Dicitur, quod, cum primo Parisiis de aliquibus arduis et necessariis in crastino deberet habere consilium, de sero mandabat predicto Doctore, ut illa nocte super dubio imminutis casus mente intenderet, ut, quod esset utile respondendum, in crastino cogitaret: quod vir obediens, sicut mandatum receperat, sic implebat." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap.* *VI.*, n. 36, p. 689.)

‡ How like S. Louis and S. Thomas were is evident from this single passage:—"Cette âme tendre et pieuse, blessée au dehors dans tous ses amours, se retirait au dedans et cherchait en

Besides fulfilling certain important duties, the Angelical now took up his old position as professor at S. James's; and during two years dazzled the students and the lively Parisian citizens by the depth and maturity of his mind, which now combined the highest gifts of ripe and educated genius with the mellow experience of many years.

The subject-matter of his lectures appears to have had a two-fold scope: that of preparing and clarifying principles and reasonings towards the completion of the "*Summa Theologica*," and that of striking with vigorous boldness at the prominent errors of the day.* The calm majesty of that great intellect gathered up the follies and aberrations of human pride, and then before the most keen-sighted audience in the world brilliantly displayed their inconsequence, and still more brilliantly (because it was more difficult) drew out a plan of Christian truth, solid, united, compact, which thoroughly satisfied the reason by the severity of its process, and pleased the imagination by the harmony and oneness of its parts.†

First, there was the still-threatening heresy of Averroës, which acted with a strange fascination on the mediæval mind.‡ Against this the Angelical brought forth his questions on the human soul: he showed its true nature and position, he manifested its relations to the lower world of sense and to the superior world of spirit, and by the unanswerable cogency of his logic, and the clearness of his exposition, aimed a mortal blow at a deadly system of philosophy. Then he launched out straight at that insidious foe of all soaring minds, pantheism, in his questions on the power of God.§ The relations of creature and Creator are here determined: God's power is studied in His external acts, and creatures are proved to be the effects of His almighty power, not parts of, or emanations from, Himself. Then the Saint discussed a subject bearing on the union of the Word with the created substance,—as the point of con-

soi. La lecture et la contemplation devinrent toute sa vie. Il se mit à lire l'Écriture et les Pères, surtout saint Augustin. Il fit copier manuscrits, se forma une bibliothèque: c'est de ce faible commencement que la Bibliothèque Royale devait sortir. Il se faisait faire lectures plénaires pendant le repas, et le soir au moment de s'endormir. Il ne pouvait rassasier son cœur d'oraisons et de prières. Il restait souvent si longtemps prosterné, qu'en se relevant, dit l'historien, il était saisi de vertige, et disait tout bas aux chambellans: 'On aulà-je?' Il craignait d'être entendu de ses chevaliers." (Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Tom. III., Liv. IV., Première moitié du XIII. Siècle, p. 478—479; Bruzelles, 1846.)

* Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. VI., p. 222.

† Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXV., p. 318.

‡ See *First Vol. of this work*, Chap. XVII., p. , sqq.

§ "Es war das letzte Mal, dass Thomas in Paris sich aufhielt; dringende Bitten hielten ihn für zwei Jahre daselbst fest. Er veröffentlichte hier einen grossen Theil seiner "*Questiones disputatæ*" nämlich die "*Questiones de anima*," "*de potentia*," "*de creaturis spiritibus*," "*de virtutibus*," "*de malo*;" Endlich gehört in diese Zeit auch die "*responsio ad Joannem Veronensem de 42 Articulis*." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 512; Cf. Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXV., p. 318; Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. VI., p. 223; see also Chap. IX., p. , of this Volume.)

tact between the Infinite and the finite,—and thus a species of Manichæism, which had considerable hold on many minds, was combated and overthrown; and finally he handled important questions regarding vice and virtue, dwelling upon the true notion of evil, showing forth the weighty responsibility which lies on every rational creature, and displaying the reach of those duties which are incumbent on men as members of society.*

The Angelical's work was by no means simply theoretical. He drew out theory to serve for practice, and this becomes evident on reading the theological decisions which were formally promulgated by Bishop Stephen Tempier. This accomplished prelate assembled a body of divines in 1270 to discuss the various philosophical and theological errors of the day, and to suggest some means of stemming the rationalism and irreverence of the schools.† The work of this learned meeting was summed up in a document of great importance, in which the principal false maxims and theses which had infested the University were drawn out in order and condemned.‡ Now these maxims and theses are the very same against which S. Thomas had been combating with all his energy for many years, not only at Bologna, but at S. James's; and there is little doubt that the stringent measures taken by the Bishop Tempier were in great part owing to the skill with which the great Angelical had displayed in their true light the insidious bearings of those poisonous propositions.

Having fulfilled his duties at S. James's, the Saint gave up his chair to his friend Br. Romanus and betook himself to Bologna, where he was to bring out the second part of the "*Summa Theologica*."§

After two years of labour, the *Prima Secundæ* and the *Secunda Secundæ* appeared, that is to say, the second grand

* "Septem verba e cruce protulit [Christus], octavum ad Thomæ laudem immortalem: Bene scripsisti de me Thoma! Bene quia scripsisti nihil quod doctrine mee non sit prorsus consentaneum. Bene scripsisti, quia ad majorem nominis mei gloriam, ecclesiæque defensionem meæ studia tua ac opera collucent universa. Bene scripsisti; siquidem tuus, ut eruditorum plurimorum calamus, luani gloriæ servit numquam, sed semper charitati. Felix ille calamus tuus machina est, per quam structura charitatis ascendit. (Verba S. Augustini.) Bene de me scripsisti in libris Sententiarum in libris contra Gentes, in questionibus disputatis et quodlibetis, in opusculis, in scripturas sacre Complementariis, in Summa, ubique perpetuo. Bene scripsisti de me ut Deo, ut homine, ut redemptore, ut legislatore, ut Judice. Bene de mysteriis, operibus, præceptisque meis. Bene de omnibus quæ vitam spectant meam, divinam, mortalem, gloriosam." (Natalis Alexander, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Tom. XVI., Appendix, Panegyricus S. Thomæ, p. 787—788.)

† See the swarm of deadly errors mentioned in the *First Volume of this work*, Chap. XVII., p. 220—225, seq.

‡ See Burelle, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Chap. XXV., p. 319; Cf. Du Boulay, *Hist. Universit. Tom. III.*, p. 397; *Biblioth. PP.*, Tom. IV., p. 1143.)

§ "Im Jahre 1271 kehrte er wieder nach Bologna zurück, und veröffentlichte sofort den zweiten Theil seiner theologischen Summe, der die christliche Sittenlehre enthält, und an Umfang und systematischer Durchbildung Alles hinter sich zurückliess, was vor ihm über diesen Gegenstand geschrieben worden war." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p. 513.)

division of the "*Summa*," which is sub-divided, one half being called the *First of the Second*, and the other the *Second of the Second*.*

This grand division forms the main body of that mighty superstructure which the Angelical erected on the foundations he had laid two years before; and just as the second part is founded logically in the first, so the second portion of the second part is grounded in the first portion, which occupies four hundred and sixty pages. God and His divine works were treated of in the fundamental part of the "*Summa*;" now man, the image of God, whose end is the contemplation of the Divine Essence in the world to come, becomes the subject of a most searching analysis.

First his happiness or end is determined, which does not consist in riches, honours, glory, power, pleasure or any other corporeal, spiritual, or created good, but alone in the contemplation of the Divine Essence. Man, made by God, is placed in this world to pass through it, and to enjoy eventually for all eternity that one inebriating delight which never fails as it never satiates.†

He is to attain this paradise by making use of his free will in co-operating with grace: he can either tend towards his own eternal happiness or recede from it: he can be either saved or lost. Hence human actions are treated in reference to the freedom of the will, and in relation to the goodness or malice which belongs to them. Then the passions, which act with such force upon human nature, are discussed, first in general, then in particular. Love, its causes, its effects; hatred and pleasure, concupiscence and its influences; sorrow or pain, with its causes, effects, and remedies, with its goodness and its malice;

* Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis, *Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ*. The Saint explains his scope in his *Prologus*, which runs thus:—"Quia, sicut Damascenus dicit, lib. 2 orth. Fid., Cap. 12, a principio, homo factus ad imaginem Dei dicitur, secundum quod per imaginem significatur intellectuale, et arbitrio liberum, et per se potestativum; postquam prædictum est de exemplari, scilicet de Deo, et de his que processerunt ex divina potestate secundum ejus voluntatem, restat ut consideremus de ejus imagine, idest, de homine, secundum quod et ipse est suorum operum principium, quasi liberum arbitrium habens, et suorum operum principium, quasi liberum arbitrium habens, et suorum operum potestatem." (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Prologus, p. I., Vol. II.*)

† In secunda parte Summæ, quam propter ejus magnitudinem Anctor in duas partitus est (et ob id Primam secundæ et Secundam secundæ frequenter audis) de homine potissimum agit; et hoc profecto, quatenus suorum operum libero arbitrio, quo præditus est, principium est, et potestatem habet. Et quia gratia finis cuncta finit, ob id a consideratione finis scribendi initium in Prima secundæ cepit: de quo, primum quidem in communi disputat, ac postea de eo seorsum, qui felicitas et beatitudo nuncupatur, prioribus quinquæ questionibus tractat . . . Et subinde a 6. questione ad 22. de actionibus humanis . . . At vero a 22. usque ad 43. tractat de perturbationibus animæ . . . nobis et brutis communibus. A 48. autem, ab actibus tui homini propriis, tum illi cum bestiis communibus . . . ad principia illorum ascendit: quorum geminum internum esse videtur potentia visum, et habitus; alia externa, Deus . . . ac Diabolus. Sed omnino præterit potentium . . . atque 49. questione de habitibus persecutionem aggreditur, antiquioribus Patribus vel prorsus incognitam, vel perfunctorie, et veluti per transcursum significatam. Quibus primum in universali examinatis, moxque in particulari, nempe his, quæ virtutes dicuntur; et postremo cum declarasset, quæ vitia sigillatim singulis humanis opponuntur usque ad 89. questionem, mox in 90. adornat instructionem de externis humanarum operationum principis." (Hieronymi Vielmi, de *Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p. 118.*)

then hope, despair, and fear, with its object, cause, and effects, together with anger and audacity, come under consideration. Next, the principles of moral actions are developed; these are either internal or external; and as the moral capacities or faculties of man are treated of in the first part of the "*Summa*,"* so here, in this second part, man's habits come under discussion, first in general, then in particular, as directing man to God or as turning him away from lasting happiness. Inasmuch as they act in the first direction they are moral, inasmuch as they energize in the second they are immoral; these two great divisions of ethic force are treated of, first in general, and then in detail.† For example, the moral virtues are discussed according to their essence and their subject: intellectual and moral virtues are compared, and the latter are distinguished according to their relation to the passions and to each other; then the cardinal, and next the theological virtues are considered; and the cause, means, connection, equality, and duration of virtue then come under observation; and finally the gifts, beatitudes, and fruits of the Spirit are analyzed in three successive questions. Having shown the nature and connection of the influences which lead man to the Beatific vision, the Angelical next treats of those elements which draw away from God. Amongst the external causes which are fruitful of evil, original sin is especially mentioned.‡ The external principle of evil deeds is Satan, the external principle of good is God. God teaches man by Law—which is divided into the "Eternal," the "Natural," the "Human," the "Old," and the "New" Law—whilst He supports him by His grace, which is treated *in se*, and according to its causes and operations; and finally merit is spoken of, which is the effect of co-operating grace.§

In this first division of the second part of the "*Summa Theo-*

* Videlius continnes thus:—"Et præterita Demouum mentione, quod in priori parte copiose de illis discussisset, rursum de Deo ea ratione agit, quod cum duplici veluti organo uti videatur ad docendos homines ad virtutes; legibus uimur, et gratia . . . primum de legibus, a 90. questione ad 108 . . . postremo de gratia necessitate, essentia, partitionibus, causis, et effectibus usque ad 114. questionem, quæ postrema est, ipse plenus gratia, magna cum laude docet." (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 119.)

† Take examples:—*Questio XLIX.*—De habitibus in generali, quoad eorum substantiam: *Art. 1.* Utrum habitus sit qualitas; 2. Utrum habitus sit determinata species qualitatis; 3. Utrum habitus importet ordinem ad actum; 4. Utrum sit necessarium esse habitum. (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ*, p. 169—173; *Vol. II.*) Again: *Questio L.*—De subjecto habituum: *Art. 1.*—Utrum in corpore sit aliquis habitus; 2. Utrum animi sit subjectum habitus secundum suam essentiam, vel secundum suam potentiam; 3. Utrum in potentiis sensitivæ partis possit esse aliquis habitus; 4. Utrum in ipso intellectu sit aliquis habitus; 5. Utrum in voluntate sit aliquis habitus; 6. Utrum in Angelis sit aliquis habitus. (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 173—178.) Or this:—*Questio LV.*—De virtutibus quantum ad eorum essentias: *Art. 1.*—Utrum virtus humana sit habitus; 2. Utrum virtus humana sit habitus operativus; 3. Utrum virtus humana sit habitus bonus; 4. Utrum virtus convenienter definiatur. (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 189—191.)

‡ See Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 812.

§ "Die vornehmsten Auctoritäten dieses ganzen ersten Theiles der Moral sind Aristoteles und Augustinus; in der Lehre vom Gesetze tritt neben ihnen mehrere Male Isidor von Sevilla (*Etymolog.* lib. V.) bedeutsam hervor, auch Cicero und die einleitenden Erörterungen des *Decretum Gratiani* werden aus dieser Veranlassung öfter citirt." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 812.)

logica" man, his end, the instrument by which he is to attain it, the obstacles in the way, the helps towards it, are all fully brought forward and held up to view: in the second division, in the *Secunda Secundæ*, upon the basis already laid, the Angelical completes and perfects the structure which he had begun, and manifests the full compass of his thought, together with a keenness of analysis, subtlety of perception, and a breadth of intuition, which bear upon them the stamp of a supernatural revelation. This *Secunda Secundæ* occupies over six hundred and sixty pages.* Never has more piercing vision been displayed, never a steadier hand, or a sharper eye, or a wider range, or a deeper knowledge of human nature. As the first division treated of virtue in general, here it is considered more in detail. It is divided into seven leading headings—the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the four cardinal ones of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance.

He speaks first of Faith, as an act, as a virtue, as a habit, of its cause and its effect; then of the graces of knowledge and science, which correspond to it; of the opposing vices, such as infidelity, heresy, apostasy, blasphemy, and blindness of mind; and finally of faith, science, and knowledge in relation to precept.

Hope is dealt with in the same way: hope as it is in itself and those who have part in it, and the gift of fear, which is the grace corresponding to it; the vices opposed to it, such as des-

* *Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica Secunda Secundæ*. p. 1—668; Vol. III. The Prologus gives in the Angelical's own words the scope of this masterpiece:—"Post communem considerationem de virtutibus et vitiis, et aliis ad materiam moralem pertinentibus, necesse est considerare singula in speciali. Sermones enim morales universales minus sunt utiles, eo quod actiones in particularibus sunt. Potest autem aliquid in speciali considerari circa moralia dupliciter: nunc modo ex parte materie ipsius moralis, puta cum consideratur de hac virtute vel hoc vicio; alio modo quantum ad speciales status hominum, puta cum consideratur de subditis et Prelatis, de activis et contemplativis vel quibuscunque aliis differentiis hominum. Primo ergo considerabimus specialiter de his que pertinent ad omnes hominum status; secundo vero specialiter de his que pertinent ad determinatos status. Est autem considerandum circa primum, quod si secusum deteriorationem de virtutibus, donis, vitiis et preceptis, oportet idem multoties dicere. Qui enim sufficienter vult tractare de hoc precepto: *Non mechaaberis*, necesse habet inquirere de adulterio, quod est quoddam peccatum, cuius etiam cognitio dependet ex cognitione oppositis vitiis. Erat ergo compendiosior et expeditior considerandi via, si simul sub eodem tractatu consideratio procedat de virtute et dono sibi correspondente, et vitiis oppositis, et preceptis affirmativis vel negativis."

"Erat autem hic considerationis modus conveniens ipsis vitiis secundum propriam speciem. Ostensum est enim supra, 1—2, qu. 18, 72 et 73, quod vitia et peccata diversificantur specie secundum materiam vel objectum, non autem secundum alias differentias peccatorum, puta cordis, oris et operis; vel secundum infirmitatem, ignorantiam et malitiam, et alias huiusmodi differentias. Est autem eadem materia circa quam et virtus recte operatur, et vitia opposita a rectitudine recedunt. Sic ergo, tota materia morali ad considerationem virtutum reducta, omnes virtutes sunt ulterius reducendæ ad septem: quarum tres sunt theologice, de quibus primo est agendum; alie vero quatuor sunt cardinales, de quibus posterius agetur. Virtutum autem intellectuum una quidem est prudentia, que inter cardinales virtutes continetur et numeratur. Ars vero non pertinet ad scientiam moralem, quæ circa agibilia veratur, cum ars sit *recta ratio factibilium*, ut supra dictum est, 1—2, qu. 57, art. 3 et 4. Alie vero tres intellectuales virtutes, scilicet sapientia, intellectus et scientia, commendantur etiam in nomine eum donis quibusdam Spiritus sancti. Unde simul etiam de eis considerabitur in consideratione donorum virtutibus correspondentium. Alie vero virtutes morales omnes aliquiditer reducuntur ad virtutes cardinales, ut ex supra dictis patet, 1—2, qu. 61, art. 3. Unde in consideratione alieque virtutis cardinalis considerabuntur etiam omnes virtutes ad eam qualitercumque pertinentes, et vitia opposita. Et sic nihil moralium erit pretermissum." (*Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Summe Theologicæ Secunda Secundæ, Prologus, p. 1, Vol. III.*)

pair and presumption ; and those precepts which bear a certain relation to hope and to fear occupy a considerable space.

Then comes the great treatise on Charity, which is the only force which can lead man to his end, without which all else is dead, and which is handled here by the Angelical in that masterful manner which especially belongs to him. First he shows what charity is in itself, where it resides, how it comes, and whether it can be increased : next he treats of the object of it, pointing out who are to be loved, and in what order ; then its principal acts, love, joy, peace, mercy, beneficence, alms-deeds, fraternal correction ; whilst their opposites, hatred, sloth, envy, discord, contention, schism, war, quarrels, sedition, and scandal, are analyzed in as many essays ; and, finally, those precepts are pointed out which have a bearing upon charity ; and the gift of wisdom and the sins of folly are discussed.*

The Cardinal virtues come next in order ;—Prudence, considered absolutely, its integral and subjective parts, its concomitant virtues, its corresponding graces ; imprudence, negligence, and prudence of the flesh, which stand opposed to it, as well as those precepts which bring it to bear upon mankind. Justice in itself is handled in four questions, its parts in fifty-nine ; then piety, its corresponding gift, and the precepts which follow from it. Regarding justice in itself, right, justice, injustice, and judgment, are fully worked out, whilst the subjective elements of justice occupy eleven questions, its integral parts one, and its potential relations forty. The subjective elements or species of justice are denominated distributive and commutative. The opposite of the first consists in the unjust exception of persons ; the opposites of the second are homicide, mutilation, and robbery, together with unjust judgment, accusation, witness, and defence ; and outside the tribunal, contumely, detraction, murmuring, derision, and malediction. Sins against free commutative justice are fraud and usury.† Under the potential division of

* This is how Vielmus explains the *Secunda Secundæ*:—"In *Secunda secundæ* vero, tamquam a genere ad species confestim descendit. Nam cum de virtutibus, et eorum oppositis vitiis, quæ et peccata dicuntur, deque aliis ad moralem materiam pertinentibus, communem et universalem considerationem in *Prima secundæ* fecisset : operæ pretium se facturum putavit, si præterea ad omnia in species suas dispartiret, et sigillatim doceret. Etenim actionibus humanis obeundis (quod circa particularia versentur) universales doctrinæ morales minus prosunt : proinde de virtutibus, et vitiis seorsum, ac speciatim sibi agendum suscepit." (*De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p. 119.*)

† Vielmus gives the order of the *Secunda Secundæ* thus:—"Agit autem primo de virtutibus Theologicis, fide, spe, et charitate, a prima questione, usque ad 46. nam de fide, illicque correspondentibus, 16. questionibus prioribus tractat ; de spe subinde, a 17. usque ad 22. de charitate confestim, a 23 ad 46. usque. Jam vero in 47. de moralibus, quæ Cardinales vocantur, quod elasticæ sint ad 182. usque edisserit ; huncque tenorem servat, ut a notioribus ubique progrediatur, hoc est, ab objectis ad actus, et ab actibus ad imbutus, subjecta, causas, effectus, tam internos, quam externos, quorum posteriores fructus quoque vocantur ; et inde ad eorum opposita, partitiones, et affectiones. Principem autem moralium virtutum prudentiam, quæ etiam virtus intellectualis est, a questione 47. ad 56. explicat ; deinde in 57. agit de iustitia, usque ad 122. in qua reperies tractationem nobilissimam de religione In 123. questione de fortitudine agit, usque ad 170. de temperantia docet." (*Loc. Cit., p. 120.*)

justice are religion, devotion, prayer, sacrifice, oblations, tithes, vows, oaths, and their opposites, such as superstition, including idolatry and divination, then tempting God, perjury, sacrilege, and simony; next piety, observance, *dulia*, obedience, disobedience, ingratitude, vindication, truth and its opposites, friendship, liberality, avarice, prodigality and equity, come under discussion.

Fortitude is next in order, and is treated in its essence, martyrdom being its highest manifestation, and in its parts—magnanimity, magnificence, patience, and perseverance; their opposites, the precepts attached, and the special gift, are developed. Then come Temperance in itself, its opposites, its parts in general and in particular; shame, honesty, abstinence, fasting, gluttony, sobriety, drunkenness, chastity, virginity, luxury, and its divisions; then the potential parts of temperance, continence and meekness, modesty and humility. Upon this follow pride the source of sin, and the sin of our first parents, their punishment and temptation; finally studiousness as a part of temperance, curiosity and modesty, and those precepts which have to do with temperance.*

Having dwelt on the several virtues incumbent on man if he would arrive at the Beatific Vision, the Angelical goes on to treat of those special virtues which are principally accorded to mankind for the benefit of others, and of the two main conditions of human life; and by this means the Saint advances towards the realization of his ideal of the most perfect state and the most perfect man. The different ministries in the Church of Christ are in accordance with the various vocations amongst Christians, and the two principal conditions of life are the active and the contemplative, whilst the several ministries are those of apostles, prophets, and evangelists, of pastors and doctors. With respect to prophecy the Saint dwells on its cause, the mode of prophetic knowledge, and on its division; for instance, on rapture, especially in connection with S. Paul, on the gifts of tongues, on speech, and on miracles.†

* Vielmus continues thus:—"Cumque virtutes Theologicæ, et Morales, quas enumeravimus, ad hominum omnium status et conditiones spectare videantur; aliquæ sunt præterea Dei dona, quæ non omnibus, sed seorsum aliquibus in Ecclesiæ beneficium Deus impertiri solet. de his quoque explicare abinde eo ordine properat, ut principem locum tribuat illis, quæ ad cognitionem, qualis est prophetia; secundum illis, quæ ad eloquentiam, ut donum linguarum, sermonis, scientiæ, et sapientiæ; tertium illis, quæ ad operationem, cujusmodi est gratia miraculorum, pertinent; et de his quidem a 171. usque ad 178. tractat. Porro quia homines inter se, non virtutibus solum, et gratis gratis datis, verum etiam operationum studiis, et officiorum multiplicitate, ac varietate statuum differunt; Ideo . . . ad vitam contemplativam, et activam expendendum . . . sese transfert, a 179. questione videlicet, usque ad 182. postremoque officia, et status, qui personarum obligationem quandam ducunt, a 183. ad calcem operis, hoc est, ad 189. usque absolvit." (*Loc. Cit.*, p. 120—121.)

† Vielmus finishes thus:—"In qua explicatione de illis in genere primum agit, deinde ad statum perfectionis descendit, et inde ad statum Episcoporum, et Religiosorum. Ubi quid Episcopi sint, quidve Religiosi; quæque eorum professioni, et ordini conveniant; quomodo secerantur Religiones, et quid agere debeant, abunde edocet. Et hic finem felicissimum impo-

The whole movement of the "*Summa Theologica*" is towards the Beatific Vision of God, which will be the occupation of man's eternity; and to tend towards it is the paramount duty and the one supreme interest of man on earth. And, in drawing out the difference between the active and contemplative life, the Angelical is but giving the key to all that has gone before, and is simply manifesting the *rationale* of that complicated moral machinery of which in part the broad outline has been indicated in the preceding pages. The entire Patristic spirit is here displayed by him at its fullest and its best;* the great classic Fathers, who have been mentioned as furnishing the principal traditionary elements to the "*Summa*," when the Angelical treats of these two states in combination, seem to be vividly brought before the mind, and we recognize in their lives and characters typical specimens of that perfection which he has so marvellously thrown into system in this master-work. It would almost appear that he kept them before his mind's eye as models, just as the sculptor in his choicest works is ever casting a glance at some unrivalled torso of Grecian art, so as to impregnate his fancy with the genius of the conception, without servilely imitating each mechanical motion of the chisel.† Or he would seem, whilst sketching his own ideal man, to be unconsciously portraying those characteristics which rendered him Angelical, and one of the fairest figures of moral beauty to be met in the annals of the Saints. Who ever realized in his life with such exquisite exactness his own high idea of a divine man, as the Angel of the Schools? Who ever married so harmoniously that splendid combination of intense and sustained

nit secundæ parti, quam Gerson omnium scriptis, qui materiam Moralem hanc tractarunt, præferre non gravate quoque videtur; est enim perspicua, locuples, et subtilis, et, ut ego arbitror, Aristotelis Moralia longius, quam censere quisquam possit, ordine et copia antecellit. Neque tot oppugnationes habuit hæc pars, quot priores habuerunt. Unus Martinus Magister Parisiensis Patrum memoria fuit, qui eam allenbi notare ausus est; sed ejus nentis Cardinalis Cajetanus diserte ac copiose retrudit, ac plane longius expolit." (*De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis*, Lib. II., p. 121.)

* Cardinal Toletus explains the scope of the whole *Summa* most accurately:—"Fecit [S. Thomas] etiam aliud opus natura jam ætate, quod *Summa Theologica* dicitur, in qua ordine Magistri recessit, et miro ordine, brevitate et gravitate res theologicas discussit; opus quidem utilissimum, et nunquam satis laudatum, quod in tres divisum est partes, quarum primam exponendam suscepimus hoc anno. Ut autem hujus divisionis aliquam reddamus rationem, adverte de Deo duplicem esse cognitionem; alteram de eo respective, ut causa est omnium. Est autem causa non quidem materialis, aut formæ; sed efficiens et finalis. Quamvis autem sit omnium finalis; tamen modo peculiariter est finalis solius creature rationalis, quatenus ipsi per gratiam et gloriam proponitur obtinendus et communicandus. Consideratio ergo erit triplex de Deo, et secundum se, et ut causa efficiens est, et ut causa finalis creatura rationalis, maxime hominis, qui pluribus mediis indiget ad suum finem consequendum, plurimque habet impedimenta. Juxta hæc considerationem S. Thomas processit: nam in prima parte de Deo secundum se, et ut omnium est causa efficiens per creationem egit, et simul etiam de eo, ut est causa finalis generalis omnium; in aliis vero duabus partibus, ut est causa finalis hominis: quæ consideratio in hoc versatur, puta in ostendendis mediis, quibus homo ad suum hunc finem pervenit. Et quia media sunt duplicia, intrinseca, qualia sunt virtutes morales et Theologice; et extrinseca, qualia sacramenta et Verbi divini incarnatio; in secunda parte tractavit de virtutibus omnibus in generali et in particulari, et de vitiis oppositis, quia eadem est doctrina contrariorum. In tertia vero parte de incarnatione et sacramentis; et tandem de resurrectione et copulatione cum fine." (Vid. Francisci Toleti in *Sum. Theolog. S. Thom. Aquin. Enarratio*, Tom. I., præfatus, p. 5-6.)

* See *Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin*. Dr. Dominicus Mettenleiter's *Einleitung*, p. 26-27.

contemplation with the outpouring of purest wisdom for the benefit of others, as this Prince of Theologians? Who so profoundly versed in things of God, in the knowledge of fundamental truth, and at the same time so tender towards others, so great a benefactor to the human race, as this Doctor of the Blessed Sacrament? Whose charity to man was so overflowing with divine affection, whose love to God was so burning, so consuming, as that which flamed in his seraphic heart, shone like a sun upon his breast, and brightened on his brow with the effulgence of Paradise itself?*

Read what he says of that great gift which in its measure made him what he was:—

The Lord says in the tenth chapter and forty-second verse of S. Luke: "Mary hath chosen the best part which shall not be taken away from her." Now "Mary" signifies the contemplative life, and therefore it is more excellent than the active:† that is to say, the contemplative life, absolutely considered, is more excellent than the active; and this the Philosopher proves in the tenth book of *Ethics*, by eight arguments, thus: (1) because the contemplative life brings the noblest faculty of man into play, that is, the intellect, and is occupied with spiritual things, whereas the active life is engaged in external occupations.‡ Hence "Rachel," by which the contemplative life is signified, is said to mean vision of God [*visum principium*],§ whilst the active is figured by Lia, who, as S. Gregory says in his book of *Morals*,|| was bleary-eyed: (2) because the contemplative life can be more sustained than the active, though not in its highest degree;¶ hence Mary, who represented the contemplative life, is described as sitting assiduously at the feet of the Lord: (3) because there is more pleasure in the contemplative than in the active life, and it was this that made S. Augustine say that "whilst Martha was troubled, Mary rejoiced:"** (4) because in the contemplative life man is more independent of others, since those who practise it experience fewer wants; hence it is said in S. Luke: "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and

* Professor Gibelli speaks eloquently on the merits of the Summa:—"Ivi [nella Summa] la filosofia sgombra d'ogni luganuevol velo, sincera e schietta di forme, posto giù l'usato orgoglio, è lieta di servire alla teologia, la quale si mostra irraggiata del suo divino splendore; la Ragione e la Fede fanno di sé, ciascuna secondo sua natura, bellissima ed oltreinirabil mostra. Qualunque più astrusa controversia, qualunque più malagevol questione, che mai possa occorrere a mente umana quanto o alla ontologia, o alla ideologia, o alla paleologia, o alla teologia potentissima o alla dogmatica o all'ascetica e vattene là, quivi si trova diluita, e si veggono della vera acutezza le prove e le riprove. In somma quest'Opera, vero tesoro di sapienza, argomento nuziale anzi che raro della potenza dell'umano ingegno avvalorato da sopraccelte grazie a tale per ogni rispetto che può solo essere lodata dal più Dotto de'Santi, e dal più Santo de'Dotti." (*Vita, Cap. XXV.*, p. 95—96.)

† *Opp. Omnia S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Vol. III., Summæ Theologicæ Secunda Secundæ, Questio CLXXXII., Art. I., p. 699; Ed. Parm.*

‡ *Quest. CLXXX., Art. VIII. ad 2; et Quest. præc. Art. IV., ad 3.*

§ "Rachel vero ovis, vel videns principium (ut Rachel dicitur quasi raa chel, id est, vidit principium) interpretatur; quia contemplativi simplices et innocentes sunt sicut oves, at ab omni tumultu seculi alieni ut videant illum qui ait: Ego sum principium qui loquor vobis." (*Vid. Cornelli a Lapide Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram, Tom. I. In Genesim, Cap. XXXIX., n. 28, p. 245. Parisiis, MDCCCLIV.*)

|| *Morat., Lib. VI., Cap. XVIII., à princ.*

¶ All the great Church bishops were the same. Bishop Ensebius of Verecelli (340—371) set the first example of monastic living. He introduced *Vita Communis* amongst his clergy. S. Martin of Tours (373—400) followed his example: from S. Augustine the practice spread into Italy, Gaul, and Spain. In fact, total abandonment of the world was looked upon as one of the first conditions for converting it. (For further information see Gluzel, *kanonische Lebensweise der Geistlichen*, p. 19; Regensburg, 1851.)

** *Lib. De Verbis Dom., Sermon. XXVI., Cap. II., ante med.* [See *Opp. Omnia S. Augustini, Vol. V., Sermo CIV.*, p. 616—619, Migne.]

troubled about many things:”* (5) because the contemplative life is loved more for its own sake, whilst the active is directed towards others.† Hence it is said in the Psalm: “One thing have I asked of the Lord, this will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life; that I may see the delight of the Lord:”‡ (6) because the contemplative life consists in a certain rest and repose, according to the Psalm: “Be still and see that I am God;”§ (7) because the contemplative life has to do with divine things, the active with human affairs. Hence S. Augustine || says: “‘In the beginning was the Word’—behold whom it was that Mary heard: ‘The Word was made Flesh’—behold whom it was that Martha served:”¶ (8) because the contemplative life has to do with that which is special to man, namely, the intellect, whilst those powers which we have in common with brutes take their share in the duties of the active life. Hence, after it is said in the Psalm: “Men and beasts wilt thou preserve O Lord,” that is mentioned which is special to man, namely, “In Thy light we shall see light.”**

Our Lord adds a ninth reason when he says: “Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken from her,”†† which S. Augustine expounds thus: “Your part is not bad, but hers is better. Listen why it is better: because it shall not be taken from her: one day you shall be relieved of the burden which oppresses you, but sweetness of Truth is everlasting.”‡‡

Here, be it remarked, the three great elements which go to the construction of the “*Summa*” can be easily seen as they help in the building up of the Angelical’s synthesis of theology, —Aristotle’s *Ethics* representing Reason, S. Augustine standing for Tradition, and the words of our Lord Himself speaking with luminous distinctness, declaring the infallible teachings of the Scriptures. Whilst the pagan moral does not point beyond earth, S. Thomas points up to heaven. His spirit was too great to be satisfied with happiness that fails: he began to gaze upon the bright speck in the distance till it grew before his eyes and

* Luke X., 41.

† Even in his treatment of the mystic life the Saint keeps strictly to clear and logical method. How well Drionx speaks:—“Il évita le second [défaut] en procédant d’une façon si rigoureuse, que depuis le commencement de son vaste ouvrage jusqu’à la fin on marche de deductions en deductions d’après des principes constants et inevitables. Toutes ses divisions et toutes ses subdivisions sont justifiées par la logique la plus sévère, et il n’est pas possible de trouver un plan qui soit à la fois plus vaste, plus simple et plus naturel. Il embrasse tout, et chaque chose se trouve si parfaitement à sa place qu’on ne pense pas en parcourant ce vaste édifice qu’il soit possible d’assigner un autre ordre aux parties qui le composent.” (*La Somme Théologique de S. Thomas, Latin-Français en Regard, par M. l’Abbé Drionx, Introduction, Tome I., p. 15; Paris, 1853.*)

‡ Ps. XXVI., 4.

§ Ps. XLV., 11.

|| Drionx notices how the whole *Summa* rests upon tradition, Scripture, and reason. He fully appreciates S. Thomas’ mastery of the Fathers. “Si nous examinons le fond de l’ouvrage,” he says, “tout le monde reconnaitra qu’il n’est pas possible de trouver une connaissance plus profonde des saintes Ecritures, des Pères de l’Eglise, des décrets des conciles et des papes, de la philosophie ancienne et de toutes les sciences naturelles. . . . Saint Paul est parmi les écrivains sacrés celui qu’il cite le plus souvent. . . . Parmi les Pères il a une prédilection marquée pour saint Augustin, mais il n’en rapporte pas moins les témoignages de saint Basile, de saint Ambroise, de saint Grégoire et de tous les autres docteurs, soit qu’ils paraissent contraires au sentiment qu’il soutient, soit qu’ils le confirment. Aristote est le philosophe ancien qu’il suit de préférence, mais on voit qu’il ignore pas la doctrine des platoniciens, des stoïciens et des autres grandes écoles de la Grèce. Il a lu Cicéron, et il sait retirer de son meilleur ouvrage philosophique [les *Tusculanes*] les vérités les plus élevées qu’il renferme.” (*La Somme Théologique de S. Thomas, Latin-Français en Regard, Tome I., Introduction, § 1, p. 16.*)

¶ *Lib. De Verbis Dom., Serm. XXVI., Cap. II., circa med. [Loc. Cit.]*

** Ps. XXXIV., 8.

†† Luke X., 42.

‡‡ *Lib. de Verbis Dom. [Loc. Cit.]*

enlarged its disk, and unfolded before his contemplation into the effulgence of supernatural vision, imperfect here, yet never to be quenched, but rather to be perfected when Christ's Face shall be unveiled, and His glory shall appear.*

This second part of the "*Summa*" appeared in two large volumes, the first containing one hundred and fourteen questions, including six hundred and nineteen articles; the second nine hundred and seventeen articles, and one hundred and eighty-nine questions.†

On the appearance of the master portion of this work the General Chapter of the Dominicans, which was sitting at Florence, was besieged by applications from various universities, imploring the Fathers to send the Angelical to teach in their several schools. Bologna, fearing to lose him, did all in its power to persuade the Chapter to allow him to remain; Paris, for the third time, forwarded its warm petition; ‡ Rome intreated that the greatest of theologians should be permitted to give *éclat* to the most Christian city of the world; whilst beautiful Naples, which years ago had been dazzled and charmed by his brilliancy and virtue as a youth, and which had not forgotten his early history, more fervently than all the rest prayed the Fathers in Chapter assembled to allow Brother Thomas to return to the University of which he had been so bright an ornament, to pour out his matured knowledge as a finished theologian. Charles, King of Sicily, joined in this supplication; and it was finally decided that the wishes so earnestly expressed by so admirable a Prince should prevail over all the rest.§

The Saint therefore left Bologna for Naples, and passed some little time in the old convent of S. Sabina, where he renewed the recollection of his youthful years, when hurrying away from maternal influence at Naples, he had found peace in the palace-convent of Hyacinth and Ceslas, and comfort in the simple church where S. Dominic had loved so much to pray.||

* All the writers of the Saint's life speak of the extraordinary power that was given him of seeing things of the other world. (For example, see Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. III., p. 137.*)

† It is striking how the Angelical selects as his authorities in his *Summa* those special men who are specially strong upon the particular question under discussion. For instance, in the moral portion of the *Secunda Secundæ* there is S. Augustine; in Canon Law S. Isidore, Gratian, the *Decrees of the Popes*, and the *Corpus Juris Civilis*; in contemplation, S. Gregory the Great, S. Bernard, and Richard of S. Victor's; then in natural virtue Cicero, Sallust, Macrobius, &c.

‡ "L'Ecole de Paris faisoit ses diligences pour l'avoir une seconde ou troisième fois: elle ne manquoit pas de titres, pour exiger la préférence, puisqu'elle pouvoit toujours le regarder comme son élève, et l'un de ses plus illustres membres. On ne nous a point conservé la Lettre, qui fut écrite à ce sujet; mais dans celle, que les mêmes Docteurs écrivirent deux ans après, au Chapitre Général des FF. Prêcheurs, qui se tenoit à Lyon, et qui est rapportée dans l'Histoire de l'Université de Paris, on y fait mention de celle-ci: *Cum cum à nostro Collegio, Generali Capitulo vestro Florentiæ celebrato requisivimus instanter, proh dolor! non potuimus obtinere.* Les Romains demandoient aussi la même faveur." (Tournou, *Lib. III., Chap. VII., p. 224-225.*)

§ See Barelle, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p. 322, Quatrième Edition.*

|| See *Chap. VI., p. 56, of this work.*

Here, where his little cell still may be seen, he commenced the third part of the "*Summa*," and wrote his Commentary on Boethius.

In due course he set out for Naples, and *en route* visited his old friend, Cardinal Richard, at whose country-house he had converted two Jewish Rabbies some years before. Here he fell ill, but he speedily recovered; then his *socius*, Reginald, was attacked by a violent and dangerous fever. The Angelical applied a relic of S. Agnes to the invalid, a relic which he carried about his person in admiration of the spotlessness of the Saint, and Reginald was instantly and wholly cured.* An adequate idea of the enthusiasm of the entire population when S. Thomas entered Naples cannot be conveyed by mere description. It was, historians say, a genuine ovation. It recalls to mind the reception of S. Athanasius in Alexandria.† The whole city turned out to meet the man of God. The highway was one sea of human heads, which flowed steadily in one direction, when, touching upon the simple *cortège* of the Angelical, and surrounding him, and almost swallowing him up, it gradually flowed back towards the city. Frantic were the shouts of joy amongst the people, wildly and enthusiastically they bore their prize along towards the great convent of S. Dominic;‡ triumphant was the entry. His genius and gentleness captivated serious and learned men; the orator saw in him one possessed, if not of powers of display, of marvellous powers of persuasion; religious men in looking on him beheld the champion of their order, and a pattern to be copied only at a distance; theologians saw him, and felt that he was beyond the range of envy; kings and nobles recognized under the rough tunic of the Friar the bluest and purest blood of Italy, whilst the poorest of the poor, and the unlettered simpleton, in casting their eyes upon the great Angelical, remembered how he

* Speaking of the Angelical's faith in the intercession of the Saints, the *Vita* says:—"Delche l'essampio ne diede quel, che con Reginaldo le avvenne: imperochè essendosi infermato; e visitandolo san Tomaso, lo ritrovò dal male aggravato; e come che di perfetto medico professione faceva; prima consolandolo, acchiocchè il male comportato avesse: e poscia delle consolazioni operando i corporali; ma divini rimedij, l'essortò, che havesse ricorso alla beata Agnese, pregandola, che socorrer gli dovesse, che per i suoi meriti haverebbe ottenuto appresso all'onnipotente Dio la sanità, e li pose sopra la testa alcune reliquie della sudetta santa Agnese, che lui portava adosso del continuo, per essere molto divoto di quella Santa: e gli disse, ch'egli havesse devotione a quella benedetta Vergine: ilche fatto, l'inferno si sentì subito sano." (*Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino*, p. 30; Tourou, *Liv. III., Chap. VII.*, p. 225; Bareille, *Chap. XXV.*, p. 323.)

† See *Chap. III.*, p. 608 of this Volume.

‡ "Son entrée dans cette ville fut un véritable triomphe; et ce triomphe était d'autant plus beau, qu'il avait été plus spontané, plus universel. Toutes les classes de la société se pressèrent avec un égal enthousiasme sur les pas de Thomas d'Aquin. La gloire de cet homme répondait à tous les sentimens, à toutes les idées. Les lettrés, les grands et toute la population des écoles accouraient pour contempler la plus haute personification de la science. Le peuple lui-même se précipitait à la rencontre du génie, parce que ce génie était un religieux et un saint. La foule, émue et respectueuse, l'accompagnait jusqu'aux portes de ce convent dominicain où Thomas avait embrassé la profession religieuse." (Bareille, *Chap. XXV.*, p. 325—328.)

had abandoned all earth could offer, and all that pride of place could give, to serve God, like them, in the midst of poverty and in company of the poor.

To the Angelical himself it must have been a strange sensation to feel himself borne along in the surging frantic crowd, if he was not altogether unconscious of their jubilant applause—to find himself the idol of that hour, if he was not still serenely living in the sunlight of the upper world. Anyhow, he speedily set himself once more to his accustomed work, lecturing, preaching, contemplating, corresponding, and penning the remainder of the "*Summa Theologica*."* Here he was in his old city once again which he had known so well in early boyhood; where, as an infant, he was taken to the baths; where the bright light had shone around his brow; † where our Lady chose him for her own; ‡ and where he first learnt to love S. Dominic, and to exercise his extraordinary powers of logic and of memory. Here he was comparatively within easy distance of Rocca Sicca, San Giovanni, Loreto, Belcastro, and Cassino—of his old haunts where he had spent so many pleasant days. It almost seemed as if a pilgrim had come home again after a long absence in an alien land—home again to labour a little more, to rest, and then to die.§

During the year and a half he was at Naples, he composed several important works. He finished his Commentary on the first fifty Psalms, and did all he was destined to do to the "*Summa Theologica*." He wrote ninety questions, including five hundred and forty-nine articles of the third part: and though he did not absolutely complete his great scheme, he had, in reality, finished it in the main, after he had treated of the Incarnation, and had drawn out a scientific exposition of the knowledge, grace, and perfections of Christ, of the mysteries of His life, and of His merits and His passion.

This third part then dwells on three great subjects, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Sacraments of the New Law, and the General Judgment, thus completing the circle of salvation—beginning with God as man's Maker, and ending with Him as his Judge. And although the Angelical did not get beyond the

* See Bareille, *Chap. XXV.*, p. 323; Tournou, *Liv. III.*, *Chap. VII.*, p. 227.

† See *Vol. I. of this work*, *Chap. I.*, p. 4.

‡ See *Vol. I. of this work*, *Chap. I.*, p. 4.

§ The King not only petitioned to have the Angelical at the University of Naples, but he also paid a pension for him:—"Neapoli igitur regis stipendiis sacram disciplinam docuit usque ad vitæ exitum, et narrant historici prestitutam illi fuisse mercedem unius uclæ auri per singulos menses." (See *Ellogium Historicum*, *Opp. Omnia*, S. Thomæ Aquinatis, p. 26, *Vol. I.*) And in commemoration of the above the following inscription has been written:—"Viator, huc ingreditens siste gradum, atque venerare hanc imaginem et cathedram in qua sedens Mag. ille Thomas de Aquino de Neap. cum frequente, ut par erat, auditorum concursu, et illius sæculi felicitate admirabili, doctrinam Theologicam docebat." (*Loc. Cit.*)

Treatise on Penance, still this third part was made up of extracts from his other works. The treatment on our Lord falls into two main portions, one dwelling on His Person, the other on His life and works.*

First, S. Thomas speaks of the hypostatic union in itself, of the person assuming human nature, of the nature assumed, of the parts of human nature, and of the order of assumption ; next of the accompanying gifts, of the grace of Christ as man, and as Head of the Church ; of His knowledge in general, of the knowledge possessed by His soul, of infused and experimental knowledge, and of the power of the soul of Christ : then of the defects which He assumed as to His body, and as to His soul ; then again of the results of the union as they affect Christ himself, as to His being, His will, His operation ; as they regard the Eternal Father in respect of subjection, prayer, priesthood, adoption, predestination ; and finally as they influence us in respect of adoration, and of the Lord's mediatorial office in regard of His creatures. His work on earth, His passion, and His glorification fall under four heads : His coming into the world, His progress through the world, His going out of it, and His exaltation, which begin with the twenty-seventh and end with the fifty-ninth question.†

And in this we have an outline of the great moral instrument for forming men into Christians. Here we see the influence of the Solitaries, whose companionship was with Christ, of the Fathers who lived to Him alone, and of the great Founders of Monastic Orders, whose one end and aim was to reproduce His likeness upon the earth.[†] Here we perceive the influence of S.

* *The Prologus* shows the scope:—“Quia Salvator noster Dominus Jesus Christus, teste angelis, *populum suum salum faciens a peccatis eorum*, vitam veritatis nobis in seipso demonstravit, per quam ad beatitudinem immortalis vite resurgendo pervenire possumus: necesse est ut ad consummationem totius theologi negotii, post considerationem ultimi finis humanæ vite et virtutum ac vitiorum, de ipso omnium Salvatore ac beneficiis ejus humano generi præstitis nostra consideratio subsequatur. Circa quam (1) considerandum occurrit de ipso Salvatore; (2) de sacramentis ejus, quibus salutem consequimur; (3) de fine immortalis vite, ad quam per salutem consequimur; (4) de peccatis, quibus salutem occurrunt; præsertim de peccatis incuratulis, inysterio, secundum quod Deus per nostram salutem facit, et honor; secunda de his que per ipsam Salvatorem nostrum, id est, Deum incarnatum, sunt acta et passa.” (Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *Summa Theologica, Pars Tertia, Prologus* p. 1, Vol. IV.)

† The whole history of redemption, as drawn out in this portion of the *Summa Theologica*, can be taken in at a glance, by looking at the following scheme:—"Das Wirken und Leiden Christi wird unter die vier Kategorien des *ingressus*, *progressus*, *egressus* und *exaltatio* Christi gebracht, jede abermals vier Momente in sich fassend:

I.	II.	III.	IV.
INGRESSUS:	PROGRESSUS:	CRASSUS:	EXALTATIO:
1. Einpflanzung (qu. 27—34),	1. Wandel (qu. 40),	1. Leiden (qu. 46—49),	1. Anferstehung (qu. 53—56),
2. Geburt (qu. 35, 36),	2. Versuchung (qu. 41),	2. Tod (qu. 50),	2. Himmelfahrt (qu. 57),
3. Beschneidung (qu. 37),	3. Lehre (qu. 42),	3. Begräbniß (qu. 51),	3. Thronen zur Rechten des Vaters (qu. 58),
4. Taufe (qu. 38, 39),	4. Wunder (qu. 43—45),	4. Höllenfahrt (qu. 52),	4. Wiederkunft zum Gerichte (qu. 59.),

—Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel*, p. 819—820.

‡ It is in this that the influence of the monastic system of theology which flourished at S. Victor's is perceptible in the method of S. Thomas, namely, that he aims, not only at displaying the scientific figure of theology, but at turning out *monastic men*; that is, men of holocaustic sacrifice, men of adoring love, men of singleness of purpose, Christians in every way complete. This comes out with great clearness when a comparison is instituted between the system of

Anthony and his courageous abandonment in the desert ; of S. Athanasius and his indomitable battling in the cause of the Word Incarnate in the world ; of S. Basil and S. Gregory *Theologus* in their abiding adoration of His Image ; of S. Chrysostom whose life was lived away in defending His revelation ; of S. Jerome and S. Augustine, who, out of love of Him, quelled the giant rebellion of their natures ; and of S. Ambrose and S. Gregory the Great, who, in moulding their intellects and hearts on His model, were enabled in turn to fashion the civil order of society according to the methods of the Cross.* The Christ-principle which animated them, was paramount in the will and reason of Thomas of Aquino. If his one real striving was to conform himself to the image of the Saviour, his one solitary ambition was to construct a scheme or instrument for forming men after the same pattern ; for elevating, purifying, and widening their natures ; and for filling them with the force and generosity, with the purity and charity of the Crucified. All that is mighty in intellect, and all that is sovereign in will, by the action of this organism, can be turned towards the noblest end in imperishable endurance.† The rulers of the Church here can see the nature of true force of character, true justice, true benignity, and breadth of view ; here they are taught that noble art which combines giant strength with divine gentleness, whilst they learn how to exhibit the uprightness of a judge with the tender consideration of a father. Here the theologian or philosopher can instruct himself in the hidden mysteries of true development of mind, of expansion and accuracy, of grasp and steadiness, in the intuitions of faith, and in the deductions of the reason : here man's brain, if he will but open it, may be flooded with light, and invigorated by an element which is next door to a revelation ; here, in a word, is exhibited a complicated yet sublimely-simple moral machine, constructed by the illuminated genius of a Saint, for widening all the faculties, ennobling the character, and fashioning the intellect of man upon the highest principles of Christianity.

the Victorines and that of our Saint. The Eastern Fathers gave breadth, the Latin solidity, the Greek force, and the Victorines direction. (See the *First Volume of this work*, Chap. XI., XII., p. 110—148.)

* Who knows in these days how to control the masses as S. Athanasius did, and S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom ? Who possesses their divine largeness, their nerve, and yet their gentleness and delicacy of feeling, their sweetness and yet their force of character ?

† It at once occurs to any calm and judicial mind that it is visionary to hope that the "*Summa Theologiae*" will ever become a text-book amongst educating men. Truly, one thing is practice, another is theory. It may be visionary to anticipate that a theory will be adopted soon which seems far removed from people's thoughts. The men in Pinto's cave or den believed in shadows, and were ready to put any one "to death" who attempted to undeceive them. But the fact of men's obstinacy in error does not make it less necessary to proclaim the truth, rather the more so, and that often and repeatedly. However soundly men may sleep they wake at last if they are shaken rudely enough. It is difficult to convert the worshippers of false gods or of home-made idols. But if there is a way of doing so it is by thrusting before their attention the true theory of life, and before their eyes the highest models of the same: that is, the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas and the Fathers of the Church.

If the impression on the wax is exquisite, equally perfect must be the die sunk into the steel, that is to say, the theory of the *Summa Theologica* must exactly correspond with its impress on the soul in the order of active life. And as each delicate line, and spiral whorl, and gentle curve which goes to form the whole design is brought into existence by the very act of stamping out every pre-existing form, so is it with the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas.* The perfect Christian theory is the annihilation of all other schemes which do not harmonize with it, be they founded on philosophy, politics, or religion; and the perfect Christian man, by the very act of being what he is, becomes an active foe and sworn antagonist to every principle in the order of action and ideas which crosses the imprint of Christ's image on the heart. Thus the "*Summa Theologica*" is not only a colossal challenge to the unbelieving world, but it is a mighty instrument for creating patristic men, and turning out matchless champions of the Cross. It simply embodies the principles which animated the soul of S. Anthony in the desert, and of S. Athanasius, S. Basil, and S. Gregory, in the world.

And though his own great specialty was contemplation, though he shrank away from active life, S. Thomas was not moved one hair's breadth in the just balance of his mind. His perfect type of highest perfection is not exclusive contemplation after all. The outcome of his "*Summa Theologica*," the noblest and the best which that huge moral instrument would aim at turning out, points straight at those great specimen-men who have been spoken of before, those who, anointed with the unction of the Episcopate, possess the plenitude of the priesthood, and cherish in the centre of the heart, from the very nature of their calling, that self-immolating heroism which is the life-spring of noble deeds.† It is not the pure contempla-

* It may be objected that the Angelical did not wholly catch the traditionary teaching of the Church, for example, in his treatment of the Immaculate Conception. There is no doubt that he held the Lombard's view when he wrote his Tract on the "*Salutatio Angelica*," (See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI., p. 330; note, also *Opusc. VI.*, p. 133); but there are not wanting grave authorities who maintain that the Saint held and taught the revealed doctrine in his more important works. Let Werner speak:—"Dass Thomas die Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariä bestritten, ist nicht sicher festgestellt, obwohl die ihm zugeschriebene Lehre von einer nachfolgenden Heiligung der in Schuld empfangenen Jungfrau nach dem Vorgange eines Johannes Duns Scotus, Radbertus, Paschasius, Ratramnus, Anselmus, Hildebert, Bernardus, Richard von St. Victor, Engelbert, Odo von Cambrai, Petrus Venerabilis, Albertus Magnus nicht überraschen kann und sogar als seine wahrscheinliche Ansicht zu vernehmen wäre. Indess muss bemerkt werden dass zu wiederholten Malen neuerlichst durch Cardinal Lambruschini (*De immaculato Virginis conceptu*, Rom, 1842) behauptet worden ist, die Schriften des heiligen Thomas seien von späteren Abschreibern an verschiedenen Stellen, namentlich jenen, welche über die unbefleckte Empfängnis handeln, gefälscht worden. Von gebläslichen Textveränderungen spricht bereits Johannes Nicolinus in seiner Vorrede zur Pariser Ausgabe von Thomas' Werken (1663); Lambruschini bemerkt, dass die Stelle: *ne ante animationem, nec in animatione, sed post animationem sanctificatus* n. s. w., welche 3 qu. 27, art. 2 zu lesen ist, in mehreren alten Handschriften sich nicht finde." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel*, p. 863, note.)

† And in drawing out his theory of perfection the Angelical makes use of those very men who have already been brought forward as types of the noblest class of Christian heroes: indeed, not only they are quoted, but others also; for example, in *Quæstio CLXXX.*, Art. I., p. 599, S. Gregory the Great is quoted five times; in the next *Quæstio* four times, as well as

tive, nor is it the man of pure action, who represents the pattern Christian of the Angelical: but it is he who, from the very overflow of his contemplating spirit, pours out upon others the riches of his piety and the fulness of knowledge; who, if he has not actually renounced all created things, is prepared to do so in his heart, and to trample on them out of love of God and man; who, "*ex abundantia dilectionis divinæ*," in the wideness of his charity, embraces all mankind, and, as it were, possesses, through the nobility of nature and of grace, those highest gifts of sacrifice, charity, and tenderness, which others generally acquire through the pressure of rule and the yoke of self-restraint.* Whilst the religious, under vow, is striving towards perfection, the bishop holds a position which implies that he is already perfect: he is the Head and Crown of the moral order, the king and pattern of every perfection of mind and heart: his depth of contemplation only renders his actions more divine; and his actions, from their very purity, stimulate his intelligence in the practices of contemplation,—they are, with him, the steps by which he mounts up into the kingdom, and enters the threshold of the Holy Court.†

What, then, is the practical object of the "*Summa Theologica*?" Is it not to furnish us with the moral frame-work upon which are fashioned the greatest and best of men? Does not the culminating point just mentioned, as it were, usher into our very presence, those great classic Fathers whose lives have been sketched already? Does not the Angelical seem to say, "Here is the instrument by which men made of clay, through the grace of God, can be transformed into lights of the world

S. Augustine's *Soliloquies*; in the next, Richard of S. Victor's, S. Bernard, Denis, and S. Augustine; in the next, Richard of S. Victor's again, and S. Bernard, and S. Gregory the Great. S. Gregory the Great would, naturally, be most frequently referred to; for, being a Benedictine, his special gift would be contemplation: but the other great Fathers exert their influence, and it is clear enough to any student of the lives of those great masters, and of the *Summa* of S. Thomas, whence the latter drew his views and principles of the perfection of the moral man.

* Ricca, in his learned article headed *Aristotélisme* in Goschler's *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* says:—"S. Thomas semble renverser le rapport établi entre la théologie et la philosophie en plaçant, avec Aristote, la science au dessus de l'action; mais il est vrai que, s'il voit dans la science le but suprême, il lui donne un sens essentiellement pratique et religieux, puisqu'elle n'est autre chose pour lui que la contemplation des bienheureux: et de plus il dit expressément que la science théologique est une science pratique, qui, partant de la foi révélée, est bien supérieure à la science qui n'est que le résultat de la pensée théorique et de la raison naturelle des philosophes." (*Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Théologie Catholique, traduit de l'Allemand par J. Goschler, Tom. I., p. 535; Paris, 1869. Troisième Edition.*)

† The following objection and its answer will show clearly in what light the Angelical looked upon Episcopal perfection, and manifests his facile acquaintance with the Fathers. This is the objection:—"Præterea, perfectio principalis consistit in dilectione Dei quam in dilectione proximi. Sed status religiosorum directe ordinatur ad dilectionem Dei; unde et ex Dei servitio et famulatu nominantur, ut Dionysius dicit 6 cap. eccl. Hierarch. ante med. Status autem Episcoporum videtur ordinari ad dilectionem proximi, cuius curam superintendunt, unde et nominantur, ut patet per Augustinum, 19 de Civit. Dei (cap. 19, a med.). Ergo videtur quod status religiosorum sit perfectior quam status Episcoporum." This is the reply:—"Ad secundum dicendum quod hoc ipsum quod Episcopi intendunt his que pertinent ad proximum dilectionem, provenit ex abundantia dilectionis divinæ. Unde Dominus prius a Petro quaerivit an eum diligeret; et postea ei sui gregis curam commisit: et Gregorius dicit in Pastoral. part. I., cap. 5, parum ante med.: *Si dilectionis testimonium est cura pastoralis, quisquis virtutibus pollens gregem Dei renuit pascere, Pastorem summum convincitur non amare.* Hoc autem est maioris dilectionis signum, ut homo propter amicum etiam alii serviat quam alii amico velit servire." (*Summa Theologica Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. CLXXXIV., Art. VII., p. 620—621; Vol. III.*)

and salt of the earth." Let the full force of the "*Summa Theologica*" be brought to bear upon a soul of noble original nature and high intellectual gifts, only let the plastic mind and tender heart be moulded, and stamped by such a die as this, and the result in the contemplative order may be a S. Thomas, a S. Anthony, or a S. Jerome; in the active, a S. Chrysostom, a S. Augustine, or a S. Gregory the Great.* The supreme in intellect and the supreme in will, here find their place.†

If the Episcopal estate represents the Angelical's highest pattern, the monastic represents the next in eminence.‡ The monk is but striving after that sublime perfection which the bishop already has attained. His instruments are potent ones, forces which give his spirit freedom; poverty, that is, trampling on perishing clay, that he may be free to embrace eternal light; chastity, that is, abandonment of earthly ties, that his only bond may be in heaven; and obedience, that, under the mighty will of God, he may shake off the despicable slavery of self: and all this under a solemn irrevocable vow, that human weakness may not prevaricate and look back upon the flames in which all its fetters have been consumed. Such as these were the men of the *Collationes Patrum*, of whom the Angelical loved to read. Here we see S. Anthony,§ S. Pachomius, and S. Arsenius, S. Benedict, S. Dominic, and S. Francis of Assisi.||

Such, then, are the two great classes of pattern men; such are the instruments which the Angelical saw clearly were wanting to the world. The "*Summa*" was his moral machine for making salt and light—for turning out detached men, men of incorrupt life, of illuminated and widened charity. He wished to bring the Fathers back. Rationalism, which is simply the sharp edge of one side of the human mind, would, by degrees, break up like frost before the sun, when brought in contact with them; irreverence could hardly be irreverent in the august presence of men so truly great; whilst heresy and schism would find opponents filled with the light of knowledge and the flame

* Does not the Church herself draw the picture of these same great athletes in her service *De Consecratione Electi Episcopi*? (See *Pontificale Romanum*, p. 58—83; Rome, 1849.)

† See Chap. II., p. 515—516 of this Volume.

‡ It might be remembered that the author is not inventing here a teaching of his own, but simply putting into English the teaching of S. Thomas.

§ With what power the Angelical grasped the issues of the solitary life! He saw clearly how spiritually strong a man must be to live by himself; and how mighty those were who succeeded in doing so!—"Id quod est solitarium debet esse sibi per se sufficiens. Ille autem est cui nihil deest, quod pertinet ad rationem perfecti . . . Sicut ergo id quod jam perfectum est, præminet ei quod ad perfectionem exercetur. Ita vita solitaria, si debite assumatur, præminet vitæ sociæ. Si autem absque precedenti exercitio talis vita assumatur, est periculosissima, nisi per divinam gratiam suppleatur quod in aliis per exercitium acquiritur: sicut patet de beatis Antonio et Benedicto." (*Summa Theologica*, Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. CLXXXVIII., Art. VIII., p. 656—657, Vol. III.)

|| It is clear now, why the Angelical made the defence of the Religious Orders such a cardinal point, and why so much space was dedicated to this question in the First Volume of this work. (See Chapters XXIII. and XXIV., p. 368—442.)

of love. Could S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Augustine, S. Jerome, and S. Gregory the Great be multiplied on earth, there would indeed be many a fierce battle, but there would also be many a crushing victory.*

But it will be asked, Does the Angelical expect all men to be bishops and monastic men? Assuredly not. He would be the first to say that all are not called to be, and, from the nature of the case, cannot be patterns for the world. Models and patterns are few in every order. They are made for the rest to look upon, and, in their place and measure, to imitate. The theologian and the contemplative will find his type in the Angelical; the statesman in S. Athanasius, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory the Great; the orator in S. John Chrysostom; the recluse in S. Anthony; the poet in S. Gregory *Theologus*; the champion of liberty and freedom in S. Basil; the controversialist in S. Augustine; whilst the monastic state itself holds out to view true principles of progress, stability and freedom, of government, self-restraint and self-forgetfulness, in the very construction and mechanism of religious life. What the bishop and the monk carry out *ad litteram*, that the rest should aim at in spirit and at a distance.

The world is not reformed, the civil order is not conquered, by great ideas alone, nor simply by courageous and gifted men: it can be subdued by these in combination only. Society has lost her standards, her pattern heroes; the high theory of Christian life is fading out of the mind of men. A thousand discordant voices cry, a thousand hideous forms are lifted before the eyes; and the world becomes confused in the midst of the delirium of rampant pride and passion, of hideous democracy, and the fury of the half-educated masses.† Set up, before it is too late, the chaste, the pure, the tender Saints of God, the trampers upon wealth, the lovers of the poor, the champions of true freedom, true beneficence, which forgets self in the very act of giving, which stamps upon pride in its very effort after good, and never feels itself to be so rich as when it is pouring

* It was because he was master of a sound and integral dogmatic teaching, that the Angelical was capable of building up such a splendid moral system. To teach morality without dogma, is to build a house without foundations: to teach it without an infallible substratum of positive theology, is to build upon the sand. The height, depth, and solidity of the *Summa's* method of developing the divine in man, and elevating the human, is accounted for by its complete mastery of the Traditionary and Scriptural Dogmatic Teaching of the Church. The house stands, because it is built upon a Rock.

† In the *Summa* are laid down the true *Principles of the Rights of Man*. One error will ever litigate with another error; but let Truth prevail, not piece-meal, but in its integrity, and then in its good time it will not only light up the darkness but it will calm the storm; and civil society will find its *equilibrium*. If rulers and the thinking men of a country were formed upon the *Summa* and stamped with its impress, then Truth and Justice would, in part, at least, take the place of the five or six millions of armed men who maintain a precarious peace with steel and gunpowder. Lasting security proceeds from within the heart—it is not to be preserved by cultivated brute-force displaying itself with a soldier's uniform, or a policeman's stick.

itself out for the benefit of others. Pull the pagan patterns down: set up the heroes of the Cross: educate men, not on the morality of the Stagyrice, but on that of the Angelical. Let the "*Summa Theologica*"* take the place of the Ethics of the infidel, and let the Kings of Christianity be set before the angry eyes of the ever-growing population of the world, to tame them into subjection by the meekness and giant power of their lives, to show them that a system of religion and world-government still remains, which, whilst it teaches princes to be poor and humble, renders them so supremely great, that the wayfaring man has but to see them to acknowledge that their sovereignty is half-justified by the intrinsic royalty of their characters and hearts.

The masses of the people have a certain instinct within them, which, though it does not see truth, is ever restlessly seeking after it; and they will, without remorse, break down polities and institutions until they find it. The day must come when the standards shall be set up; whether that day will dawn after a sea of blood and tears has purified the land, or whether the horrors now casting their shadows at our feet will be averted by thrusting truth boldly before the world, a prophet only could determine. The day has passed for mere material politicians. *Divine* patterns alone can work a cure. If there is an instrument for forming them, it is the "*Summa Theologica*;" if they ever exist at all, they will be to their own age what S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great were to days gone by. They will be as lights and beacons, proclaiming, not so much in blatant words, but rather in their private and public lives, those principles which speak to the hearts of restless multitudes, and preach the divine teachings of the Crucified. In their coming pagan philosophy, materialism in religion, dogmatic "science," and the coarse cunning of the demagogue, as well as the refined inanity of those who are too weak to be very wicked, will be lighted up by the

* Regarding the intuition of the Angelical in matters of Tradition, these words may be added to what has already been quoted (p. 923, note), from Werner's *Life*:—"Der Dominikaner Philipp Bromiard († 1399) beruft sich in seiner *Summa Predicamentum* im Artikel Maria auf 3 qu. 27, art. 2, um zu erklären, dass der Vorzug der Heiligung Maria's darin bestehe, dass sie im Animationsacte, d. h. im Momente, als ihr Leib besetzt wurde, geheiligt worden sei. In demselben Artikel wird gesagt, dass die römische Kirche zwar nicht selber das Fest der *Immaculata Conceptio* feiere, aber dessen Feier in anderen Kirchen tolerire, daher die Belauptung einer unbefleckten Empfängniss Maria's nicht totaliter zu verwerfen sei, obwohl die Kirche—wie er hinzusetzt—durch diese Toleranz nur zu erkennen gebe, dass es ungewiss sei, wann Maria geheiligt worden sei; auch besche die das Fest nicht zu Klaren der Empfängniss, sondern der Heiligung Maria's. Als eine vorzüglich beweisende Stelle wird besonders I. dist. 44, qu. 2, art. 4 ad 3am lectout—: *Talis fuit paritas beate virginis, que prout originali et actuali concepta fuit*. In I. dist. 17, qu. 2, art. 4 heisst es: *In beata Virgine fuit deprivatio ab omni peccato, ideo pervenit ad maximum puritatis*. Es ist indessen die Frage, ob der Ausdruck *deprivatio* nicht eine vorausgehende Unreinheit voraussetze, wenn schon nicht der Zeit, so doch der Sache nach, worauf auch Thomas' obige Aeusserung über das Fest der Empfängniss hindeuten scheint." (*Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel* p. 268—269, note.)

flames of truth.* Men filled with the Spirit seem doubly transfigured in the presence of men of clay. Men formed upon the "*Summa*"—which itself is compacted of Tradition, Reason, and Scripture—would, by their very presence, were they placed before the eye of the world, command a veneration and secure a respect which is elicited neither by power nor position, and which the diplomacy of statesmen is too crafty to attain. Purity, Truth, Justice, and Gentleness, springing from an intellect and heart moulded on Christ-principles, alone could stem the torrent, and cast a light into the darkness of our day.

It was the Christ-principle of the Benedictine Pope, S. Gregory the Great, and of S. Augustine, the Benedictine Monk, which converted England to freedom, to order, and to faith, in days gone by; it is their principle, and their principle only, though it may be under modified conditions, that will introduce into our threatening chaos, into our increasing darkness, into our growing peril from the people, such elements of reverence and liberty, of progress and obedience, of enlightened science and unswerving faith, as alone are able to secure to a mighty nation that cohesive force, that expansive elasticity, and that graduated order of development which constitute the difference between a national *cadaver*, and a body politic animated from end to end by the healthiest energies of a spontaneous yet regulated life.—But to return to S. Thomas and his gentle mystic life.

As he approached the end of his great labours on the "*Summa*," his spirit, which had from his boyhood been living in the world unseen, became more and more absorbed by heavenly things.† His trances and ecstasies became more frequent,

* Take our own Island! "We are told by public authority," says the Archbishop of Westminster, "that one-half of the people of England never set their foot in a place of worship. Whether the calculation be true or not, I leave to those who made it to determine; but we are told, and I repeat what I have heard, that in this city of London, one-half—that is, a million and a half of men—on this very day [Sunday], and at this very hour at which I am speaking, neither have been, nor in the course of this day will be, in any place of Christian worship. May I not well say, then, the salt has lost its savour?" (See *The Fourfold Sovereignty of God*, *Lecture VI.*, p. 157—158, by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster.)

† The following *Opuscula* have been ascribed to the Saint, but are of very doubtful authenticity:—"Scriptum super quatuor libros M. Sententiarum ad Amibaldum Amibaldensem cardinalem.—De Prescientia et predestinatione.—Postilla seu Expositio Anrea in Librum Genesios.—Expositio in Daniele Prophetam.—Expositio in I. et II. Machabæorum.—Commentarium in VII. Epistolas Canonicas.—Commentaria II. in B. Joannis Apocalypsin.—Commentarium super Libros Boetii de Consolatu Philosophico.—Expositio in Tractatum Boetii de Scholarium Disciplina.—De Motoribus Corporum Cælestium.—Sermones.—De Secreto (Questiones).—Officium de Festo S. Augustini.—Pia preces." (*Vol. XXII.—XXIV., etc. Edit. Parm.*)

These are, at least, uncertain:—"Opusc. XLIX.—De intellectu et intelligibili; Opusc. LI.—De Venerabili Sacramento Altaris [probably by Albertus Magnus; see Rubens, who says (*Disser.* XXI.) *non sunt Aquinatis*]; Opusc. LII.—De Sacramento Eucharistie ad modum predicatorum; Opusc. LIII.—De humanitate, D.N.J.C.; Opusc. LXVII.—De quo est, et quod est; Opusc. LXVIII.—Tractatus de adventu et statu et vita antichristi; Opusc. LXIX.—Tractatus de præambulis ad iudicium, et de ipso iudicio et ipsam concomitantibus; Opusc. XXXVII.—De Eruditione Principum, Libb. VII."

These are spurious:—"Opusc. VIII.—De Articulis centum et octo sumptis ex opere Petri de Tarnatasia; Opusc. L.—De Universalibus, Tractatus I. et II.; Opusc. LIV.—De dilectione Dei et proximi; Opusc. LV.—De Divinis Moribus; Opusc. LVI.—De beatitudine; Opusc. LVII.—De modo confitendi, et de puritate conscientie; Opusc. LVIII.—De officio sacerdotis; Opusc. LIX.—Expositio missæ; Opusc. LX.—De emptione et venditione ad tempus, seu ad terminum; Opusc. LXIV.—De vitis et virtutibus deque illis numero quaternario precedentibus; Opusc. LXV.—De concordantibus dictorum, in quo concitant scilicet in passibus apparenter contrariis; Opusc. LXVI.—De usuris in communi, et de usurarum contractibus." (*Vol. XVI.—XVII. Edit. Parm.*)

his converse with the other world more preternatural, his visions and his gift of prophecy, his absorption, and his knowledge of men's thoughts, more astonishing. The Hand of God seems to have been placed upon him with stronger pressure, and that bright transfiguration, which is perfected in Heaven through the Beatific Vision, appears almost to have been begun on earth. As the fruit in the sunlight, day by day ripens, growing in fulness and deepening in colour, till at length it is ready to drop golden from the bough, so the great Angelical seems to have advanced steadily and gradually to his spiritual perfection, till, mature for Heaven, he was gathered by a Divine Hand, and garnered into the Everlasting Home.

Indeed, he not only dwelt in the Unseen World, but he absolutely conversed with its inhabitants; so that what was hidden from the gaze of ordinary mortals became visible to him,—what we see, was, as it were, withdrawn from him; what is veiled from our senses, was miraculously opened before his eyes.*

For instance, at Paris, his sister who had died appeared to him in vision, said she was in purgatory, and implored masses for her soul: the Angelical requested his students to say mass, and pray for her. Shortly after, she appeared to him in Rome, and said she was in glory. He asked her about himself. She said: "Thou standest well, brother, and wilt join us speedily: but a greater glory is prepared for thee than for us. Preserve, however, what thou hast." He asked after Landulf. She said he was in the penal fire.† Again, whilst praying, according to

* The principal editions of the works of S. Thomas are the following:—"Opera Omnia, Rome, Voll. XVII., 1570; Venetia, Voll. XVII., 1592; Antverpiensis, Voll. XVIII., 1612; Parisiensis, Voll. XXIII., 1660; Venetia II., Voll. XXVIII., 4^o, 1745; Parme, Voll. XXIV., 4^o, 1852-1859; Parisiensis, Voll. XV., 8^o, 1853.

Summa Theologiae, Basilæe, Voll. IV., 1489; *Venet.*, Voll. IV., 1494; *Colonicæ*, fol., 1499; *Antverpiæ*, 1575; *Romæ*, Voll. XII., 12^o; *Parisiæ*, 1547; *Lugdun.*, 1677; *Parisiæ*, Voll. IV., 1663; *Lugdun.*, 1701; *Romæ*, Voll. X., fol., 1773; *Patavi*, Voll. V., fol., 1699; *Putavi*, Voll. XII., 12^o, 1712; *Parisiæ* (Migne), 1846;—and Abbe Migne alone has sold over 7,000 copies of the "*Summa Theologica*;"—*Diouix*, Voll. XV., 8^o, 1853.

Summa Prima Pars Inter 1462-1467, *inter* 1473 et 1477; *Secunde Prima Pars*, *Moguntia*, fol., 1471; *Venet.*, fol., 1483; *Secunda Secunde*, fol., 1466, 1472; *Romæ*, 1474; *Tertia Pars*, *Venet.*, fol., 1477; *Quarta Pars*, 1480; *Questiones Secundi Lib.*, *Secunda Pars*, *Mantua*, 4^o, 1472; *Summa de Artibus Fidei*, 4^o, 1480; *De Veritate Catholice Fidei*, *Romæ*, fol., 1475; *Colonicæ*, 1475; *Venet.*, 1476, 1480; *Questiones Quodlib.*, *Colonicæ*, 1471, 1473; *Norimb.*, 1475; *Ulmæ*, 1475, 1476; *Quadrascriptum* in *Libb. Magistri Sentent.*, *Moguntia*, fol., 1469; in *Libros Sentent.*, *Colonicæ*, fol., 1481; *Super I. et II. Sentent.*, 1480; *Super III. Sentent.*, *Colonicæ*, 1476; *Super IV. Sentent.*, 1478, 1481; *Colonicæ*, 1480, 1497; *Physicorum Libb.*, VIII., 1480; *De Corruptione et Generatione*, 1488; *Metaphysicorum Libb.*, XII., 1480; *De Ente et Essentia*, 1490, 1498; *De Anima*, fol., 1480; *Logicorum et Fallaciarum*, fol., 1481; *Commentaria in Libb. Aristotelis de Anima et Unitate Intellectus*, 4^o, *Colonicæ*, 1480; *Papier*, fol., 1480.

† "Fertur quod ipso existente Parisiis, apparuit ei imaginaria visioe soror sua: que cum dicebat se esse in Purgatorio, certum Missarum numerum petivit, per quem sperabat liberari deo propitio et eius interventu. Qui vocans studentes rogavit, ut pro sororia sua anima Missas dicerent et narraret. Que postmodum, cum predictus Doctor esset Romæ, iterum in visione ei apparuit, et se fuisse liberatam a Purgatorio, et sui gloriæ, dictis Missis, quas petiverat, revelavit. Qui Doctor cum de se quæreret quid esset, illa respondit: Tu frater es in bono statu, et ecclesie utilis es, sed major tibi gloria parata est quam volas. Tunc tantum quod habes. Qui quærens de fratre suo Landulfo respondit, quod erat in Purgatorio, de Domino vero Raynoldo alio fratre suo dixit, quod erat in Paradiso; de quo habuit hanc visionem, quod ostendit aibi libro per Angelum, qui scriptus erat linceis aureis et arabis, nomen fratris Doctor reperit, inter linceas aureas, que erant Martyrum quia pro fide etate Ecclesie morientis sub tyrannide persecutanda Frederici Imperatoris aibi mors computata fuit ad martirium quod apud Deum fuit meritum et acceptum." (Torco, *Boll.*, *Cy.* VIII., n. 45, p. 671-672; *Cy.* Vita, p. 29.)

his custom, in the Church at Naples, B. Romanus, whom he had left in Paris as Master of theology, stood before him. S. Thomas approached his friend, and said; "Welcome here! When did you arrive?"* "I have passed from this life" replied the figure "and am permitted to appear on your account." Overcome by the apparition for a moment, then collecting himself, the Angelical said: "In the name of God, then, I adjure you to answer me these questions: How do I stand? and are my works pleasing to God?" "Thou art in a good state, and thy works do please God," was the reply. Then "What about yourself?" enquired the Angelical. "I am now in eternal life," answered Romanus, "but I have been in purgatory." "Tell me," continued S. Thomas, "the answer to the question which we have so frequently discussed, whether the habits which are acquired in this life remain to us in Heaven?" "Brother Thomas," replied Romanus, "I see God, and do not ask me more." "How do you see God," rejoined the Saint, "do you see Him immediately, or by means of some similitude?" The other answered: "As we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of Hosts!"† and then instantly vanished.‡ So habitual had the ecstatic life become to the Angelical, that at last he could scarcely fix his mind in contemplation without being carried away in rapture; without being lifted off the ground entranced.§ At length he was so absorbed in divine things, that even the "*Summa*" itself failed to interest him. He finally ceased writing, after a marvellous rapture which seized him, and shook his whole frame, whilst celebrating mass in the Chapel of S. Nicholas, at Naples. After this mass, contrary to his invariable custom, he did not sit down to his desk, nor would he consent to dictate anything; and though engaged on the tractate concerning "Penance" in the Third Part of the "*Summa*," he put away his pen, and became wholly

* *Vita*, p. 29.

† *Ps.*, XLVII., 9.

‡ "Alla fuit mirabilior dicto Doctori visio revelata, non imaginaria, sed corporalis et aperta: cui existent in conventu Neapolitano in Ecclesia ad orandum, apparuit ei Frater Romanus Magister in Theologia, quem Facilis legentem dimiserat: cui cum edesset Frater Thomas, et diceret: Bene veneritis. Quando venistis? Ille respondit: Ego ex hac vita transivi, et cunctis sum ex nihilo pro tuo merito apparere. Tunc predictus Doctor edligens spiritum, qui fuerat ex subita illa apparitione commotus, respondit: Ex quo Deo placet, ex parte ipsius te adjuro, ut ad quesita respondens. Quæro, de me quid est? Et si Deo placeat opera mea? Et respondit: Tu es in bono statu et placeat opera tua Deo. Tunc Doctor intulit. Quid est de te? Respondit: Ego sum in vita æterna, et fui in Purgatorio. . . . Tunc addidit. Quæro quid est de illa questione, quam frequenter disputavimus: utrum habitus in hac vita acquisiti maneat in patria? At ille respondit: Frater Thomas, ego video Deum, et nihil aliud de hac questione petitis. Et iterum petivit ab eo: Ex quo vides Deum, de nihilo si videas Deum sine ulla specie, vel mediante aliqua similitudine? Tunc respondit: Sicut audivimus, de vultu in civitate Domini virtutum, et statim disparuit. Qui Doctor remansit ex tam mirabili et insolita apparitione attonitus, et de placida responsione jocundus." (Tocco, *Holl.*, *Cap.* VIII., n. 46, p. 672.)

§ See how he could read men's thoughts (Tocco, *Holl.*, *Cap.* VIII., n. 47, p. 672); and how he was supernaturally dealt with (*Processus in Vita*, *Cap.* X., n. 55, p. 674); for instance, a boy saw a bright star come in at his window, and remain shining over his head whilst resting wearily on his pallet. (*Ibidem*.)

lost in contemplation * Even Reginald, who knew him so intimately, could not account for this. He said, with amazement, to his master: "My Father, why hast thou cast on one side so great a work, which thou didst begin for the Glory of God, and the illumination of the world!" All he replied was, "*Non possum*"—"I cannot write any more." Reginald, fearing lest over-work had affected his master's brain,† was continually imploring him to continue writing, but the Saint ever made the same reply: "I cannot, Reginald, for everything that I have written appears to me as simply rubbish." From this time forth S. Thomas may be said to have lived, not on earth but in Heaven. Shortly after his great ecstasy he visited his sister, the Countess of Sanseverino, whom he tenderly loved. Even on the journey he was perfectly carried away, and it was with difficulty that his *socius* could get him to the Castle gates. His sister seeing him approach, hurried out to meet him; but he, being so absorbed, scarcely noticed her.‡ She turned terrified to Reginald, and exclaimed; "How is this that Brother Thomas is altogether tranced, and will scarcely speak a word to me?" Reginald replied: "Ever since the feast of S. Nicholas he has been like this, and from that day forth he has not written a word." Then he began again with great earnestness to beg the Angelical to say why he refused to write, and how he had become thus beside himself. Being pressed with such importunity, S. Thomas at length exclaimed to Reginald: "I adjure thee, by the Omnipotent and Living God, by thy holy vows, and by the charity which binds thee now, not to reveal during my lifetime what I am about to say!" And then he added: "All I have

* "Item dixit idem testis [Dominus Bartholomæus de Capua], quod, cum dictus Fr. Thomas celebraret Missam in dicta capella S. Nicolai Neapoli, fuit mira mutatio commotus, et post ipsam Missam non scripsit; neque dictavit aliquil, imo suspendit organa scriptiois in tertia parte annuus in tractatu de Penitentia; et dum idem Fr. Raynaldus videret, quod ipse Fr. Thomas cessaverat scribere, dixit ei: Pater, quomodo dimisistis opus tam grande, quod ad laudem Dei et illuminationem mundi capis? Cui respondit dictus Fr. Thomas: Non possum." (Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap. IX., n. 79, p. 711.)

† Recall some of his labours: His *Commentary on Aristotle* contains 891 *Lectures*, his *Expositions of Holy Scripture* 303 *Lectures* and *Chapters*; his two *Commentaries on the Lombard* 568 *Questions* in 2931 *Articles*; his *Questions Disputate* 510 *Articles*; his *Quodlibeta* 130 *Questions* and 260 *Articles*; his *Summa contra Gentiles* 361 *Chapters*; his *Summa Theologica* in three Parts 318 *Questions*, 2652 *Articles*, and above 10,000 *Resolutions*; then, there are his 43 authentic (*Opuscula*) and his 221 sketches of Sermons. (Cf. Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sieben-tes Capitel*, p. 875—876.)

‡ "Idem vero Fr. Raynaldus thueus, ne propter nullum studium aliquam incurrisset amentiam, instabat semper, quod idem Fr. Thomas continuaret scripta, et similiter ipse Fr. Thomas respondit: Raynaldus, non possum: quia omnia, quæ scripsi, videntur mihi palææ. Tunc Fr. Raynaldus stupefactus, . . . quod dictus Fr. Thomas iret ad Comitissam S. Severini sororem suam quam creativè diligebat, quæ properavit ungum eum difficultate, et cum illic necederet, ipsi Comitissæ sibi occurrenti vix locutus est. Tunc Comitissa dixit dicto Fr. Raynaldo cum magno timore: Quid est hoc, quod Fr. Thomas totus est stupefactus, et vix mihi locutus est? Respondens idem Fr. Raynaldus, ait: A festo B. Nicolai circa fuit in isto statu, ex tunc nihil scripsit: et idem Fr. Raynaldus coepit iustare apud dictum Fr. Thomam, ut diceret illi, quia de causa scribere recusaverat, et quare ita stupefactus erat: et post multas interogationes omni importunitate factas per ipsam Fr. Raynaldum, respondit Fr. Thomas eidem Fr. Raynaldo: Ego adjuro te per Deum vivum omnipotentem, et per idem quam tenetis Ordini nostro, et per caritatem quæ modo stringeris, quod ea, quæ tibi dixero, nulli reveles in vita mea. Et subiunxit illi: Omnia quæ scripsi, videntur mihi palææ respectu eorum, quæ vidi et revelata sunt mihi." (Boll., *In Processu de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap. IX., n. 79, p. 711.)

written appears to me as so much rubbish, compared with what I have seen, and what has been revealed to me!"

Meanwhile, after three years vacancy, following the death of Pope Clement IV., Theobald, Archdeacon of Liège, was chosen Pope, and took the title of Gregory X. This Pontiff dedicated himself to carrying out two special objects—the union of the Latin and Greek Churches, and the recovery of the Holy Land from the hand of the infidel. He it was, who made Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino, Archbishop of Cosenza, and then Patriarch of Jerusalem; and he it was, who, being aware of the Angelical's deep acquaintance with the vexed points of Greek and Latin theology, issued a special Bull commanding his attendance at the II. Council of Lyons, and requesting him to bring with him the famous Tractate he had written in the days of Pope Urban IV., against the errors of the Greeks.*

In obedience to the voice of authority, the Angelical set out for Lyons towards the end of January 1274, with his inseparable *socius*, Reginald. His health was feeble, and his mind was still fixed on the visions of another world. They travelled by way of Campagna, and called at the Castle of Maienza, in the diocese of Terracina, where Frances, wife of Hannibal Ceccano, niece of the Angelical, resided. Here the Saint weak and faint, reposed awhile, but did not rally. He wholly lost his appetite, though the fish he seemed to fancy, to the amazement of all, was miraculously provided.† After a while he felt himself a little stronger. The report of his being in the neighbourhood spread with rapidity. It reached a Benedictine Abbey which was about six miles distant from the Castle. The monks remembering, no doubt, the close connection of S. Thomas with S. Benedict, how his family had lived under the shadow of the Holy Rule, how his uncle had been an Abbot, and his sister a Benedictine Nun, and how he himself had been grounded by the monks in the first principles of holocaustic sacrifice, invited him to Fossa Nuova where the silence was seldom broken save by the matin call to prayer, or by the voices of the monks

* See Frigerio, *Lib. IV., Cap. I.*, p. 156; see also, Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X.*, n. 56, p. 674; Werner, *Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel.*, p. 846; Gibelli, *Cap. XXX.*, p. 112; Cf. Brioux, *La Somme Théologique, Introduction*, § II., p. 17.

† The *Gratia* is recorded thus by Tocco:—"Qui [S. Thomas] a Magistro Joanne de Guidone de Piperno medico requisitus, si aliquem cibum appeteret, et de nullo cibo, nisi de piscibus, quos concedant in Francia se diceret posse gustare: anxius est medicus, quod tanto doctori infirmo non posset remedium adhibere, quia talis piscis non poterat inveniri. Qui egressus ad plantam castri, invenit nummum, qui unam sarchinam sardarum recentium de Terracina portabant. Quam cum ad terram deponi fecisset, ut, si aliqui pisces admixti essent sardis, perquireret, reperit unam eisdem de hulecibus recentibus: de quo admirans medicus, quia nunquam tales pisces fuerant in partibus illis visi, et quia portator piscium sardus se emisit sepius assererat, predictos pisces Magistro deferri mandavit cum gaudio credens ipsum consolari de proviso sibi divinitus cibo concepit. Doctor autem renuens de piscibus conedere, dixit medico: Magister melius est, quod Divina Providentia me committam, quam quod de his piscibus divina concessis potentia, quos nimio desiderio concupivi, manducare presumam." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X.*, n. 57, p. 675; Cf. *Processus in Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Boll., Cap. II.*, n. 9, p. 687.)

pleading in the choir. The Saint gladly accepted the invitation, saying: "If the Lord means to take me away, it were better that I should die in a religious house than in the midst of seculars."* So he quitted the Castle of Maienza, and protected by the monks, who had come to escort him, he rode in the midst of them towards the distant monastery. See him as he gets from off his horse, and is, led by the Fathers into the monastic Church; see him kneeling there in silent adoration as they all assemble and surround him so broken, yet so Angelical, pouring forth his heart to God before the altar! He rises; they follow him; the Abbot conducts him through the Church into the silent cloister. Then the whole past seems to break in upon him like a burst of over-powering sunlight; the calm and quiet Abbey, the meditative corridor, the gentle Benedictine monks: he seems as if he were at Cassino once again, amidst the glorious visions of his boyish days—amidst the tender friendships of his early youth, close on the bones of ancient kings, near the solemn tomb of Blessed Benedict, in the hallowed home of great traditions, and at the very shrine of all that is fair and noble in monastic life.† He seemed completely overcome by the memories of the past, and, turning to the monks who surrounded him, exclaimed: "*This is the place where I shall find repose!*" and then ecstatically to Reginald, in presence of them all: "*Hæc est requies mea in sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam*"—"This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell, for I have chosen it!"‡

The fever which had seized upon him instead of diminishing was increasing in its force. He was conducted to the Abbot's cell, which, out of respect for so great a Saint,§ and so profound

* Here is the testimony, on oath, of the Abbot of Fossa Nuova:—"Die Martii vigesima quarta ejusdem mensis Neapoli in palatio Archiepiscopatus, venerabilis et Religiosus vir, Fr. Nicolaus Abbas monasterii Fosse-novæ primo interrogatus super vita et conversatione ejusdem Fr. Thomæ, dixit, quod olim tempore felicitis recordationis Domini Gregarii Papæ Decani, dum dictus Fr. Thomas vocatus iret ad Concilium Lugdunense, et transitum faceret per Campaniam, infirmatus fuit in castro Magentis ejusdem Domini Anibaldi de Ceeano et cum ipsa infirmitate graveretur, dixit, ut audivit a pluribus: Si Dominus voluerit me visitare, melius est, quod reperiri in domo Religiosorum, quam in domibus secularium: et ex tunc causa devotionis fecit se portari ad monasterium Fosse-novæ, quod distat a dicto castro miliaribus sex vel circa, ubi jacuit iussimus quasi per mensem: et cum pervenisset ad dictum monasterium, in ingressu ipsius audivit dicti dictus testis, quod dictus Fr. Thomas dixit: *Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam.*" (Boll. *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap. II., n. 8. p. 687; Item, Cap. VI., n. 49, p. 700.)

† "Post hoc [miraculum de halitibus] cum predictus Doctor fuisset aliquibus remediis confortatus, ut videretur sibi, quod posset iter inceptum proseguere versus Romanam, juxta monasterium Fosse-novæ transiens: invitatus ab Abbate et monachis, volens ibi aliquibus diebus vires resumere, predictum monasterium est ingressus cum comitiva decenti conventuum et conventuum monachorum. Qui cum primo ingressus fuisset ecclesiam, debita reverentia sacro altari exhibita, claustrum intravit, ubi facta est super eum manus Domini, et tactus Spiritu prophetico, dixit pluribus audientibus monachis et sui ordinis fratribus, et precipue suo socio, cui consueverat amilia revelare: Fili Raynaldus, hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi: hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam." (Toro. *Boll.*, Cap. X., n. 58, p. 675; Cf. Frigerio, *Lib. IV.*, Cap. I., n. 5, p. 137; Gibelli, *Cap. XXXI.*, p. 116; Baretti, *Cap. XXVII.*, p. 360; Werner, *Kirster Band, Sechstes Capitel*, p. 843; Tourou, *Liv. III.*, *Chap. XII.*, p. 248; Vita, p. 33; Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap. III., n. 19, p. 689; Item, Cap. VI., n. 49, p. 700; Item, Cap. IX., n. 80, p. 711.)

‡ Ps. CXXXI., 14.

§ For the extraordinary number of miracles worked by the Saint, regarding the sweet odour and incorruption of his body, see Boll., *alla Vita*, *Auctore B. Guldonis Episcop. Lollivens.*:

a genius, had been vacated by the Prelate purposely for him.* Here, during the whole of his illness, which lasted about a month, the community watched over him with all the tenderness and reverence of sons towards a father. The Benedictines would suffer no one to wait upon him but themselves: all servants were excluded; even the wood to make his fire was cut down in the forest by the hands of the brethren, and borne on their willing shoulders to his hearth.† They were overjoyed to receive him into their home, and to minister to him of their choicest and their best. He, on his part, full of calmness and peace, patient as a child, gentle as charity itself, knew he was amongst his own; and yearning continually after his release—fixed in the thought of the Eternal Rest of God—was ever repeating over these words of S. Augustine: “So long as in me there is ought which is not wholly Thine O God, suffering and sorrow will be my lot; but when I shall be Thine alone, then shall I be filled with Thee, and wholly set at liberty!”‡

It was the Christ-principle which filled his entire being, and bore him up out of this visible scene into those expanding realms of light, from which light comes into the mind of man. Knowing how faith and science had illuminated the man of God, especially with respect to the union of the soul with its Beloved, the monks, notwithstanding his feeble condition, could not refrain from asking him to expound to them the *Canticle of Canticles*, which has wholly to do with the mystic marriage of the soul with Christ. Ever since his great vision the Saint had put aside his pen. All his learning, in the brightness of the light which shone upon him at that hour, appeared to him as a faded flower in the mid-day sun.§ Still, the monks implored

Llb. I., Cap. I.—LV.; Llb. II., Pars I., Cap. I.—XXIV.; Pars II., Cap. XXV.—LXXXII. Pars III., Cap. LXXXIII.—XCIX. The Second and Third Books contain a full account of, or reference to, ninety-nine distinct miraculous cures performed through the intercession of S. Thomas. (Vld. Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis*, p. 714—721.)

* “Post quod prophetium dictum de suo obitu fratribus sui ordinis præcipue, lamentantibus, positus fuit Doctor in camera Abbatii, cæteris sociis, sicut exigebat necessitas, cum magno caritatis affectu colloctis.” (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. X., n. 58, p. 675.)

† “Ubi cum prædictus Doctor pluribus diebus gravatus amplius infirmitate decumberet; monachi cum tanta reverentia et humillitate ei servire coeperunt, ut et de silva propriis humeris ligna deferrent; felices se reputantes, si sancto Doctori possent exhibere servitium, qui adhuc vivens preprobaret ad regnum. Ipse vero Doctor providus in se et aliis compassivus dicebat: Unde hoc mihi, ut et servi Dei serviant homini, et omni tantum de longe deficiant, quo laboratis?” (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. X., n. 58, p. 675.)

‡ *Confessions*, Book X., Chap. [XXVIII.] 39. Edit. Oxford. See also, Tonrou, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Liv. III., Chap. XIII., p. 249.

§ During the illness of the Saint, a radiant star or comet stood over the monastery. A Brother of the Abbey having fallen asleep whilst in the Church, saw, at the moment of the Angelical's death, a large bright star falling as it were, upon the Convent, whilst two other stars uniting themselves to it, fell with it; the larger bright star then mounting up the heavens became as great as the other two together, and pierced out of sight beyond the clouds. (See Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. X., n. 60, p. 675—676.) B. Paul de Aquila also had a vision at Naples. He saw the Angelical teaching in the Schools. S. Paul entered with a company of Saints, and taking the Saint by the cappa led him out of the School:—“Ad ejus Doctoris exitum prædictus Frater cepit fortiter clamare: Succurrite, quia Fr. Thomas nobis tollitur.” (Tocco, *Boll.*, Cap. X., n. 61, p. 676.) B. Raymond Maturus, after the Saint's death, had a vision of him: One eye appeared much larger than the other: “De hoc Elii, miraris,” said the apparition to him, “quod tantam differentiam in me oculi dextri a sinistro percipis: tanta est differentia scien-

him, reminding him how Blessed Bernard had done the like. The Angelical looked at them with unutterable gentleness, and said: "Get me Bernard's spirit, and I will do your bidding."* Finally, he gave way to them, and surrounding the bed on which he lay, they heard from the lips of the dying Theologian how there is no strength, or peace, or light, for man in earth or heaven, without the charity of Christ and the merits of His Cross.†

Growing still weaker, the man of God became conscious that his hour was drawing very nigh. He sent for Reginald, his *socius*, and with deep contrition and many sighs, made a review of his entire life, which, in reality, was simply a manifestation of the abiding and angelic purity of his heart and spirit.‡ Having done this, he then begged the brethren to bring him the Body of our Lord—that Lord Who, from infancy up, had been the main-stay of his life and the one desire of his large and tender heart.§ The Abbot, accompanied by his community, proceeded to the chamber of the dying man, solemnly bearing the Blessed Sacrament. The door was gently opened, the monks one by one went in, and speedily surrounded the bed and filled the cell: then, with slow and silent step, the Abbot came, bearing the bright Ciborium containing the Nourishment of Eternal Life. Immediately the great Angelical perceived his Master's presence, with the help of the brethren he rose from his pallet, and, kneeling upon the floor, adored his King and Saviour; and whilst shedding many tears, amidst the sobs of the monks who could not control their emotion, he made his act of Faith in the real presence of his Lord.|| When he had made an end, and the Abbot was on the point of administering the Saving Host to him, he exclaimed, in the hearing of all the monks: "I receive Thee, the price of my soul's redemption, for love of Whom I

tiae, quam nunc habeo in patria ab ea quam habui dum essem in via." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, n. 65, p. 677.) See also another vision in the *Processus de Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis*, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, n. 67, p. 706.

* Tournou, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, *Chap. XIII.*, p. 251.

† "Qui [S. Thomas] licet admodum debilis esset, quia credebatur, ut prophetizaverat, ut ex vita transiret, rogatus ab aliquibus monachis, qui capere poterant, ut aliquod memoriale suae scientiae eis in fine relinqueret, breviter eis exposuit Cantica Canticorum: ut in hoc casu deficiente corpore a vita mortali, animus illa non deficeret ab actu necessario doctrinali, et in Canticis terminaret amoris, ut sicut ad Deum suum exercuit audium, sic ad habendum dilecti perveniret amplexum." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, n. 58, p. 675.)

‡ His Confessor, who knew his life fully, declared that, from his birth to his death, his mind and heart had never once been sullied. At forty-eight, he was as pure as a child of five years old. Reginald spoke thus, in his Funeral Oration: "Surgens itaque in medium," says Tocco, "predicavit et dixit: Ego istius Doctoris totius vitae exterioris et conscientiae testis sum et frequenter audivi meritum ejus non evidens: et nunc generalem ejus Confessionem audivi, quem ita semper purum reperi, sicut puerum quinque annorum: quia nunquam carnis suae sensit contagium, nec habuit in aliqua prava voluntate consensum." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, n. 64, p. 676.)

§ "Deinde cum coepisset predictus Doctor nimia debilitate defecere, et sui exitum de hac vita praescire, cum magna devotione petiit exhiberi sibi Christianae peregrinationis viaticum sacrosanctum Christi Corporis Sacramentum." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, n. 59, p. 675.)

|| See Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, n. 59, p. 675.

have studied, I have watched, and I have laboured ! Thee have I preached, Thee have I taught, against Thee never have I breathed a word, neither am I wedded to my own opinion. If I have held ought which is untrue regarding this Blessed Sacrament, I subject it to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church, in whose obedience I now pass out of life." Then, as the Abbot lifted up the Spotless Element to administer to him, with a sweet torrent of tears and with mighty devotion, the glorious man uttered his favourite ejaculation : " Thou, O Christ, art the King of Glory ; Thou art the Everlasting Son of the Father ! " and received gently upon his tongue the Angelic Bread which came to him from Heaven.* And, as he was approaching close upon his change, the Abbot with the brethren still watched about his bed ; and those senses, which had served their Master with such generous loyalty, were one by one anointed, with the Sacred Unction, by loving Benedictine hands at his request, whilst he, quite conscious of what was going on, answered " Amen " to the prayers of the minister of God.† See them, then, for the last time, bending over him. See the Prince of Theologians, passing out of life, or rather advancing through his labours into rest, to realize away from the twilight of earth the one dream of his soul ; to see the King in His Glory, and the Blessed adoring before the Everlasting Throne !‡ There he lies, the great Angelical, calm and self-contained as if reclining in the mighty Hand of God, "*Expectans beatam spem et adventum Domini*," looking forward to the blessed hope and coming of his Lord !

The brethren, meanwhile, with untold tenderness and reverence follow his countenance with their lustrous eyes, and watch life gradually ebbing away, till, at last, that moment comes, which it is not given to any man to know, when the spirit secretly flies swiftly away out of the world of time and sense.

* " Et premissis aliquibus devotis verbis, sumendo Sacramentum prædixit: Sumo te premium redemptionis animæ meæ, pro cuius amore studui, vigilavi, et laboravi, te prædicavi et docui, nihil unquam contra te dixi, nec sum pertinax in sensu meo, sed si quid male dixi de hoc Sacramento, totum relinquo correctioni Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in cuius obedientia nunc transeo ex hac vita. Dicitur de predicto Doctore etiam, quod in elevatione Corporis Christi etiam consueverat dicere: Tu Rex gloriæ Christi, Tu Patris sempiternus es filius, usque ad finem cum magna devotione et lacrymis." (Tocco, *Roll. Cap. X.*, n. 59, p. 675.)

† " Quo Sacramento suscepto, sic devote sibi ad meritum, aliis ad exemplum petivit consequenter die altera sacre Unctionis oleum, excentium Sacramentum: ut ille meticius spiritus, qui cum præ participibus suis iunxerat, ad eorum duceret, quo tendebat. Post panillum autem suum spiritum Domino reddidit: quem sicut Sanctum suscepit, sic servavit, qui tam lætante exivit de corpore, quam mirabiliter videbatur vivere extra corpus." (*Ibidem.*)

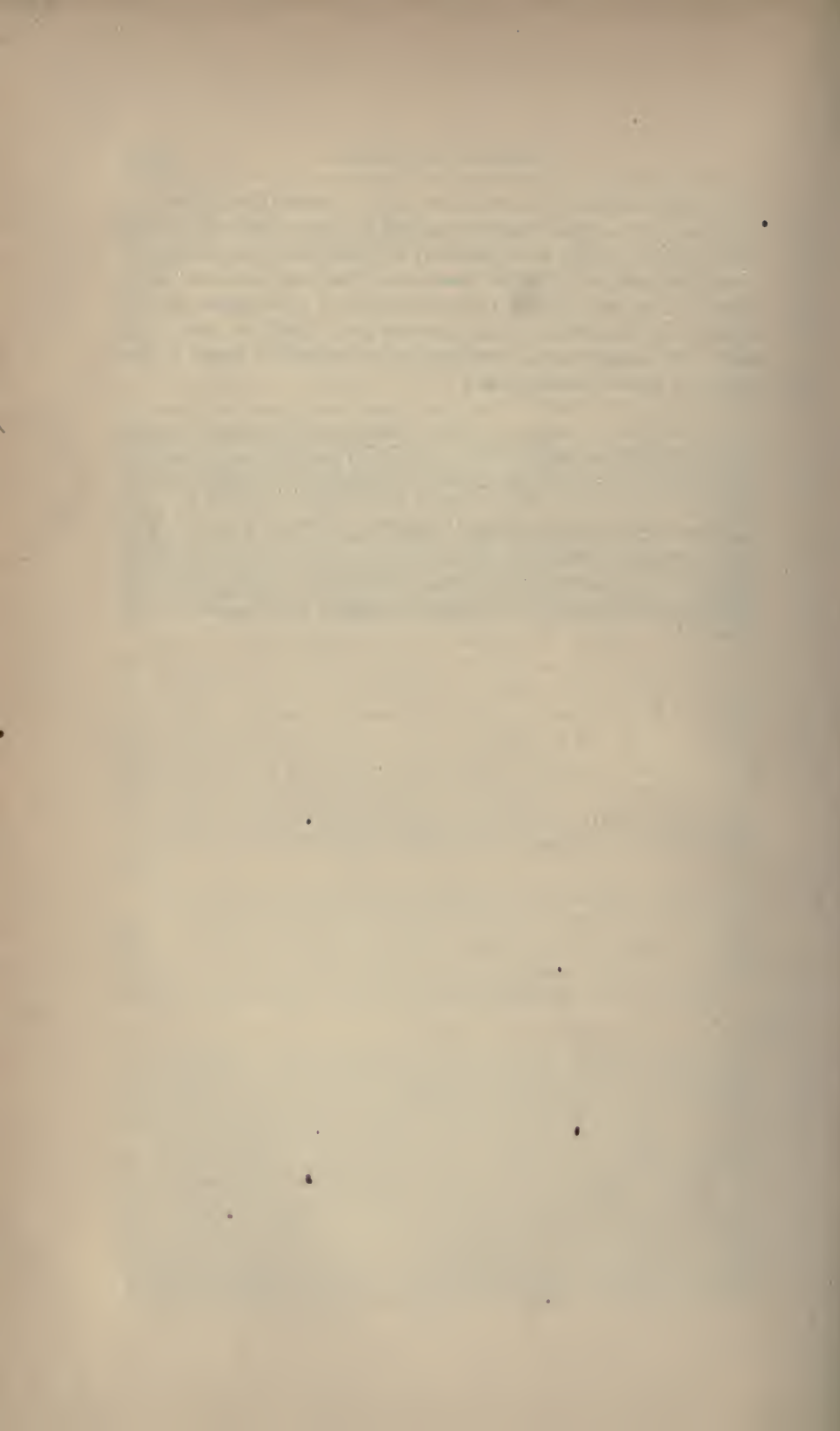
‡ The Angelical told Reginald that he had asked, and had received, three favours from Heaven: abstraction of Spirit, humility of life, and a knowledge of the condition of his brother's soul:—" Ed habendo io chiesto tre doni in vita ; sono stato fatto di quelli degno per sua bontà. Et da questi argomenti la presente gratia, et la futura gloria. Il primo sì, che nessuna affezione delle cose temporali, ò carnali havesse annichilata la purità della mia mente : ò la fortezza debilitata. Il secondo, che non havesse permesso, che lo stato della mia povera humiltà fosse stato alterato da Prelatura, ò dignità. Il terzo, che sconcerto m'havesse lo stato dell'anima di mio fratello Rinaldo, il quale per la diffensione della Romana Chiesa con morte crudele, et tormenti amari da questa vita è par tito." (*Vita*, p. 33.)

He was taken from exile on the early morning of the seventh of March, in the year twelve hundred and seventy-four, in the prime of manly life, being scarcely eight and forty years of age.*

It is but natural, it is but beautiful, that he, who in early boyhood had been stamped with the signet of S. Benedict, should return to S. Benedict to die. He had gone forth to his work and to his labour in the morning, and he returned home to his brethren in the evening-tide.†

* At the very hour of the Angelical's *transitus*, Albertus Magnus, his old master, was seen by the Community and Prior of the Convent, at Cologne, to burst into tears. The Prior implored him to say what was the matter: "Ego dico vobis graves rumores," replied the aged man, "quia Fr. Thomas de Aquino filius meus in Christo, qui fuit Lumen Ecclesie, mortuus est, et mihi revelatum est a Deo; et tunc Prior notavit, et compertum est tunc fuisse mortuum, quando hoc fuit revelatum." (Boll., *Processus in Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap. VII., n. 67, p. 706.)

† It appears that the Angelical continued throughout life to wear the Benedictine Badge or Scapular: "Movet me primum, quod Parisiis olim, in majori Conventu D. Jacobi, ubi maximam vite partem D. Thomas exegit, a plerisque Magistris, et antiqui moris Viris acceperim, ex prisca Majorum traditione haberi, communiterque teneri, Doctorem Angelicum, sub aiba Dominicanorum veste, Benedictinum Schema, seu Scapulare nigrum gestare solitum fuisse. Quod idem a Viro doctissimo eodemque eximio probitatis Magistro Julio Mercoro, apud Mediolanum Fidei Quasitore, acceperim, profitetur laudatus hic sæpe Vir summus Angelus de Nuce, Archiepiscopus Rossanensis." (Vid. *De Monachatu Benedictino D. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Cap., VII., § IV., p. 67.)



INDEX.

	PAGE.
ABACUS, the.....	153
Abbas, house of—patrons of learning.....	150
Abbasides, the—patrons of learning.....	149, 150, 151
Abbo of Fleury.....	188
Abdalla, tutor of Avicenna.....	156
Abderrahman, founder of Spanish science.....	152
Abelard, 83. Birth and early life. 84. Paris; studies under William of Champeaux; sets up as master at Melun, 85. Corbell; goes to S. Victor's. 86. Overthrow of William of Champeaux; return to Melun and Paris; his school of Mount S. Geneviève; Anselm of Laon, 87. Exposition of Ezechiel; leaves Laon; at Paris again, 88. Raised to the chair of Notre Dame, at Paris; teaching on Universals; his tract " <i>De Generibus et Speciebus</i> ;" simple method of teaching, 89. Leaves S. Denis for Troyes; Heloise; goes to S. Denis; condemned at Soissons, 90. Leaves S. Denis for Troyes; his solitude people, 91. Condemned at Sens; his depreciation of the Fathers, 92. The " <i>Sic et Non</i> ;" his advance in theology, 93. Spirit of criticism, 94. His disciples wide spread, 99. Satire against S. Bernard, 100. His character by S. Bernard, 100. Desires a council; council called at Sens, 101. At Sens, 105. Impeached by S. Bernard; appeals; retires to a monastery, 106. Reconciled to S. Bernard; and to the Pope; pious life after his conversion, 107, 108. Death, 109. Likeness to Socrates, note, 109. Effects of his condemnation, 145. Raised the reputation of S. Geneviève, 200. Second book of S. Thomas's Commentary on the " <i>Sentences</i> ," against, 283. Personification of rationalism, 287. Said by John of Cornwall to be author of Nihilism, 297. Held a separate soul to be a person, 293, 407. Rationalism of, met in " <i>Questiones Disputate</i> ".....	851, 890, 901
Aben Esra, a Spanish Jew.....	153
Alhadeddin, El-Idshi.....	156
Abraham, note.....	572
Abstraction of S. Thomas, 560; note.....	560
Abu Bekr, note.....	877
Abusimbi, temples of, note.....	576
Academus, grove of.....	4
Academy, 803, 804. Terminology of, used by S. Thomas, 817, 818. S. Thomas supports Aristotle against.....	825
Achaia, cities of.....	584
Achard, a disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's.....	134
Achmed Ibn Tolun, note.....	151
Acropolis.....	629
Activity (principle of in S. Thomas), 728. Period of intellectual, begins.....	76
Adalberon of Laon.....	188
Adam, man after fall of.....	771
Adam the Englishman, a disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's.....	134, 198
Adam of Marisco, his errors.....	224
Adam of Perseigne, note.....	72
Adelard of Monte Cassino.....	5
Adelhard, a disciple of Alcuin.....	76
Adelhard of Bath, gained science from the Spanish, 152. Translated Euclid.....	154
Adedutus, son of S. Augustine, note.....	689
Adrian V, Pope.....	454
Adultery forbidden.....	336
Ægidius, a disciple of S. Francis.....	44
Ægidius Romanus, 254. A disciple of S. Thomas, 254. Forerunner of the Thomistic Theologians, note, 254. Became an Augustinian, and Archbishop of Berry, 254. Called " <i>Doctor Fundatissimus</i> ".....	254
Ægidius Gallutius.....	901
Ægidius Lusitanus, 548. Note.....	548
Æmilia, S. Ambrose appointed Governor of.....	675
Æolia, cities of.....	588
Æschylus.....	774
Æsculapius, Socrates' sacrifice of a cock to.....	782
Æsop's Fables, 14. "Against Those who Hinder Men from Entering Religion," by S. Thomas, 397. Arguments of the opponents of religion, 397-399. Children,	

	PAGE.
converts and sinners not to be excluded from religion, 398-400. Other objections answered, 400-402. Vows of religion said to be unlawful, 402, 403. At what age vows may be taken, 403. Other objections against vows answered, 404.	405
Ethiopians converted, note.....	585
Ætna, Empedocles jumped into.....	775
Africa, 584. Asks for Bishops from Monastery of S. Augustine, 701. Vandals in, 704, 705. Donatists in.....	719
Agatho, Pope.....	861
Agean.....	626
Agreus.....	873
Aglaes, S.....	605
Agnes, S., miracle of S. Thomas by relic of, 894. The first book of S. Ambrose's "Virginity" on.....	678
Agnes S., of Bohemia, Frederic II desired to marry.....	22
Agora.....	629
Aguirre and S. Thomas.....	551
Ainsoph, the.....	168
Alanus de Lusulis, 171. Legend of, 226. His vision, 227. Becomes a lay brother, 227. At a council of Rome, 227. Pupil of S. James's.....	230
Alanus of Auxerre, note.....	227
Alauns of Farfa, a preacher.....	239
Albaneta, Monastery of.....	7
Albano Monte, destroyed.....	34
Alberic, a disciple of Anselm of Laon.....	88, 90,
Albert, Bishop of Livonia, founded The brethren of the Sword.....	91
Albertus Magnus, 51, 478, 498. Lectures at Cologne, 65. Birth and early Dominican life; his teaching, 66. Meeting with S. Thomas, 67. Sent to Paris, 67. Return to Cologne, 67. Made Provincial, and Bishop of Regensburg, 67. His great learning, 68. His many works, 69. Aristotle and the Pagan philosophers christianized, 69, 70. Accusations against, 70. His services to theology, 70. His knowledge of many sciences, 71. His automaton, 71. Works translated, 71. His grasp of Aristotle, 72. Death, 72. His sanctity, note, 72. His low opinion of S. Thomas's ability, 174. Discovers S. Thomas's gifts, 176, 177. His prophecy regarding the saint, 177. Assisted from heaven in expounding the <i>Arcopagite</i> , 177. Sent to Paris to teach and to take the Doctor's Cap, 179. Wrote his Commentary on the "Sentences" at S. James's, 216. Chair of, at Ratisbonne, 217. His book " <i>Adversus Parisienses</i> ," 222. Chair at Paris, 230. His course, 232. Teaching at Paris, 425. Takes his Doctor's Cap, 234. Sent as regent to Cologne, 235. Uses his influence to get S. Thomas to return to Paris, 250. His spirit—activity, note, 253. Differs from Hales on what theology is, 275. Not enlaved to Aristotle, 283. View on Creation, 283. View on Original Sin, 288. S. Thomas's admiration of, 306. Lectures in open air at Paris, 343. At Anagni, 358, 421. Strong, both in intellect and will, 516. Approval of S. Thomas, 549. On S. Thomas, 551. One of the Commission on the Dominican Studies, 556, 561, 571, 729, 731, 821. Commentary on Aristotle, satisfies himself with a poor version, 823. Prepared the way for "Summa," 889, 890, 892. Death of S. Thomas made known to, weeping, etc., note.....	943
Albi, Albigenes take their name from.....	34
Albigenses, 457. Their doctrine and character, 34-35; note.....	48
Albina, mother of Marcella.....	650-700
Albomasar.....	154
Alcala, 544. Suarez taught at.....	545
Alcibiades, power of priests over, 774. Love of Socrates' teaching, 782. Description of Socrates, note.....	783
Alcin, 532. Drew up a Catena.....	739
Aldhelm.....	15
Aldric.....	198
Aleppo.....	150
Alexander III, 32. Condemns some supposed propositions of Lombard.....	297
Alexander IV, and audience of S. Thomas with, 483, 484. Enforces decrees at Paris in favor of mendicants, 489, 490. Testimony to S. Thomas, 519, 551, 557, 883, 909. Recommends the Sorbonne, 204. Elected, 312. Bull to the University of Paris, 312, 313. Refuses to grant the petition of William of S. Amour, 314. Refuses to admit the arrangements come to at Paris between mendicants and seculars, 315. His new Bull against S. Amour and his party, 315, 316. Bulls in defence of the Dominicans, 359. At Anagni, 357, 358. Condemns the "Perils" of S. Amour, 363. Forbids S. Amour to enter France.....	365
Alexander V.....	209
Alexander VII, testimony to S. Thomas, note, 521. Sketch of, 526. Brief to Lorraine, note, 526. Instructs General Chapter of Dominicans to draw up a work on morals from writings of S. Thomas, 526. Approval of S. Thomas, note.....	551
Alexander VIII, issued Bulls to found Universities, with the proviso that "S. Thomas" be taught in them, note.....	527
Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, sees S. Athanasius at play, 601. S. Athanasius studies under, 601. At Nicæa.....	608
Alexander the Great, less than Aristotle, 516. The typical commander, 570. Pupil of Aristotle; his appreciation of, 805. Death of.....	805, 824, 825,
Alexander Hales. See Hales.	874
Alexandria and "Summa," 569, 571, 573. See of, note, 573, 584. Anthony at, 594. Against Ariana, 593, 596. Church founded at, 598. School of, 599, 659. Sway of see of, 605. Turns out to meet S. Athanasius, 609. School of, influence on S. Basil, 620. S. Gregory Thaumaturgus at, 620. S. Gregory Nazianzen at, 625, 645. S. Jerome and Paula, etc., travel to, 650. Platonism of, 659. Difference from school at Antioch, note, 658. Its site and history, 659. Influence of teaching of, 768. Faith at.....	75

	PAGE.
Alfano.....	10
Alfarabi, 152. Note.....	135
Alfergan.....	154
Alfonso VIII, of Castile.....	47
Alfonso X, 155. Letter of Innocent III to.....	153
Alfonso Tostatus, epitaph of, note.....	72
Algazel, a follower of Aristotle, 152. Studied by S. Thomas.....	284
Algebra introduced into Christianity.....	154
Alkendi.....	152
Almagest of Ptolemy, translated into Arabic.....	151
Almamoun—patron of learning.....	150, 151, 152
Almansor, 150. Patron of learning.....	150, 151, 159
Alpetragi, spheres of, translated.....	180
Alphonso Lignori S., made doctor, note.....	533, 573
Alphonso de Mendoza, disciple of Toletus.....	545
Alvarus of Cordova.....	153
Alvise, Bishop of Arras.....	104
Alypius.....	697, 704
Amalarins.....	198
Amalric, a professor at Paris.....	467
Amalric of Bena, errors of, 221. Condemnation of.....	222
Amanry.....	353
Amatus of Salerno.....	10
Ambrose, S., 75, 399, 401, 407. Difficulty of at once realizing, 513, 514. Great in will, 515; note, 517; note, 518. Doctor, 525, 533. Made doctor, note, 533, 569; note, 571, 593. Influence of on S. Thomas, 669. Character of his style, 675. His eloquence, note, 675. Parents 675. Sworn of bees within his mouth, 675. At Rome, 675. His birth place, 675. Made Governor of Liguria and Emilia, 676. Elected Bishop of Milan, 676. His attempts to escape, 676. Baptized and consecrated, 676. Gives possessions to Church, 677. Gives his spare time to study of Scripture, etc., 677. Formed his mind on S. Basil, 677. Studies under Simplicianus, 678. His manner of life, 678. Raised up to support Church authority and to inspire a love of holy purity, 678, 679. Governing character, 679. Books on Faith and Holy Trinity against Arianism, 679. Influence over Gratian, 680. Order of Justina to S. Ambrose to give up Basilica of S. Victor's to Arians, 680. Answer of Ambrose, 680. Portian Basilica ordered to be given up to Arians; S. Ambrose's reply, 680; 681. Scene in the Church at Milan, 681. Attempt to murder, 681. And Theodosius 681. Some miracles of, note, 681. Love of Valentinian, 681; note, 681. Other works of, 681, 682. Foretells his death, 682. Death scenes, 682. Character, 683. Highest master of practice, 685. His conversion of S. Augustine, 685. S. Augustine speaking of, 685, 686. S. Monica's love of, 687. Helps in conversion of S. Augustine, 692. Influence over S. Augustine, 695. Established nuns at Milan, 697. Baptized S. Augustine, 698. Ever in battle, 706, 723, 727. S. Thomas took him in morals, 729, 731. His epistles, note, 732, 777, 886, 888, 906, 928. Type of statesmen.....	932
Ammiratus, Eugenius.....	154
Ammon, S., 587. Anthony saw soul of, going to heaven, 276. Companion of S. Athanasius, 604. Went to Rome with S. Athanasius.....	605
Ammonius.....	825
Amour, William of S., 240. His contest with S. Thomas, 449. The "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," 450, 451. His attempt to abuse the Franciscans by the Introduction, 452, 453, 455. Communications with, forbidden, 489. Complete defeat of, 492. New attempts of, 900. Not content with the decision of Alexander IV, 313. Appeal to the Pope, 314. Deprived of all honours; forbidden to teach, 316. Represents rationalism, 346. His lost character, 346. His "Perils," 347. Against religious orders, 348. His many errors, note, 348. Special hatred of the poverty of the Mendicants, 349. Tries to turn secular clergy against Mendicants, 351-352. The "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," 352-353. Goes on a deputation to the Pope, 356. Two commissioners appointed by Alexander IV to examine the "Perils" of, 357. S. Thomas against, 359. The "Perils" given to S. Thomas to examine, 359. S. Thomas' defence against, 361. The cardinals' report on "Perils," 362. Doctrines condemned by Pope Alexander IV, 363. Defends his "Perils," 364. Forbidden to enter France, 364. Goes to Burgundy, 365. Permitted to return to France, 365. His "Collectiones Sacre Scripture" answered by S. Thomas, 365. Death, 366. Founder with Robert of Sorbon, of the Sorbonne, 366. S. Thomas writes "Contra impugnantes" against, 368-383. His doctrines damnable, 384. Held manual labor obligatory on religious, 388. Held voluntary poverty wrong, 390. Slander of Mendicants, 392. Mode of his attack on monasticism, 394, 396. Other arguments of, refuted, 404, 406, 407, 432	803
Amyntas II, of Macedon, Nichomachus flies to.....	361
Anagni, 489. S. Thomas's visit to. 557. Pope and emperor meet, 15. Dominican convent at, 359-360. Suspense at.....	808
Analysis, power of S. Thomas in. 760. Aristotle's love of.....	828
"Analytics-Posterior" of Aristotle, 825. Object of, 825. Length of, 805; note, 825-826. Division of, etc., of demonstration.....	825
"Analytics Prior" of Aristotle.....	166
Anan, a schismatic Jew.....	363
Anastasia S., Church of at Constantinople, 363; note.....	284
Anaxagoras studied by S. Thomas.....	830
Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, doctrine of, 773. Imprisonment of, 774. Influence on Socrates, 781. Influence on Plato, 786, 829. On motion.....	773
Anaximander, strong both in intellect and will, 515. Doctrine of.....	773
Anaximenes, doctrine of.....	910
Ancona, marches of.....	151
Andalusia, its libraries.....	

	PAGE.
Andragathius stabs Emperor Gratian.....	679
Andrea, Peter, took down exposition of S. Thomas on S. Matthew.....	752
Andrew, S., S. Gregory enters monastery of, at Rome, 713. S. Gregory leaves for England, 715. S. Gregory returns, and made abbot 717. Pestilence at.....	717
Androniens.....	824, 825
Angelic Warfare. See Warfare.	
Angelical Salutation, S. Thomas's treatise on the.....	320, 329
Angelico, Fra.....	53
Angelo, S.....	7
Angels, S. Thomas's treatment on the, 256, 759; note, 256. They cannot increase in merit, 281. First did reverence to men in the case of Mary, 320. Why revered by men, 329. Treated in First Part of "Summa".....	904
Anger, forbidden, 335. Sometimes a virtue.....	335-336
Anglican Church.....	435
Anglo-Saxon boys and S. Gregory.....	715
Anicinus, family of.....	605
Animals, lawful to kill.....	334
Anjon.....	910
Ankers, the English, note.....	597
Annat on "Summa".....	894
Anselm, of Laon, his character, "Doctor Doctorem, 88, 91. A disciple of S. Anselm, 123. Composed a book of Sentences, 144. His "Glossa Interlinearis".....	183
Anselm, S., 473, 494. Strong both in intellect and will, 516; note, 518, 532. Made doctor, note, 533. 716. 890, 891. Advance made in theology, note.....	902, 907
Anselm, S., his intellectual character, 81. Chief dates of his life, note, 81. At Bec, 82. "De Fide Trinitatis," on which the Realistic School was founded, 82. Character of his school, 82. His contemplative life, 83. His youth, 124. His dream, 124. Pupil of Laufranc, 124. Joins together the reverence of monasticism and activity of scholasticism, 124. Veneration for revelation, 124, 125. Tractate on the Trinity, 125. Monologue, 125. His proof of God's existence, 128. His characteristics, 127. Precursor of scholastics, 127. Compared with S. Bernard, 128. His "De Grammatico," 189. His abstraction, note, 232. His view of original sin, 287. Its essence, privation, 288. No guilt in semen, 293, 398. Mr. Church's appreciation of, note.....	434, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

	PAGE.
Arabians and Christians, similitude between.....	155
Arabs met in "Questiones Disputatae," 851; note, 852, 853; note, 855, 875. Did not hold unity of intellect.....	876, 896
Arabs gained knowledge of medicine from the Nestorian school of Nischnapur.....	155
Arcadius, S. Chrysostom before, note, 518. S. Chrysostom against.....	669
Architremius, work of De Hauteville, note.....	471
Architecture developed at the same time as the science of the Middle Ages, note, 189. Inefficiency of modern, note.....	433
Archytas and Plato, 787; note.....	788
Ardenolf of Aquino II.....	14, 6, 8
Ardent, Ralph, a preacher.....	240
Areopagus, 629. Aristotle accused before the.....	806
Arianism in S. Ambrose's days, 678. S. Ambrose strives to preserve Emperor Gratian from it by writing books on Faith and Trinity, 679; note, 679, 681. Bishops of, deposed by S. Ambrose.....	681
Arians claim S. Anthony as of their party, 593, 600. Date of, 600. Opposed by followers of S. Anthony, note, 600. Pride of, note, 602. Destroyed Christianity, 602. Cruelty of, at Constantinople, 641; note, 641. S. Augustine against, 701. In Spain.....	719
Arianus, S. Gregory Theologus at.....	643
Ariobarzanes, gift of, to Athens, note.....	628
Aristarchus of Samothrace.....	24
Aristippus contrasted with S. Gregory Nazianzen, 775. Date of, note, 774. Debauched, 775. Disciple of Socrates.....	783, 790
Aristo, father of Plato, 783. Master of Plato.....	784
Aristocles, same as Plato. <i>Vide</i> Plato.	
Aristotle, contrasted with S. Thomas, 13, 14. Study of, 14. Christianized, 68. Effect of his dialectics, 77. School of, 117. Principle of analysis, 118. Enemy of the Fathers, 119. Translated into Arabic, 151. Attention given to, 152. Averroës' love of, 160. Rationalistic influence on Jews, 168. Great authority in schools, 181. One of the text-books of the schools, 181. Gradually introduced into schools, 187. Aphorisms corrupts, 220. His books on natural philosophy forbidden, 221. His metaphysics forbidden, 222; note, 224. First used in theology by Hales, note, 222. Great use made of, by S. Thomas, note, 230, 211. Theory of the eternity of the world, 284. View on the union of soul and body, 300, 401, 403, 419, 426, 423. Difficulty of, at once realizing, 513. Greater than Alexander, 516. At the Lyceum, 516. Sir W. Hamilton on, note, 531, 558, 561. S. Thomas on, 563, 629. S. Thomas's commentary on, note, 565. Pattern thinker, 570. Influence, note, 370. System of, gave S. Thomas a great advantage, note, 726. Representative of Greek philosophy, 729. Doctrine of, 773, 777, 790. Less Christian than Plato, note, 799; note, 799. Disciple of Plato, 801. Youth, 801. Appearance, 801. Contrast with Plato, 801. Pride and immorality, 801. His alleged vices, 801; note, 801. Other points of character, 802. Style, 802. Antithesis of Plato, 803. Difference of works from those of Plato, note, 803. Birth, 803. At Athens, 803. Becomes Plato's disciple, 804. Visits Hermias, 804. Goes to Mytilene, 804. Marriage with Pythias, 804. At Macedon, tutor to Alexander the Great, 805. Return to Athens, 805. High idea of education, note, 805. Teaches at the Lyceum, 805. Fled to Chalcis, 806. Accused, and sentence of death against, at Athens, 806. Death of, 806. Energy of, note, 806. Feeling of aversion to Aristotle, 806. Scholastic, 806. Some points of contrast with Plato, note, 806; note, 807; note, 807. Difference from Plato, 807, 808. Derives knowledge from sense, 808. Loved natural sciences, 808. Summary of teaching of, note, 808. In matters of religion below Plato, 808. Philosophy of, boon to Church, 808. Teaching of, 809. Teaching on the soul, 810, 811; note, 810. Comparison with S. Thomas, 811. Advantage of S. Thomas over, 811, 813. View of, on Plato's teaching on ideas, note, 815, 816, 818. Philosophy of S. Thomas better than that of, 817. On eternal gods of Plato, note, 818. Reverence in schools for, 821. Easily harmonized to Church teaching, 821. Tempered with, 821. S. Thomas' study of, at S. Giovanni, 821. Bad versions of, 823. S. Thomas on metaphysics of, 823. Length of S. Thomas's works on, 824. S. Thomas on "De Interpretatione or Perihermenias," 824. Object of, note, 824. S. Thomas supports, 825. "Posterior Analytics" of, 825. Object of, in writing "Posterior Analytics," 825. On demonstration, 825-828. Relation of book of, on motion, note, 828. Commentary of S. Thomas on "De Physico Auditu," 828, 830. On "De Caelo et Mundo," 831-833. Other treatises, "De Generatione et Corruptione," "Meteorologia," 833. "De Anima" of, 833; note, 833. On "Intellect and Sense," 834. Defended against Avicenna, 835. Various treatises of, expounded by S. Thomas, 835. Metaphysics commented by S. Thomas, 836. Ethics of Aristotle, S. Thomas on, 840. Ethics of, summarized with lectures of S. Thomas, 840-846. Gods, separate substances, 846, 847, 848. S. Thomas's high esteem for, seen in "De Unitate Intellectus," 874. Did not hold unity of intellect, 874. On passive intellect, 875, 876. S. Thomas' grasp of, note, 878, 887. Mettenletter on works of, note, 888, 889, 892. Introduced system among Greeks, 892, 893. Organon of.....	893, 901, 923
Aristophanes' contempt of Greek gods.....	776
Arius, 608. Difference of character from S. Athanasius; his ambition, 609. His appearance and character, 609. Set his doctrine to song, 610. Errors of.....	687
Arles.....	606
Armenians, S. Thomas against.....	873
Arnobius, note.....	568
Arnold of Brescia, 95. At Sens.....	105
Arnoul d'Humblières.....	181
Arnulf of Viterbo.....	901
Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux.....	111
Arnulf, a disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's.....	134
Arrabal, Peter de, 548; note.....	192
Arsenius, S.....	587
Articles of Faith, S. Thomas on.....	319

	PAGE.
Artists, the, of Paris.....	209
Asella, sister of Marcella.....	650
Asharites, the.....	159
Asia, in Rome, 580. Corruption of, 581. Mysticism of, at Athens.....	628, 669
Asia Anterior, richness of, note.....	617
Asia Minor, 572, 577. Debased state of, 580. Temples of gods in, note.....	617
Aspasia.....	774, 781,
Assumption of our Lady, treated by S. Thomas.....	324
Astion, S., note.....	569
Astronomy, limited knowledge of, 153. Grecian science introduced.....	154
Atarnens, Hermias, tyrant of.....	804
Athanasius, S., note, 568, 569; note, 571. Difficulty of at once realizing, 513, 514, 533. Strong, both in intellect and will, 516; note, 517; note, 518. Made doctor, note, 533. Appeals to Pope Julius, note, 574. Writes life of S. Anthony, note, 589. Testimony to S. Anthony's desire of martyrdom, 592. Requests S. Anthony to go to Alexandria against Arius, 593, 595, 598. First great Father, 598. Against Constantine, note, 598, 600. Birth, 601. Adopted by Bishop of Alexandria, 601. Character of, 601. Dates of his career, 601. Hated by demons, 601. Christ his principle, 602, 603. Mutual love of S. Anthony and, 604. Link between, 604. Lives of desert Fathers, 605. At Rome, 605. His high position, 606. His greatness, 606. Gibbou speaks well of, note, 606. His enemies, 607. At Nicea, 608. Triumphs, 608. Triumph at Alexandria, 609. Difference of character from Arns, 609, 610. "Oratio contra Gentes," 610. Influence of Alexandrian school upon, note, 610. Love of Christ, 611. "Oratio de Eucharistico Verbi," 611. Fixed consubstantiality, 611. Chief works of, note, 611. Introduced S. Anthony at Rome, 614. Manifests Christ by practice, 614, 615. Political finesse, 619. Influence of S. Basil on, 619, 621. S. Basil writes to, 638. Left tradition at Treves, 646, 669. Iron will of, 656. Difference from Angelical, a human saint, 656. Never fell, 689, 698. Ever in battle, 706, 727. S. Thomas took him in dogma, 729, 731. Contrasted with Parnenides, 775, 862, 888, 892. Creed of, 906. Triumph at Alexandria, 925, 927. Type of statesmen.....	932 579 780
Athenæns on Rome.....	782
Athenians, love of contention.....	628
Athens, 578, 584, 616, 620. S. Basil at, 622. The great school of early ages, 626. its site and culture, 627. Moral degradation of people, note, 627. The town, its miserable and dirty aspect, 627. Educating power, 628. Flow of foreigners to its schools, 628. Minifluence of foreigners to, note, 628. Its great men, 629. Its plan and buildings, 629. Students noisy, 630. Freshmen, how treated at, note, 630. S. S. Gregory and Basil at, 631. Love of beautiful at, 632. S. Basil tries of, 634. S. Gregory stops at, 635. Persecutions for religion at, 774. Influence of Socrates at.....	627 739
Attalus of Pergamus, note.....	438
Attica.....	934
Attila and S. Leo, 514. "Anditn Physico, De," of Aristotle, 828. "Anctoritas," the, Augustine, S., difficulty of at once realizing his struggle with grace, 514; note, 513. Doctor, 524. Needed defence against the Jansenists, 150. Influence of Plato on, note, 538, 532, 533. Made doctor, note, 533. College of Salamanna obliged its members to defend, 545. Cosmopolitan, note, 568, 569. Theological model, 570, 571, 578; note, 580. And S. Jerome, 652. Contemporary with S. Chrysostom, 669. Praises S. Ambrose's book on Virginity, 674. Conversion by S. Ambrose, 685. At Rome; becomes Professor of Rhetoric at Milan, 686. Birth, 686. Parents, 686. A Manichean, 687. Conversion and mother's joy thereat; baptized, 687. Sets out for Africa, 688. His history and passionate nature, 689, 690. Boyhood, 690. Sent to Carthage to study rhetoric, 691. Fell among the Eversores, 691. Becomes a Manichean, 691. Taught at Thagaste and Carthage, 692. Influence of Christ upon his conversion, 692. Thirst after wisdom even in evil course, 693. Love of Christ's name, 694. Leaves Manicheans, 695. Goes to Rome, 695. Milan, 695. Study of Platonists, 696. And of S. Paul, 696. Wavering, 696. Influence of S. Anthony over, 696. Final conversion by story of Pontifianus and vision, 697. Likeness of mind to that of S. Thomas, 698. Adopts Monasticism, 698. Baptized by S. Ambrose and goes to Rome, 698. Struck by Monasticism at Rome, 698. Sails for Carthage and Thagaste, 699. Divests himself of men, 701. Preaches, 700. Dispute with Fortunatus; writes works, etc., 701. Made Bishop of Hippo by Bishop Valerius, 701. Makes his palace a monastery, 701. Chief works, note, 701; note, 702; note, 703. Principle of monastic life expressed by, 702. Words carved on his table against detractors, 703. Portrait of, 703. During Vandal invasion, 704. Death, 705. Ever in battle, 705. Chief dates of his career, note, 706. Greatest controversialist Father, 706. "De Civitate Dei," a Summa Theologiae, 707. Other works of, 707. Numbers of his letters extant, note, 727. In S. Thomas, 728; note, 729. Representative Father, 729. "Summa Theologiae," rests on, 729. Harmony of S. Thomas with, 729, 731, 732, 733, 741. S. Thomas compared with, note, 771, 777, 861, 862, 889, 890, 891. Gathered together learning, 893, 907, 723, 924, 928. Transcribed, 10. The work of, 75, 142. His "De Questionibus," 185. Possible cause of the introduction of logic to schools, 180. As a preacher, 239. Definition of theology, 274. No punishment without guilt, 287. Opposed to the <i>in massa</i> theory, 291. How the dead are helped, 324. On the Lord's prayer, 327. The Blessed Virgin sinless, 329, 331. Judges may lawfully put to death, 334. Suicide unlawful, 335. Against anger, 335. On theft, 336. God alone fills the heart, 338. The charitable man not covetous, 339. Definition of religion, 371, 374. Taught, 376. Our pride, 381, 382, 383. His "Labor of Monks," 388, 392, 401. Sorrow at delay of conversion, 401, 402, 403. What religious is, 411. Bishops not to be coveted, 417; note, 417. Principle of "Fruet uti," note.....	438 934 545 582 154 433, 434 911 892
Augustine, S., apostle of England; Christ, principle of, converted England.....	
Augustinians at Paris, 357. Approve S. Thomas.....	
Anclian, death of, note.....	
Anclins.....	
Aurelius, Marcus.....	
Anstria, Duke of, made prisoner; beheaded.....	
Authors of scholastic period, note.....	

	PAGE.
Authority, the stand-point of S. Thomas	253
Automaton of Albertus Magnus	71
Autpert	9
Auxanau, S.	587
Auxerre, Hugh of	104
Auxentius, Arian, Bishop of Milan, died	675, 681
Avenpace, 155, 695. Birth, 158. Works, 158; note, 874. Held the passive intellect and imagination to be identical; S. Thomas against, note	877
Avendeath, John	154
Avenzoar	160
Averroes, 22, 153. Translated, 155. Early studies, 159. Derivation of the name, note, 159, 160. His character, 160. Philosophic teaching adverse to Catholic truth, 161. Held philosophy more true than religion, 161. Teaching on the Trinity, 162. Eternity of matter, 162. The heavens, 163. Knowledge of God, 165. Man, 165. Knowledge of men, 165. Master of Maimonides, 169. His influence, note, 224. Probably used by Hales in the composition of his "Summa," note, 264, 284. Taught at Paris, 467, 816, 818, 819. Doctrine of oneness of intellect and sense, 822, 848. Met by S. Thomas, note, 852. S. Thomas against, 874, 875. Doctrine of unity of intellect overset, 876. Arguments of S. Thomas against, 876, 879, 895. Theory of creation demolished by S. Thomas, 903. Lectures of S. Thomas against	914
Avicbron, "Fons Vitæ," 154, 155. A Jew, 158. Same as Ibn-Gabirol, 158; note, 159. Doctrine of, refuted by S. Thomas, 256. S. Thomas against, 873. Materialism, the great error of, note, 874. Held body and spirit one matter, note, 875	
Avicenna, took up Aristotle's views, 152, 153, 155. Birth, 156. Studies, 157. The prince of physicians, 157. Death, 157. Teaching, 157. Influence of, 158. His influence on Franciscaus, 224. Pantheism of, refuted by S. Thomas, 256. Used by Hales in the composition of his "Summa," note, 224, 284. Eternal world of, disposed of by S. Thomas, 819, 830, 835. S. Thomas against, 873, 874; note, 874. Combated by S. Thomas on origin of things, note, 876; note	877
Axiotea	790
Aziluth	168
BABYLAS, S., martyred at Antioch, 660. Life of, by S. Chrysostom	665
Babylon	577, 584
Bacon	426
Bacon, Roger	224
Bacchus, Eleusinian mysteries in worship of, note	774
Bachelor, work of a	555
Bacon, difficulty of at once realizing, 513, 519. Character of his mind, his idols, note, 519, 570. Saw value of facts, 808. On Aristotle, note, 808. Very severe with Plato, note, 808. Precept of	812
Bactriana	584
Bagdad, the "City of Peace," the new capital of the Moslems	150
Baidhawi, Commentary on the Koran	156
Bains, condemned	523, 524
Bulacius, fate foretold by S. Anthony	593
Baldad	760
Bale, influence of S. Thomas at Council of	536
Balkh	150
Balzano, Baron of	6
Baptism treated by S. Thomas in his Commentary on "Sentences," 302. Of children by S. Athanasius, 600. That baptism valid, note, 601. Difference between John the Baptist's and Christ's, S. Thomas on	758
Bar-anina and S. Jerome	651
Barbarossa, Frederick, I, his fall	32
Barcille, his picture of S. Thomas, note, 507. On the "Catena" of S. Thomas, note	740
Barlaam, S., note, 570. Martyred at Antioch	660
Baronius, testimony to influence of S. Thomas at Trent, 538. And S. Thomas, 551, 641	484
Bartholomew of Brescia	901
Bartholomew of Braganza	53
Bartholomew de las Casas, a Dominican	
Basil, S., as a preacher, 239. Taught, 376, 438. Difficulty of at once realizing, 513. Love of solitude, note, 516. Made doctor, note, 533. At Florence, 535; note, 568; note, 571, 575, 588. Severe on S. Dionysius, note, 598, 600. Disorders of Christians in his day, note, 616. Parents of, 618. His brothers and sisters, 618. His character, 619; note, 619. His sufferings, note, 619. Short life and weak health, 619. S. Gregory Nazianzen's praise of, note, 619. Berytus, 620. Influence of Alexandrian School on, 620, 621. Perfect training, 622. Studies at Casarea, etc., 622. Studies at Constantinople, 622. Studies at Athens, 623. His early acquaintance with S. Gregory Nazianzen, 625. Taught by Himerius, note, 630. At Athens, 631. Friendship with S. Gregory Nazianzen, 632, 633. Love of Christ, note, 632, 633. Tires of Athens, 635. Quits Athens, 634. Visits the East, principal dates of, note, 635. Influence of solitaires on, 635. On return from Athens, Dianius, the bishop, baptizes S. Basil, note, 635. In monastery in Pontus, 636. His life there, 636. Great monastic legislator of the East, 637. Before Modestus, 636, 637. Tends sick, 637. His appearance, 637. Other works of, 638. Death of, 638. Grief caused by death, 639. His writings, 639. Made Bishop of Casarea, 640. S. Jerome becomes acquainted with, 647. Iron will of, 656. Difference from Angelical human saint, 657, 658. S. Ambrose forms himself on, 676. Never fell, 689. Ever in battle, 484. Left world very young, 709, 727. Number of letters extant, note, 727. S. Thomas took him in dogma, 729, 731, 731, 747. Contrasted with Empedocles, 775, 862, 886, 928, 930. Champion of liberty and freedom	932

	PAGE.
Basil, friend of S. Chrysostom, 661. Influence over S. Chrysostom, 661. Leaves the world, 662. Made bishop.....	662
Basilisk, S., martyr under Maximin, 671. S. Chrysostom stops at oratory of.....	671
Bassianus, bishop of Lodi.....	682
Beautiful, love of, at Athens.....	633
Beauvais, Vincent of.....	179
Bec.....	14
Bechai.....	153
Becket, Thomas à, at Paris.....	196
Bede, S., 532. Commentary of.....	739, 890
Bede, Venerable, 15, 76, 153. As a preacher.....	239, 325, 398
Begging, when unlawful.....	390
Beghards, 458. Their tenets, note.....	458
Behemoth, S. Thomas on.....	761
Belcastro.....	1
Belin, John.....	356
Bellarmino and S. Thomas.....	551
Ben, Ezra.....	183
Benedict, S., Rouns Monte Cassino, 5. First disciples, 9. One of his objects the education of youth, 18. Reception of children, 18. Thorn-bush turned to roses by S. Francis, note, 19. Civilizer of Northmen, 38. Prepares S. Philip, note, 40. Founder of monasticism, 120. His system, 121. Gave himself as a child to religion, 398, 401, 405, 438. Love of solitude, note, 516. S. Thomas dies at a monastery of, 558. Repetition of S. Anthony, 574, 588. Likeness to S. Anthony, 588. Love of Christ in Rule of, 613. Influence of Eastern monasticism on, note, 615. Left the world young, 709. Influence of life of, on S. Gregory the Great, 711. S. Gregory true to spirit of, 719. World dried up in his sight, 719. Traces of Rule of, frequently recur in writings of S. Gregory, note, 721. Spirit of Christ came to S. Thomas through, 727. In S. Thomas, 728. Connection of S. Thomas with, 938. S. Thomas dies with.....	943
Benedict Labre, S., note.....	593
Benedict I, Pope, makes S. Gregory the Great deacon of Rome, 715. Sends him to Constantinople.....	715
Benedict III.....	864
Benedict XI, testimony to S. Thomas.....	521
Benedict XII, note.....	518
Benedict XIII and S. Thomas, 526. Brief to Dominicans in favour of S. Augustine and S. Thomas.....	527, 528
Benedict XIV, 520. And Trent, note, 537. Most voluminous writer among the Popes.....	723
Benedictines, wide spread of, note, 33. At Paris.....	197
Benedictine spirit, largeness of, 721. Monks ever loved literature, 714. Owed much of their influence to S. Gregory the Great, 714. Peace, benignity and simplicity, special notes of, note, 466. Benignity introduced into the schools by S. Thomas, 479, 500. Monks and S. Thomas.....	545
Beneventum, battle of.....	910
Berengarius, contest with Lanfranc.....	77, 83, 94
Berenger, Peter. See Berengarius.	
Beriah, note.....	306
Bernard, S., 1, 15, 25, 59, 90. His testimony to laxity of clergy, 37, 83. Description of Abelard, 84, 92. Cause of the condemnation of Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée, 94. His appreciation of William of S. Thierry, 96, 97. Character, 98. First relations with Abelard, 98. Attack on Abelard, 99. Letter to the cardinals, 100-101. Hears of a council on question of Abelard, 104. Shrinks from appearing, 102. At Sens, 104. Impeachment of Abelard, 106. Abelard reconciled to, 107. Sends Peter Lombard to S. Victor's, 112. His horror of Abelard not the effect of passion, 211. Compared with S. Anselm, 123. Founder of the monastic method of theology, 125. His spirit, 129. The mystic life, 130. His sketch of the synthetic school of theology, 131. As a preacher, 240. Preached his crusade in French, 240, 242, 331. Made doctor, note, 575, 891	533
Bernardi, William of Gaillac, translated some of S. Thomas's works into Greek, note.....	535
Bertarius, S.....	9
Bessarion, Cardinal, returns to unity at Florence, 535. And S. Thomas, 551. Of Plato, note.....	809
Bethlehem and "Summa".....	569
Bible, the.....	560
"Biblici," the.....	219
Biography, <i>ex-pede</i> principle admissible in, note, 509. Danger of being carried away by hero of, 510, 511. Principle of, note.....	419
Bishops, begin to be chosen from professors, note, 196. Perfection requisite to, 416. State of, more perfect than that of religious, 416. Office of, not to be coveted, 417. Their great perfection, 930. All men not called to be.....	931
Blanche, Queen, gifts to S. Victor's.....	111
Blois, Peter of.....	37
Boethius, 76, 532, 824, 890, 906. Spoke of universals, 78, 155, 187. "De Hebdomadibus," S. Thomas wrote a comment on.....	320
Bohemia converted, note.....	585
Bologna, 15. University of, attached to S. Thomas, 546. S. Thomas at, 557, 571, 572. S. Ambrose maintained a convent at, 673. Incident to S. Thomas at (obedience to Procurator), 733-735. S. Thomas summoned to, 900. S. Thomas professes at, 900. S. Dominic buried at, 900. Translation of S. Dominic's relics at, 901. Throng of students, and lectures of S. Thomas at, 901. Appeals to keep S. Thomas at its schools, 923. University closed, 20, 24. Celebrated for study of law, 187, 194. Model for the	

	PAGE.
Universities of Italy and Spain, 207. Number of students, 208. Dominican school founded at.....	234
Bonaventure, S., made General of the Franciscans, 453. Difficulties attending his office, 454. His efforts in favor of John of Parina, 454. Friendship with S. Thomas, 455. Favorite of S. Louis, 491. People of Paris desire his appearance in the schools, 492. His life, tends lepers, 500; note, 500. Holy rivalry with S. Thomas, 502. His defense, 503. Disciple of Rochelle and Hales, 503. His appearance, 503, 504. His thesis at defense unknown, 504. Made doctor, 505. Whether he took doctor's cap with S. Thomas doubtful, note, 509. Great in intellect, 515, 532, 533. Declared doctor by Church, 533, 571. Asked by Urban IV to write office of Corpus Christi, 880. Destroys it when he sees S. Thomas's, 880, 889, 891, 892, 913. Brought up at the Franciscan school of Paris, 229. John of Rochelle his master at Paris, 231. Preached in French, 240. S. Thomas's friendship for, 317. His history and writings, note, 317. Lectures under John of Rochelle, 318. Contrasted with S. Thomas, 318. Visits of S. Thomas to, 319. Died the same year as S. Thomas, 319, 343. Called to Anagni against S. Amour's party, 357, 358. Alexander IV commands the doctors to receive him at Paris, 363. His "Apologia for the Poor" and "Poverty of Christ".....	421
Boniface VIII, difficulty of at once realizing, 513. Practical gifts of, 515. Makes doctors, note, 533. Courage of.....	466
Boniface, S.....	14, 15,
Bonocambio, James, sent to England.....	909
Bonosus, refuted by S. Ambrose.....	681
Bonosus.....	646
Bonus, the Solitary, predicts birth of S. Thomas.....	3
Bonushomo, the Dominican, 313. One of the commission on Dominican studies..	556
Book of studies, revision of Jesuit.....	548
Books, careful study of, in the Middle Ages.....	186
Bordenaux, S. Thomas approved by General Chapter of Dominicans at.....	550
Bossuet on S. Thomas's influence at Trent.....	538
Brabant, Duchess of, questions concerning Jews, to S. Thomas.....	258
Brahma.....	34
Brescia, Bartholomew of.....	484
Brethren of the Hospital, founded.....	38
Brethren of the Sword, founded.....	38
Brothers of the Holy Cross at Paris.....	204
Brothers of Mercy.....	103
Bruys, Peter de.....	35
Bruys, De.....	457
Bucer, sayings on S. Thomas.....	457
Bulgaria converted, note.....	585
Burgos, Gallio de, speech at Trent on S. Thomas.....	540,
Burgos, Paul de, Jew, converted by S. Thomas.....	872
Burgundians, S. Gregory the Great and the.....	720
Burgundio of Pisa translated S. John Damascene and other Greek Fathers into Latin.....	186
Burley, Walter, note.....	188
Byron, 511. Description of S. Peter's by, note.....	512
CABBALISTS, a sect of mystic Jews, 167. Their doctrine a sort of Gnosticism, 168. Emanation.....	168
Cæsar, typical commander.....	570
Cæsar, said to have dictated to many scribes at the same time.....	257
Cæsar of Heisterbach.....	152,
Cæsarea, 571, 616, 617, 620. Origen opens school at, 620. S. Basil at, 622. Euzeius made bishop of, 625. S. Basil dies at, 638. S. Jerome at, 647. Suffering of S. Chrysostom, and his fever at.....	671
Cæsarius, brother of S. Gregory Theologus, death of.....	640
Cæsarius of Arles.....	242
Cairo.....	150
Cairo, Montic.....	7
Cajetan and S. Thomas.....	551
Caliphs, the, their displays.....	149
Calonymos defends Maimonides.....	169
Camaldulose founded.....	38
Cambridge, Horarium of one of its colleges, note, 205. Number of students.....	209
Camillus, family of.....	605
"Candela Gerlandi," the.....	185
"Cantic of Canticles," S. Thomas on, 752. S. Thomas on method adopted in, 763. Exposition of S. Thomas on, note, 763. Warmth of love shown in, 763, 764. Exposition of, by S. Thomas, in sickness.....	940
Canons Regular approve S. Thomas.....	546
Canterbury.....	14
Cantor of Antioch, S. Thomas's treatise to a.....	791 and seq.
Canns, Melchior, and "loci theologici," note.....	565
Capella.....	76,
Cappadocia and "Summa," 569, 617. Situation of, 617. Idolatry at, 617. Birth-place of S. Emmella.....	321
Capua, Archbishop of, interview with S. Thomas.....	674, 675,
Caraccioli.....	1
Carico, San Giovanni.....	6
Carle, note.....	555
Carloman.....	5

	PAGE.
Carmelites, approve S. Thomas, 545. Of Touraine and S. Thomas, 547. Dis- calced, of Salamanca, approve S. Thomas, 547. Founded, 38. At Paris.....	197
Carthage, 578. Description of, 691. Students at, 691. S. Augustine taught at, 692. S. Augustine sails for.....	699, 704
Carterius, S. Chrysostom's master in spiritual life.....	664
Carthusians, founded, 38. At Paris, 197. Their college founded at Paris, 200. Rule of, note.....	201
Casas, Bartholomew de las.....	53
Casanati, Cardinal, approval of S. Thomas, note, 549. Gave his library to the Dominicans of the Minerva, note.....	550
Cassian, 532, 571; note, 575. Collations of, a favorite work of S. Thomas, 178. His life, note.....	179
Cassinense driven from Naples University.....	25
Cassino, Monte, site and possessions of, 4. Attacked by Clavissignati, 7 8. Seat of learning, 9-10. Privileges of, note, 492, 494. S. Thomas's abilities recognized at, note, 562, 619, 727. Abbot of, intercedes for Henry of Castile, 911. The abbot of.....	913, 926, 939
Cassiodorus, 76. Compiled the " <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita</i> ," 186. Trans- lated many of the Greek Fathers.....	186-187
Castile, Council of, 545. Henry of.....	911
Castor.....	731
Catechism of the Council of Trent drawn up, 541, 542. By three Dominicans, 542. A new edition ordered by Gregory XIII, note, 542. " <i>Catena Aurea</i> ," 563. Manifests S. Thomas's knowledge of the Fathers, 729, 730. What is meant by <i>Catena</i> , 739. His- tory of, 739. Some authors used in, 739. Length of, 739. Method, 740. Dedication of, 740. Bareille on, note, 740. Many authors quoted, 740; note, 740. Quotations in, 741, 745. Specimen from the, 741. Fidelity of quotations, note, 742. Fathers clearly depicted, 747. Character of S. Chrysostom brought out in, 747. Fathers seem quoted from memory.....	749
Categories of Aristotle, text-book of dialectics, 187. Developments of.....	188
Catharine, S. of Sienna (a Dominican).....	53
Catharine's, S., founded at Paris.....	200
Catharites.....	35, 240, 458
Catherine, S., picture of S. Thomas in Church of, at Pisa.....	847
Cato, sentences of.....	14
"Causis, De," book taught at Paris.....	467
Caualcanti.....	23
Cebes, disciple of Socrates.....	782
Ceccano, Hannibal.....	938
Cecilia, S., Cardinal of, sent to S. Louis.....	911
Celano, Count of.....	6
Celestine, Pope.....	845
Celestine II, a disciple of Abelard.....	90
Celestine III, note.....	72
Celsus' and Nazarina's, SS., relics discovered by S. Ambrose.....	682
Century, thirteenth, great men of, note.....	186
Century, sixteenth, state of society in, note, 524. Fourth, Pontiffs explain doctrine in, 658. Thirteenth, tending to Synthesis, note, 563. Aim of great writers in thirteenth century, note.....	728
Cephiusus.....	629
Ceremonies, benefit of, note.....	484
Ceremonial, gorgeous, of the Middle Ages.....	103
Ceslas at S. Sabina.....	102
Chalcedon, date of Council of, note.....	600
Chalcis, S. Jerome in desert of, 647, 648. Aristotle flies to.....	806
"Chapters, Three," question of, settled by S. Gregory the Great.....	721
Charity, S. John of the Cross on, note, 494. Treated in " <i>Secunda Secunda</i> ," note, 919. What it is, 278. A created quality not the Holy Ghost, 278. It increases in the soul, 279. Precepts of, treated by S. Thomas, 319. Twofold practice of, towards man.....	413, 414
Charlemagne, character of, 76. Founded palace school at Paris.....	198
Charles Borromeo, S., and Council of Trent, note, 537. And catechism of Council of Trent, note, 543. Relations with S. Thomas, 551; note.....	573
Charles Count of Provence and Anjou.....	910, 911, 924
Chartres, Godfrey of.....	104
Chartreux, College of, founded at Paris, 200. Rules of its library, note.....	200
Chastity, Pythagoreans practised, 787. Instrument of perfection, 931. Illustrated in Christ.....	777
Chateaubriand and S. Thomas, note.....	551
Children, manner of their reception to the monastery, 10. Unbaptized, suffer no pain after death, 533. Set aside for the service of God, 398. Age requisite for vows, 403. Vows of, made under age, may be annulled by parents, 405. Influence of fables on, note.....	432
Chivalry, decline of, note.....	59
Christ, His moral beauty, note, 422. Identified with Christianity, note, 424. Dif- ference from heathen models, note, 435. The model, 435. Result of Christ as a model, 435. Connection with Church, note, 436. Personal love of, decreases with decrease of faith, note, 437. In the world, 592. Stay of S. Athanasius and S. Anthony, 602. The soul of religious life, note, 602. Introduced monasticism, note, 612. Love of, singular to great Christian heroes, 612, 613. Love of, character of S. Benedict's Rule, 613. Love of, in S. Augustine, even in his evil course, 692, 697. Gregory the Great's love of, and unseen world, 710, 711. Principle of, traced, 725. The bond of	

	PAGE.
union between S. Thomas and Fathers, 726, 727, 728. Principle of, in S. Thomas, 728. As the light, 745, 746. In the Psalms, 762. "Passed in peace," 765, 766. Benefits of His incarnation to philosophy, 812; note, 813. Principle.....	934
Christendom, disorders of, in S. Basil's days, note.....	617
Christianity of Beauvais, deprived of all honors, 316, 356. His oath to protect the Mendicants at Paris.....	364
Christianity, its influence, note, 570. Universality, note, 572. Gibbon on spread of, note, 582. Purity of, terrified Roman Empire, 583; note, 583. Persecution of, 583. Wide spread of, 142, 143. Reasons of spread of, note, 583. Progress of, 584, 585. Principles of, travel westward, 617. Preserves balance, note.....	777
Christians, primitive, their monastic tone, note, 612. Believers first called, at Antioch, 660. And Moslems, similitude between.....	155
Chronology, modern, Berthannier on, note.....	509
Chrysostom, S. John, S. Thomas's love of, note, 66. As a preacher, 235. Taught, 376, 398, 400, 404. Bishops not to be coveted, 417. Difficulty of at once realizing the force of, 513. Strong both in intellect and will, 516; note, 516, 517. Made doctor, note, 533, 569, 571, 575, 598, 600. On "Priesthood," takes S. Gregory Theologus for model, 644, 652. His sway, 659. Of School of Antioch, 659. Didymus, his great master, 659. Born at Antioch, 659. Parentage, 660. Early character, 660. Studies under Libanius, 660. Studies philosophy under Andragantius, 661. Habits at school, 661. Friendships, 661. Plends at the bar, 661. Conversion, 661. Love of the theatre, 662. Receives baptism and made lector, 662. Named bishop, 662. His conduct with Basil, 662. On the "Priesthood," 662. Danger from magicians, 663. Goes into solitude, 663. Masters in spiritual life, 664. Method of overcoming sleep, 664. Begins to write, 664. On "Compuention," 664. Other writings, 664. Miracles, 665. Goes further into solitude, 665. Injured health, 666. Returns to Antioch, 665. Ordained deacon, 665. Priest, dove descends on, 665. His preaching at Antioch, 666. His many discourses at Antioch, 667. His masterpieces, 667. Natural gifts for oratory, 667. Knowledge of Scripture, 667. Effects of his oratory, 667. Applause of the people, 667. Made Patriarch of Constantinople, 669. Eloquence of, at Constantinople, 669. Text of his discourses, 669. As a reformer, 669. Enemies gained exile of, 670. Recall, 670. Endoxia, etc., 670. Love of monastic state, note, 670. Again exiled, 670. His journey, 670. Fever, etc., abused by monks at Casarea, 671. Harboured by Seleucia 671. Arrival at Cucusus, 671. Case referred to Rome, 671. Pope Innocent takes his side, 671. Further banishment to Pityus, 671. Vision of S. Basilisk, death, 672, 689, 698. Ever in battle, 706. Severity of his penances, 714, 724, 727. Number of his letters extant, note, 727. S. Thomas took him in Scripture, 729, 731. Epistles of, note, 734, 741. S. Thomas's treatment of, when wrong, note, 741. Special note of, difficult to seize, 747. Brought out in "Catena Aurea," 747-749. Difference between his Homilies and Expositions of S. Thomas, note, 750. And S. Thomas, 768. Contrasted with Diogenes of Sinope, 777, 862, 886, 888, 928. Type of orator.....	932
Church, riches of the, 74. Twofold danger of the, in the 13th century, note, 227. Immutability of the, note, 316. S. Thomas on the, 325. Course of, with regard to philosophy, 426. Connection with Christ, note, 436. Those who follow, safe, 519. Testimony of, to S. Thomas, 529. Appoints teachers, 532. Majestic advance of, 532, 533. Attempt to confine, to realm of conscience, note, 542. And S. Thomas, 551. Depth of her mind, 564. Has gift of healing human nature, note, 564. Father of, who is, note, 567, 572. Stronghold of, in East, 573. Love for, 574. Her coming into the world, 582. Wide spread of, 583. Spirit which made her great, note, 583, 584. Progress of, 585. Her development in teaching, 600. How enlightened, 766. Image and Bride of Christ, 897. Christ seals the Church with His mind, and the Church the world, 897. Gives strength to her defenders, note, 897. Forms man into likeness of Christ.....	898
Cicero, 187. His definition of religion, 379. At the Academy, note, 516. S. Jerome's love of, 648. "Hortensius" of, read by S. Augustine.....	694
Cimçoun, the.....	168
Cimon.....	629
Ciramicus, Plato at the.....	789
Circumcised of Lombardy.....	35
Circumcision, kinds of, 767. Conferred grace, 303. Lombard held that those who died without receiving, lose eternal happiness, 304. Could it be anticipated,.....	304
Cirtha.....	704
Cistercians founded, 38. At Paris, 197. Approve S. Thomas.....	545
Citeaux.....	39
"City of Peace,"—Bagdad.....	149
Civita Vecchia, S. Thomas visits.....	557
Clairvaux, convent of, at Paris.....	39, 98,
Clarus, Brother, a Dominican.....	51
Classics, S. Jerome's love of.....	648
Cland.....	198
"Clavis" of Melito.....	184
Clavissignati.....	7
Cleantes.....	630
Clement, S., of Alexandria, 532, 599. Date, note.....	599, 621,
Clement, S., of Rome.....	599
Clement IV, approved the Sorbonne, 204. And Amonr, 365. (Gny Foulquois), testimony to S. Thomas, 519. Succeeds Urban IV, birth, varied life, Cardinal, etc., elected Pope, 884. Implores release from Popedom, 885. Enemy of nepotism, 885. Recognizes merit of S. Thomas, 885, 886. Appoints S. Thomas Archbishop of Naples, 889, 902. Succeeds Urban IV, 910. Publishes two Bulls, 910. Death of, 912. Buried at Viterbo.....	912
Clement VI, note, 518. Testimony to S. Thomas, note.....	521
Clement VII, testimony to S. Thomas.....	520

	PAGE.
Clement VIII, testimony to S. Thomas, note, 521. Issued three briefs in favor of S. Thomas, 527. On S. Thomas	888
Clement X, beatified S. Pius V.	524
Clement XI, canonized S. Pius V.	524
Clement XII, 526. Bull "Verbo Dei," and praise of S. Thomas, 528. Privileges to Dominicans, 154. Testimony to S. Thomas	533
Clement of Hibernia	198
Clergy, evil state of, 36. Concubinage, 36. Desire of honours	36
Climacus, S. John	532
Clotilde buried at S. Geneviève	199
Clovis converted, 585. Buried at S. Geneviève	199
Cluny at Paris, 197. Its school at Paris, 201. Its library at Paris, note, 201. Its course of studies	209
Codrus, ancestor of Plato	783
Cœlius Aurelianus	153
Coimbra, 544. Suarez taught at	545
"Collationes Patrum," Angelical's favorite book	572
"Collations" of Cassian, a favorite work of S. Thomas	178
"Collectiones Sacre Scripture" of Amour	363
Collision between the Empire and the Pope	55
Cologne, first design for Cathedral taken from Albertus Magnus, 72. Date of foundation of its University, note, 171. Its importance, note, 172. Dominican school founded at, 234. Council of (1452), appreciation of S. Thomas, 561	536
Colonna, Cardinal, treachery of	571
Colossians, Epistle to, what it treats of	34
Columbus, ships got for him by Dominicans	758
"Columna Doctorum"	52
Colzim, cave of Mount	84
Comana, 617. Temple of "Ma" at, 617. S. Chrysostom at	574
Comestor, Peter, note, 183, 199. As a preacher, 240. Testimony of, to state of Paris University	671
Cominch, Hugh, the Hermit, note	471
Commandments, S. Thomas wrote on the	597
Commentary of S. Thomas on Lombard's "Sentences," 1st book treats of Trinity, 277; 2d book treats of Creation, 283; 3d book treats of the Incarnation, 293; 4th book treats of Sacraments, Resurrection, etc., 302. The "Summa" undigested, 306. Less scientific than "Contra Gentiles"	340
Communion of saints	857
"Compendium Theologiæ" of S. Thomas, 563, 853. Why written, etc., rests on reason rather than on authority, 853. Length and subjects of, 853. Less scientific than "Contra Gentiles"	326
"Complainte de Constantinople," by Rutebeuf	857
"Companction," S. Chrysostom, on	453
Comte. Inconsistency of, note	664
Conception, Immaculate, S. Thomas's teaching on, note	812
Conceptualism. doctrine of, "Concordantia S. Jacobi" of Hugh of S. Caro	933
Conciliabulum of the Oak condemns S. John Chrysostom	217
Concubinage among the clergy	671
Concupiscence, essence of original sin, 288, 291. Christ and our Lady alone free from, 339. Degrees of, 339. Remedies against	37
"Confessions," eighth book of S. Augustine, note	339
Confirmation treated by S. Thomas	69
Conrad of Saabia, 32, 908. Enters Italy, 908. Death of	302
Conradin, son of Conrad, 909, 911. Proclaimed Emperor, 911. King of Sicily, 911. Invades Italy, 911. Takes Verona, enters Rome, 911. Defeated and beheaded, 911	909
Conscience of man, note, 532. S. Thomas on	760
Constance, influence of S. Thomas at Council of	596
Constance, mother of Frederick II	21, 32
Constant bears fame of S. Anthony, and writes to him	594
Constantine Africans, 10. The first translator from the Arabic	135
Constantine hears fame of S. Anthony, and writes, 594. Letter to S. Anthony, 604. Exiles S. Athanasius, 606. At Nicæa, 607. His appearance, note	608
Constantine, successor to S. Benedict at Monte Cassino, and S. Gregory the Great, Constantinople, and "Summa," 569, 571, 573. Religious men in, note, 567, 569. Council of, date, note, 600, 617. S. Basil studies at, 622. S. Gregory Theologus called to, 641. Cruelty of Arians at, 641. S. Gregory the Great's mission to, 716, 717. Patriarch of, tries to gain title of Œcumenical Patriarch	711
Constantinus hears fame of S. Anthony, and writes, 594. Against S. Athanasius, note, 598. Exiles S. Athanasius	607
Consubstantiality of Son fixed at Nicæa	611
Contemplation, method of, 118. Monastic, 119. Richard of S. Victor's teaching on, 137. Foundation of contemplation, 138-139. Its six steps, 139. Three grades, 140. Not the <i>via ordinaria</i> to God, 142. First drawn out scientifically, 142. Twofold kind distinguished by S. Thomas, 275. Not adverse to dialectics, note, 425. Frigido on, note, 558. S. Thomas on	921, 922, 923
Contentions, S. Thomas on	760
"Contra Errores Græcorum," written by S. Thomas, 860. Why, note, 860. Origin of, 864. Contents of, note, 861. Fathers quoted, 862. On Holy Ghost as an Image, 862-864. Method of, note	863

"Contra Gentiles" of S. Thomas, 563. Written for Moors, etc., 855. At request of S. Raymund of Pennafort, note, 855. S. Thomas ordered to write, 856. Translated into many tongues, 857. Date of its completion, 857. De Rubens on, note, 857. More scientific than "Summa Theologica," 857. Werner on, 857. Perfect completeness as an evidence of truth, 858; note, 858. Harmony of, 858. Length and division of, 859. First book on God, 859. Second book on relation to creatures, 859. Third book, 859. Fourth book on Trinity, etc., 859, 860. Werner on, note, 860. Jews met in, 872. Easterns met in, note, 879. Written by S. Thomas in shorthand	218
"Contra Impugnantes," 365. Most perfect apology for religious orders, 368. Its commencement, 368, 369. Desires of opponents of religious life, 370. Its division, 371. What religion is, 371, 372. How souls are impeded, 372. Vows of religion a sacrifice, 373. In what the perfection of religious orders consists, 373. Can religious teach? 374, 375. Teaching lawful to religious, 376. Proved, 377. The Councils do not forbid teaching, 378-380. Vows do not forbid teaching, 380-381. Religious do not vow perfect humility, 381. Teaching not opposed to humility, 382. Other objections against religious teaching answered, 382. Amour's doctrines damnable, 383. Objections against religious answered, 385, 387. Manual labor not necessary to religious, 388-389. Manual labor, when necessary, 390. Vow of poverty good, 390-391. Mendicants slandered, 392. Completeness of the treatise, 393. Epilogue of, 393. Of S. Thomas republished against S. Amour	960
"Contra Retrahentes" of S. Thomas	365
Controversy, S. Thomas on, note	817
Converts not to be excluded from religion	398
Corbeil	85
Corby	14
Cordova, 150. University of, 151. Jewish school at	168
Corinth, note	584
Corinthians, Epistle to, S. Chrysostom's Homily on, one of his masterpieces, 666. Two Epistles to, of what they treat, 758. First Epistle to, S. Thomas on some matters treated in, 758. Second Epistle to, S. Thomas on	759
Cornificians, the	463
Cornifici at Paris	211
Corpus Christi, office and Mass of, composed by S. Thomas, 880. S. Bonaventura as well as S. Thomas asked to write it, but destroys his when he reads S. Thomas's, 880. Beauty of the office of, 880. Feast of, instituted by Urban IV, note, 883. First origin of, note, 883. Publication delayed, note	883
"Corpus Juris" put together by S. Raymund of Pennafort	856
Corrado de Suessia, testimony to the life of S. Thomas	237,
"Correctorium Biblicæ Sorbonicum"	184
Corte, Gran, the, at Naples	25
Cosmas, tutor to S. John Damascene, note	262
Cosmology, Hales and the writers of the 13th century weak in	263
Costa-ben-Luca	151
Couarravla	545
Councils quoted in "Summa," note, 564. Dates of first, note, 600. Second General Council, 641. Greek, acts of, translated	186
Councils do not forbid teaching	378
Courçon, Robert, draws up statutes for the Sorbonne, 207. Forbids Aristotle's Metaphysics	222
Cousin, M., discovers Abelard's "De Gencribus et Speciebus"	89
Covetousness forbidden, 338. Why	339
Covenant, men of Old, note	574
Cowardice, moral, effect of	517
Cratylus introduced Heraclitus to Plato	785
Creation treated in first part of "Summa" against Averroës, etc., 903, 904. Second book of S. Thomas's Commentary on Lombard treats of, 283. Can the power of, be communicated to creatures? 284. Possibility of proving, note	285
Creatures, have they power to create? note	281,
Creed, Apostles', S. Thomas's Commentary on, 319. Treats the question of faith, 320. First article of, 322. The other articles of	327
Cremona, Roland of, becomes a Dominican	50
Crecentia, Peter, popularized the discoveries of Albertus Magnus	71
Critias, contempt of Greek gods	774
Crito, friend of Socrates	782
Crockhart, Peter	544
Croesus less than Solon	516
Croiset on "Summa," note	907
Cross, lessons from the, 285, 384. Rule of monasticism	435
Crotone, Pythagoreans at	788
Croyland	14
Crucifera at Paris	201
Crusades, license introduced by, 15. Helped on the translation of the Greek Fathers	186
Cucusus, S. Chrysostom banished to, 670. Site, 670. S. Chrysostom arrives at	671
"Culpa" defined	289
Culture, Roman, in West, 578. Greek in the East, 579. System of, in the 13th century	13
Cure of souls, those who have, not more perfect than religious	386
Cusa, Cardinal, his appreciation of S. Thomas	586
Cuvier's opinion of some of Albertus Magnus' works	71
Cydonius, Demetrius, translated some works of S. Thomas into Greek	535
Cynics, the, 516; note	776

	PAGE.
Cynosarges	516
Cyprian, S., 532; note, 568, 598, 599. Date, note, 599. Number of letters extant, note	727
Cyrenaics, founded by Aristippus	775
Cyrene, Plato at	786
Cyril, S., difficulty of at once realizing	513, 514, 862
D'AGUIRRE and S. Thomas	551
Damascus, 573, 577. Described, note	577
Damasus, Pope, becomes known to S. Jerome, 650. Makes S. Jerome his councilor, 650. Death of	650, 669, 861
Danes converted, note	585
Daniel	873
Dante, on the sweets of the mystic life, note, 473. Difficulty of at once realizing, 512. And the <i>Divina Commedia</i> , 729. Alone among poets	889
David, note	573
David of Dinanto, Professor at Paris	467
"De Anima," Commentary on, of S. Thomas, 833. Divisions of, note	833, 852
Death one effect of Adam's sin	300
"De Caritate"	852
"De Causis," a book taught at Paris, 467. Exposition of S. Thomas on	880
Decius, death of, note	582
"De Civitate Dei," Bindemann on, 706. Subject of, 707, 891. Compared to "Summa"	893
"De Celo et Mundo," S. Thomas on Aristotle's order of, 830; note, 830. Number and subjects of books	832, 833
"De Correctione Fraternali"	852
Decrees of the Popes, one of the three Books on the table at Council of Trent	538
"De Divinatione per Somnum"	835
"De Generatione et Corruptione," S. Thomas's Commentary on Aristotle's	833
"De Interpretatione" of S. Thomas, 824. Object of, note	824
De Maistre on S. Thomas, note	550
"De Malo"	852
"De Memoria et Reminiscencia"	835
"De Meteorologia"	833
Demetrius got S. Chrysostom to write first treatise on "Compunction," 664; note, Democritus of Abdera, doctrine of	664, 773
Demonstration, Aristotle on, 825; "Posterior Analytics" on, 826. S. Thomas on, 826, 827. Subject-matter of, 827. How acquired, 827, 828. First principle of, 828	
Denis the Areopagite, Neoplatonistic, 142. "De Divinis Nominibus," 177. Probable date of, note, 178, 179. Translated by Scotus Erigena, 186. Influence of, on schools	890, 892, 893, 906
Denis, S., at Paris	92
Denis, S., abbey of, Abbeard retires to	90
Denis the Less translated some of the Greek Fathers	186
"De Physico Auditu" of Aristotle, Commentary of S. Thomas on, 828. Subjects of, 829. Motion treated of in	829, 930
"De Potentia" of S. Thomas	852
Deprivation of the sight of God, the only punishment of original sin	293
"De Regimine Principum," written by S. Thomas for Hugh of Cyprus, note	900
De Rubens on "Contra Gentiles," note	856, 858
"Descent of Paul into Hell," poem of	23
Desert, Syrian, 577. Arabian, 577. Men fly to the, 586. Fathers of the	586
Desiderius, Abbot, patron of letters	9
Desire hinders knowledge, note	429
"De Somniis"	835
"De Somno et Virgilia"	835
"De Spe"	904
"De Spiritualibus Creaturis"	904
Detraction, S. Augustine's hatred of	703
"De Unione Verbi Incarnati"	904
"De Unitate Intellectus" of S. Thomas against Averroës	874, 875
"De Vera Religione"	707
"De Veritate," length of, 851, 852. Extent of subjects of, etc.	852
Devil, existence of, disbelieved by some, note, 481. Troubled Saints, note, 492. Difficulty of shaking off, 325. Worship of, the greatest of sins	332
"De Virtutibus Cardinalibus"	904
"De Virtutibus in Communi"	904
Dialectics, effects of study of, in the 12th century, 77. Effects of excess of, 119. Text-books of in the middle ages, 187. Chief writers on, 187, 189. Development of, 188, 190. Course of, directed by the Church, 191. Chief power in the days of S. Thomas, note, 408. Not adverse to contemplation, note, 425. Excitement caused by, in the schools, 468; note, 468, 472. S. Thomas's power of, note	567
"Dialectics" of Aristotle, note	825
"Dialogues" of S. Gregory, 723. Of Plato, 786, 793, 794. Difference in style from "Summa," note	811, 893
Didymus, 585, 626. S. Chrysostom founded on, 639. Antagonism to Origen	659
Diochætes	775
Diocletian, death of, note	582

	PAGE.
Diodorus, one of great men of schools of Antioch, note, 659. S. Chrysostom's master in spiritual life.....	664, 825
Diogenes, 629. Of Apollonia, doctrine of, 773. Of Sinope, contrast with S. Chrysostom, 777; note, 777. Energy of character, note.....	777, 778
Dion.....	790
Dionysius of Thrace, less than Plato, 516. Of Alexandria, note, 598. S. Basil severe on, note, 598. The Grammarian master of Plato.....	784
Diophantus.....	631
Dioscuri, temple of the.....	629
Diospolis the Great.....	584
Display, love of, at Paris, note.....	468
Divina Commedia of Dante.....	729
Doctor, ceremony of making a, 508, 509. Work of a.....	554
"Doctor Fndatissimus," the appellation of Egidius Romanus.....	254
"Doctor Irrefragabilis," the appellation of Hales.....	261
"Doctor Perplexorum," the.....	169
Doctorate, preparations for, of S. Bonaventure and S. Thomas.....	499, 502
Doctors of the Middle Ages, Aristotelian, 118. Many not forbidden to religions, 382. Work of, note.....	426
Doctors, the, of the Church, 524, 570. List of, note, 533. Mention of, in the "Summa," note.....	569
"Doctrina Christiana" of S. Augustine.....	185
Dogma, moral in vain without.....	931
Dolce, Carlo.....	564
Domenico, Fra, di Caserta.....	736
Dominic, S., 588. And S. Thomas, 728. Buried at Bologna, 900. Translation of relics of, 901. Convent of, at Naples, 925; note, 4. Birth, 46. Of noble parentage, 47. His personal appearance, note, 47. His education—sent to Palencia, 47. John Canons Regular, 47. Journey through France, 47. At Synod of Montpellier, 48. Character, 49. His Order, 49. At Sixtus, 55. At S. Sabina—his vision.....	57, 434, 437, 438
Dominicans, driven from chairs at Naples, 25. Order founded to oppose current evils, 39, 40. Partly educates S. Philip, note, 40. Influence of, note, 41. Foundation of, by S. Dominic, 49. Mendicant, 49. Approved, 50. Centres, 50. Missionary spirit, etc., 52. Martyrs, 53. Influence on art, 53. Famous men, 53. Extent of Order, 53. Establishment at Rome, 55. Prevail on the Pope to demand the release of S. Thomas, 61. Love of knowledge, note, 64. At Cologne, 171. Troubles, 171. Their foundation at Paris, 215. Their discipline, 246. Their studious lives, 217. Their lecture hall at Paris, 217. Method of professors, 218. Obtain chairs in Paris University, 219. Their school at Paris, 230. Their course for degrees, 230. Great efficiency required of teachers, 231. Regulations of General Chapter of 1243, 233. New schools opened in Europe by, 234. Principal office to preach, 240. The great preachers of the 13th century, 243. Quarrels with secular professors at Paris, 310, 311. Refuse to take the oath of the Paris Doctors, 311. Appeal to Rome, 312. Pope Innocent IV sides with, 312. Excluded from the University by secular doctors, 312. Re-established at Paris by Alexander IV, 313. Continue to lecture in Paris schools, 316. Raised up to oppose disorder, 342. Why hated by liberals, 343, 344. Specially attacked in the "Perils" of Amour, 348. Scorn of Rutebeuf for, 349. Called Jacobites, 349, 350. Persecutions at Paris, 350. Why persecuted, 351. Sent representatives to the Pope, 356. Appointed by Alexander IV to examine the "Perils," 357. Defence of, against Amour, 362. Triumph over secular party, 363, 364, 426, 427. Triumph of, in the defence of S. Thomas, 499, 500. Habit of, on saints, 505. General Chapter of, commissioned by Alexander VII to draw up a work on Morals from works of S. Thomas, 526. Privileges of Clement XII to, 529. Degrees of, equal to those of the Sapienza, 529. John of Montemigro, Prior of, 534. Three, drew up "Catechism of Council of Trent," 542. Approve of S. Thomas 550. Chapter of, at Valenciennes, 556. On commission appointed for the revision of studies, 556. Famous teachers, 560. Their aim, note, 561. Power and position of, strengthened by reputation of S. Thomas, 912. General chapter of, at Paris.....	912
Domitian, death of, note.....	582
Domnino, S., martyred at Antioch.....	660
Donatists, 600. Date of, note, 600. S. Augustine against, 701. In Africa, 719. Subdued by S. Gregory the Great.....	721
Donatus, master of S. Jerome, at Rome.....	675
Dorotheus.....	659
Donai attaches itself to S. Thomas.....	546
Donbt, the agony of.....	463
Draco, master of Pinto.....	784
Drioux on S. Thomas at Council of Trent, note.....	540
Dryden.....	538
Du Pin on Clement IV, note.....	885
EAST , philosophy of. Invades the West, 220. Aristotle corrupted by, 221. Errors caused by, 222. At Oxford, 224. In Ireland, 224; note, 225. Errors of, opposed by S. Thomas in second book of his Commentary on the "Sentences," 223. Its influence over the Church, 570, 571, 572. Strategic centres in, 573, 574. Theology coloured by, 575. Character of 575. Saints of, Montalembert on, note, 575. Sands of, 576. Richness of parts of, 576, 577, 578. Debased state of, 580; note, 580. Animal gods of the, 581. Corruption of.....	581
Easter.....	910
Easterns refuted in "Questiones Disputate," 851. And in "Contra Gentiles," note.....	879
Ebezeners.....	906

	PAGE.
Eblon	324
"Ecce Homo"	422
Echard, testimony to loyalty of the disciples of S. Thomas	550
Edessa	573, 599
Editions of works of S. Thomas, note	935
Edmund, S., a noted preacher	243
Edmund, son of Henry III of England; crown of Sicily offered to	909, 910
"Education of the World," Dr. Temple's essay on, note	422
Education, Aristotle's high idea of, note	805
Egypt, 570, 572, 576. Upper, evenings in, note, 576, 577. Striking character of, 578. Its history, note, 578. Its antiquity, 578. Religion in, 581. Corruption of, 584. S. Anthony "Physician of," 595. Mysticism of, at Athens, 628. S. Basil visits, 635. S. Jerome travels in, 651. Plato travels to	788
Egyptians gave scientific knowledge to Greeks	892
Elements, power of the Saints over the, note	487
Elenchus, the Socratic, note	840
Elias, Brunetus, professor at Paris, 251. S. Thomas in his school	258, 313
Elias of Orleans	104
Elias, 515. Great in thought, 515; note	573, 574, 588, 612
Elmund	36
Eliphaz	760
Elizabeth S., of Hungary, Frederick II desired to marry, 500; note	23
Eller, Roger, the Hermit, note	597
Ehmsley, difficulty of at once realizing	513
Emanation, doctrine of, in "Questiones Disputate"	851
Emmella, S., mother of S. Basil	622
Emotion, powerless to make men good, note	790
Empedocles of Agrigentum, doctrine of, 773. S. Basil contrasted with, 775. Jumped into Etna	775
Empedocles, studied by S. Thomas	284
Empire and Popes, 31. And Holy See	907
Encyclopædic writers of the 13th century, their great labours	706
"End," S. Thomas on	761
Enemies, love of	414
Englebert, Archbishop of Cologne, and the Dominicans	171
England, monasticism in, 341. Hatred against monasticism, 432. Changes in religious feeling of, 433. Pagan heroes held up as models in, 433-435. Democracy of, would be averted by monasticism, 439. In the 16th century, 537, 583. Converted, note, 585. In idolatry	719
Enlargement of mind produced by great thinkers, note	512
Enquiry, religious, need of God's blessing on, note	496
Envy, Ovid's description of, note	431
Enzio, nominated King of Sardinia	17
Ephesians, Epistle to, what it treats of, 758. S. Thomas on Epistle to	759
Ephesus, the eye of Asia, 573. Church founded at, 599, 600. Date of Council of, note	600
Ephrem, S., two-fold power of intellect and will combined in	516, 570, 573, 609, 723
Epictetus	433, 434
Epictetus, S., note	569
Epicurus, 516, 629, 777. Teaching of, note	778
Epiphanius S., 532. On Arius, 609, 631. Goes to Rome to oppose Miletians	650, 862
Erasmus the Benedictine at Naples	25
Erasmus, and S. Thomas, 551, 573. Testimony of, to S. Athanasius' beautiful style, note	610
Erigena, story of death of, 471; note, 471; note, 536. Difference of teaching from S. Bernard's, 572. Error of, 583. Neoplatonistic, 583. "De Divinis Nominibus," note, 619. Translates the Areopagite	637
Errico arms against Frederick	16
Essence, Divine, S. Thomas's doctrine on the, note	905
Estius, William, his love of S. Thomas	546
Eusebius, master of S. Chrysostom in desert	664
Eternity of world, Aristotle's theory of, 284. S. Thomas's argument and theory on, 284. Non-eternity not demonstrable, 285. S. Thomas's opinion of believers in	322
Ethelbert, King, note	480
"Ethics" of Aristotle, Commentary of S. Thomas on, 839. Subjects of various books of, 839, 840. Abstract of, and Lectons of S. Thomas, corresponding to, 840, 842, 843, 846, 847, ...	893
Eucharist treated by S. Thomas, 302. S. Thomas on, against Saracens	871
Eulens, S. Chrysostom cures blindness of	664
Euclid, Plato studied under, 786, 833. Translated into Arabic	150
Eudes de Châteauroux	357
Endo de Stella	457
Eudoxia, anger of, against S. Chrysostom, 669. Statue of, protested against by S. Chrysostom	670
Eudoxus on pleasure	840
Enfronon of Salerno, effect of S. Thomas's appearance on, note	596
Eugenius Ammiratus	154
Eugenius III caused a translation to be made of S. John Damascene	186
Eugenius IV	534

	PAGE.
Ennapius, 190. Life of, note, 190. Introduction to Proaeresius, note	191
Eunomians at Constantinople, 641. And S. Gregory Theologus, 644. S. Chrysostom preaches against	666
Eunomius, precursor of Nominalism, 119. Works of S. Basil against	639
Enphrasia, note	570
Euripides, influence of, note	532
Eusebius of Casarea, 533, 607, 625, 634, 669. On Plato's errors, note, 800. Of Nicomedia, 607. Of Vercelli, note	922
Eustathius of Antioch	635, 739
Eustochium follows S. Jerome to Antioch, 651. Travels in East, 651. At Bethlehem, 651. Dies	652
Enthemius, the Monk	740
Enthydemus won over to Socrates	782
Eutropius, influence of, made S. Chrysostom Archbishop of Constantinople	669
Eutychius, date of, note	600
Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople, converted from error on Resurrection by S. Gregory, 717; note	717
Exnixe, cities along	584
Euzois known to S. Gregory Nizianzen in Palestine	626
Evgrius described to S. Jerome the Eastern monks	647
Evangelists	847
Evenings in Upper Egypt and Nubia, note	577
"Eversores," the, and S. Augustine	691
Evils of the present age	436
Evrenx, Bishop of, deputed by Innocent IV to re-establish the Mendicants at Paris	312
Example, Dr. Temple on force of, note	422
Exarchate	29
Excommunication, power of, note	32
Experience replaced by wisdom in the Saints, 463; note	463
"Expositio, Continuu," of S. Thomas, 731. In "Librum Boetii de Hebdomadibus," 879. "De Trinitate," 879. Method of, note	879
Exposition, on "De Causis," 880. Of S. Thomas on Scripture testifies to his knowledge of Fathers	749
FABLES, influence of, on children, note	432
Fabritius	736
"Fair and the Fit," the, of S. Augustine	692
Faith, the, at Alexandria, 74. At Antioch, 75. In the West, 75, 76. Necessity of the establishment of, on scientific grounds, 126. Of Apostles extinct after Passion, 242. First thing necessary to a Christian, 320. Effects of, 320. Not foolish to believe what can not be seen, 321-322. Connection with morals, note, 424. Personal love of Christ decreases with decrease of, note, 437. S. Ambrose on, 679. S. Thomas on, 758. And reason, S. Thomas raised up to show harmony between, note, 849. Does not contradict reason, 878, 879. Treated in "Secunda Secunda"	818
Fakhr, Eddin-Razy	152
Fahqnara, Shom-Tob-Ibn, 159. Defends Maimonides	169
Farina	23
Fathers, the, contemplatives, 118. Platonists, 118. Translation of Greek Fathers promoted, 188. Of the Church, what they are, note, 567. Good spiritual reading, note, 570. Latin, close with S. Gregory the Great, and Greek, close with S. John Damascene, note, 567. S. Thomas and, 568, 569. Mentioned in the "Summa," note, 569. Eastern, necessity of study of the, note, 569. Of the East, whence character of, 574. Greek impress on, 575. Of the West have Latin impress, 575. Love of abstract in Greek, note, 575. Of the Desert, 587. Large number of, within sixty years, 600. Smallness of, before S. Anthony, 598. Difference between Apostolic and other, 598; note, 598, 599, 600. Of the Desert, loved by S. Athanasius, 604. Their unearthly natures, 683. S. Augustine's exceptional position among, note, 706. Those who follow only develop them, 724. Lived amid war, 725. Difference from S. Thomas, 725, 726. Bond with S. Thomas, 726. Monks, note, 726. Platonic, note, 727. Number of letters of some of, note, 727. S. Thomas's acquaintance with, 728. How S. Thomas got the, note, 728. "Catenas Aureas" shows S. Thomas's great knowledge of, 729, 730. Give us their histories in their writings, 733, 734. How S. Thomas knew their lives, note, 734. Their difference from S. Thomas, note, 735. S. Thomas's mastery of, 746. S. Thomas in "Catenas" fastens on peculiar note of the, 747. Character of, 776. Importance of, note, 770. S. Thomas's grasp of, 886. Element of, in "Summa," 889. In first part of "Summa," 906. S. Thomas had then before his eye in construction of his "Summa," 922. Principles of perfection of moral man drawn from lives of, by S. Thomas, note	900
Fausts, the Manichean	686
Ferrières	15
Fichte, saying of, note	427
Fictinus, Marsilius, and Plato, note	809
Fisher, Bishop, his opinion of S. Thomas	551
Flavian, S., ordained S. Chrysostom priest	666
Fleury, his opinions of the "Contra Impugnantes,"	386
Florence, Council of, John of Montenegro at, 534. Summary of the Eastern Councils, 537. General Chapter of Dominicans at	924
Florence of Gaul, one of the Commission on Dominican studies	556
Foggia, Castle of Fred. II	22
Foligno	33
Foliot, Robert	95
"Fomes," the, 288. S. Thomas on	292

	PAGE.
Fondi, Count of.....	6
"Fons Vita," work of Avicebron, 152. Same as Mekôr Chajim.....	159
Pontevraud, Order of, founded.....	38
Foresta, S. Peter and S. Paul Della, plundered.....	7
Forrerio, Francis, one of the compilers of the Catechism of Council of Trent.....	542
"Form," S. Thomas on.....	828
"Forms," the, of Plato.....	798, 807
Fortitude treated of in "Secunda Secunda".....	918, 920
Fortanatus, S. Augustine's dispute with.....	516
Forum, Idol of the, note.....	516
Foscarari, Giles, one of the compilers of Catechism of Council of Trent.....	542
Fossa Nuova, 558. Abbey of, S. Thomas invited to, 938. Scenes at, 939. Sickness of S. Thomas at, 939. Death scenes of S. Thomas at.....	939-943
Fra Angelico Giovanni da Fiesole.....	53
Fracassi, F.....	848
Fra Giovanni.....	53
France, 583, 910. S. Thomas in, 912. King of.....	913
Frances, wife of Hannibal Ceccano, niece of S. Thomas.....	938
Francioje, John.....	357
Francis of Sales, S., and S. Thomas, 551; note.....	573
Francis Regis, S., note.....	132
Francis, S., and S. Anthony.....	589
Francis, S., parentage, 41. His early life, 42. His dream, 42. Begins to preach, 44. His vision, 44. Mortification, 45. His love of nature, 45. His love of Christ, 46. Order of.....	46, 433, 438
Franciscans, subject of the "Eternal Gospel," 449, 450. Fanaticism caused among, by Abbot Joachim's writings, 458. The part assigned them by Abbot Joachim, 459. Triumph of, at Paris, 499, 500. Spread report of death of Frederick II, 8. Driven from professorships at Naples, 25, 26. Order of, founded to oppose current evils, 39, 41. Influence, note, 41. Rapid spread of, 46. Eastern influence on, 224. Preaching, note, 226. At Paris, 228. Their school at Paris, 229. Their manner of life, 229. Disturbances at Paris with secular professors, 310, 311. Refusal to take the oath of Paris Doctors, 311. Appeal to Rome, 311. Pope Innocent IV espouses the cause of, 312. Excluded from the University by secular doctors, 312. Re-established at Paris by Alexander IV, 313. S. Louis' love of, 314. Arrangement annulled by Alexander IV, 315. Continue to lecture in the Paris schools, 316. Raised up to oppose disorders, 342. Why hated by liberals, 343, 345. Attacked in Amour's "Perils," 348. Poverty of, hated, 349. Amour's slanders against, 349. Persecutions at Paris, 350, 351. Why persecuted, 351. "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" of, 352, 355. Send their best members as representatives to the Pope, against Amour, 357. Defence against Amour, 357. Triumph over secular party.....	363, 364, 426, 427
Frangipani.....	6
Frank's "Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews," 168. And S. Gregory the Great, 720	
Fra Ristoro.....	53
Fra Sisto.....	53
Frederick Barbarossa. See Barbarossa.	
Frederick II, 908. Rupture with Pope, 5. Crusade of, 6. Reported death, return to Europe, 8. Peace of Anagni, 15. Contest with Pope, 16. Excommunicated, 17. His violence, 20. His influence, 21. His education and character, 21. Literary taste, 22. Immoral life, 22. His epitaph, note, 23. Court, 23. Patron of learning, 24, 25, 26. His fall at Council of Lyons, 32. War with Pope, 33. Stops bishops going to Rome, 33. His turbulence.....	259
Free Spirit, brothers and sisters of the.....	35
French.....	910
French language in 13th century, specimen of, note, 236. Language of Middle Age preaching.....	240
Freshmen, how treated at Athens, note.....	630
Friendship, two things which tend to.....	331
Friesland, mission to, note.....	585
Frigerio, testimony to the devil's assaults on S. Thomas, 481. On humility of S. Thomas.....	494
Fronto cured by S. Anthony.....	593
Frontonius, S., note.....	570
Fulda.....	14
Fulk, legend of, 226. As preacher.....	240
GADDI, his picture of S. Thomas, note.....	847
Galatians, S. Thomas's Exposition on Epistle to, Fathers little used in, 754. What it treats of, 758. S. Thomas on Epistle to.....	759
Galen resuscitated by Arabs.....	153
Galen, on "Motion,".....	830
Galerius, death of, note.....	582
Galesinius, his picture of S. Bonaventure.....	563
Galileo.....	889
Gall, S.....	14
Gallo de Burgos, speech of, before the Fathers of Trent on S. Thomas.....	541
Games, Isthmian, Plato attends.....	784
Gariopontanus.....	153
Gaul, 584. Mission to, note, 585. Churches founded in.....	599
Gannilo assails S. Anselm's proof of the existence of God.....	126
Geber, an Arabian chemist.....	70

	PAGE.
Gecteville, one of the Paris deputation to the Pope.....	356
Gelasius, Pope, note.....	518
Generation, in Trinity.....	871
"Generacione, et Corruptione, De," S. Thomas on Aristotle's.....	883
Generosity of Christ, S. Thomas on.....	758
Geneviève, S., at Paris, 501 Abelard's school of, 76. Abelard at, 92, 93. Its Rationalistic tendencies, 155. At Paris, 155. Founded by Clovis and Clotilde, 199. Its reputation raised by Abelard.....	200
Genius of little worth without time, 517. In what it lies.....	563
Gennadius translates works of S. Thomas into Greek.....	535, 551
Genoa.....	33, 34
"Gentiles, Contra," testifies to S. Thomas's knowledge of Fathers.....	749
Gentleness, spirit of the monk, note.....	480
Geography, ignorance of in the middle ages.....	228
George, the Greek physician.....	150
George Scholarius abjures the Greek schism.....	535
Gerard, Br. composed the "Eternal Gospel," 450, 451. Imprisoned, 453, 457, 458. Of Besançon, his question to S. Thomas.....	255, 256
Gerard Sagarell.....	35
Gerbert, 77. In Spain, 152. Introduced Arabic numerals, 153. "De Rationelli et Ratione, Uti".....	188
Germain l'Auxerrois, S.....	501
German's, S.....	500
Germano, San, Dominican Convent founded at.....	912
Germano, S.....	5, 6, 7, 8, 15
Germans converted, note.....	585, 911
Germany, in 16th century, 537, 583. John of, his journey with S. Thomas to Paris, Gerson of Paris, esteem of, for S. Thomas, note.....	65, 536
Gervasius and Protasius, relics of S. S., discovered by S. Ambrose.....	682
Ghibelines, 15, 20. Materialists, 23. Rise, 31. Name first used, 32. Supposed origin of the name.....	32
Gibbon, 531. Speaks well of S. Athanasius, note.....	606
Gibelli, his picture of S. Thomas, note.....	506
Gifts, great, necessary for great deeds, note.....	517
Gilbert de la Porree, 94. Condemned at Rheims, 94. At Sens, 105, 188. Said by John of Cornwall to be the author of Nihilism.....	297
Gilbert of Sempringham, S., note.....	284
Gildas, S.....	91
Gilduin, first Abbot of S. Victor's, 110. Receives Hugh of S. Victor's.....	114
Giles, John of S.....	230
Gilles, S.....	884
Gilmichael the Hermit, note.....	597
Giovanni, Fra.....	53
Giovanni, San, 496. S. Thomas taken to, 58, 276. S. Thomas at, 558. S. Thomas learned Scripture at, 750. S. Thomas read Aristotle at.....	822
Gisulfe.....	4
"Glossa Interlinearis" of Anselm of Laon.....	183
"Glossa Interlinearis," 739, 907. "Ordinaria" of Strabo.....	739
Glosses.....	740
God, His Being and Essence, etc., first treated scientifically by Hales, 264. Hales' view of the Knowledge of, note, 264. All things in, 327. Why he is to be adored, 332. Knowledge of S. Thomas on.....	760
Godfrey, Bishop of Châlons.....	104
Godfrey of Boulogne, Bishop of Paris, founds a school at Paris.....	193
Godfrey of Chartres, 97, 98. Legate of the Holy See at Sens.....	104
Godfrey at Troyes.....	36
Goethe, difficulty of at once realizing.....	613
Gonzales, disciple of Toletus.....	545
Goodness and truth defined, note.....	511
Gordianus, father of S. Gregory the Great.....	708
Gorgias of Leontium, doctrine of.....	773, 774
Görres, note.....	425
Gospel, the preaching of S. Thomas on the.....	758
"Gospel Harmonies" of Zachary of Besançon. and Odo of Cambrai.....	183
Gospels, S. Thomas on the.....	122
Goths, saying of.....	430
Goths, the, attack Rome.....	584
Gotteschale, controversy with Hincmar.....	77
Goudin, and S. Thomas, note.....	551
Grace, development of, teaching on, 265. A help unto action; Suarez on, note.....	812
Graces, statues of the, carved by Socrates.....	778
Græcia, Magna, Pythagoreans in.....	788
Grammont, Order of, founded.....	38
Granada.....	151
Grassus, Peter, his testimony to influence of S. Thomas. note.....	465
Gratian, S. Ambrose preserves, from Arianism, 240. Influence of S. Ambrose over, 240. Stabbed by Andragathina, 240. Love of S. Ambrose for, note.....	240, 242
Gray, note.....	89
Grazers, life of the, note.....	588

	PAGE.
Greatness, not realized by intellect at once.....	67
Greccio, near Rieti.....	455
Greece, 578. Its teachings in Rome, 580. Influence of passion on.....	585
Greek Councils, acts of, translated.....	186
Greeks driven out of southern Italy.....	1
Greek, Fathers close with S. John Damascene, note, 568. Contrasted with Latin Fathers, note, 568. Language represents theory, note, 574. Education of a, note, 628. "Contra Gentiles" translated into, 857. And Latin Churches, union of, aimed at by Gregory X.....	938
Greeks, John of Montenegro against, 534. Many return to unity, 535. Study of S. Thomas by, 535. Religion of, 771. Homer and Hesiod, the Bible of, 772. Rhapsodists among, 772. Made gods of passions, 772; note, 772. Their poets, etc., ashamed of gods, 773. Philosophers striving for truth, 773. Philosophy of, grew worse, note, 773. Gods of, treated with contempt by philosophers, 774. Their religions could not stand test, note, 774. State of, 774. S. Thomas against, 873. Did not teach unity of intellect, 876. Knowledge of, came from Egyptians.....	893
Gregory II.....	29
Gregory VII, S., 14. Attacked by Emperor.....	31-32
Gregory IX, rupture with Frederick II, 5. Raised the Clavissignati, 6. His dealings with Frederick II, 16. Excommunicates him, 17. Tutor to Frederick II, 21. Conduct against Frederick II, 33, 34. Death, 34. Course in the disturbances at Paris University, 212. His grief at the corrupt state of Paris schools.....	221
Gregory, Dr. Martin, note.....	475
Gregory, S., of Nyssa, 75, 300. Brother of S. Basil, 618. Funeral oration over S. Basil, note, 639. Made Presbyter.....	640, 669, 862
Gregory, S., the Great, as a preacher, 239. How the dead are helped, 324. On the love of God, 331. Against carnality, 337. On riches, 339. Sacrifice defined by, 373. Taught, 376, 381, 402, 406. Difference between holocaust and sacrifice, 412, 416. On zeal, 417, 418. Suffered from indigestion, note, 505. Difficulty of at once realizing, 513. Waiting on poor, 514. Displays great will, 515. Doctor, 525, 533. Proclaimed Doctor of the Church, note, 533. Latin Fathers close with, note, 568, 569, 598. In "Pastoral Solicitude" takes S. Gregory Nazianzen for model, 644. Gordiana, father of, 708. Silvia, mother of, 708. Birth, 708. Education, 708. The first monk-Pope, 709. A Benedictine, 709. Prefect of Rome, 709. Left the world after having tasted its favours, 709. Love of the Unseen World and Christ, 710. This expressed in book of "Morals," 711. Great influence of S. Benedict's life over, 712. Real Benedictine character, 712. Leaves the world, 713. Endowed six Benedictine monasteries in Sicily, 713. Enters S. Andrew's monastery, 713. Severity of his penance, 714. Incident of Anglo-Saxon youths, leaves Rome for England, 715. Tumult of people, and recall of, 715. Made Deacon of Rome, 716. Sent on a mission to Constantinople, 716. Retired to S. Andrew's 717. Made Abbott, 717. Procession to stop pestilence, 717. Vision of, 718. Made Pope, 718. Concealment and discovery of, 719. His love of his old state, 718. Called to rule in stormy days, 719. State of the world, 719. Thought end of the world at hand, 720. His able conduct of affairs, 720. Letters to S. Augustine and Queen Bertha on mission in England, note, 720, 721. Largeness of character, 721. Some of his works, 721. His corporal sufferings, 722. No account of his death extant, 722; note, 722. Appearance of, 723; note, 723. Has written more voluminously than any Pope writer, except Benedict XIV, 723. His writings, 723. History of, note, 723. "Liber Regule Pastoralis," 723. Last of Latin Fathers, 723. Number of letters extant, note, 727. S. Thomas took him in Morals, 729, 731, 734. His Epistles, 732, 733, 740, 747, 777, 861, 886, 888, 907, 928, 929. Type of statesman, 932. Christ-principle of, converted England.....	933
Gregory Nazianzen, S., 75. As a preacher, 239. Taught, 376. Difficulty of at once realizing, 513, 533. Made doctor, note, 533, 568, 570, 571. Severe on S. Denis, note, 598, 599. Meets at Constantinople with S. Basil, 623. His parentage, etc., 623. Likeness to S. Thomas, 623. His vision, 624, 625. Early youth and acquaintance with S. Basil, 625. Goes to Palestine, 625. At Alexandria, 626. Storm at sea on his voyage to Athens, 626. His fear, 627. Not yet baptized, 627. Reaches Athens, 627. Taught by Proeresius and Ilmmerius, note, 631. At Athens with S. Basil, 631, 632. Friendship with S. Basil, 632, 633, 654. Persuaded to remain at Athens, 634. Hindered from retiring from the world, 634. Help of S. Basil to, 638. The "Theologian" 639, 640. Home duties detained him from joining S. Basil in Pontus, 640. Coolness with S. Basil, 640. Leaves Sasima, 641. His parents die, 641. Called to Constantinople, 641, 642. Success at Constantinople, 642. His fame spreads, 642. And S. Jerome, 642. Resigns his See, 643. Life at Arianza, 643. His death, 643. His portrait, 644. Defended Nicene, 644. Works, 644. Teachings prized, 644. Friendship with S. Jerome, 644. Dates of his life, note, 644. Difference from Angelical, human saint, 657, 659. Succeeded by Nectarius at Constantinople, 668, 669. Never fell, 689. Ever in battle, 706, 716, 719, 723. Number of letters extant, note, 727. S. Thomas took him in dogma, 729, 731, 732, 734; note, 734. Contrasted with Aristippus, 775, 862, 888, 890, 928. Type of poet.....	932
Gregory, Thannaturgus, S., 532; note, 568. Taught by Origen, his parents converted, 620. At Caesarea, goes to Alexandria, his spotlessness, 620. Some dates of his life, note, 620. Made Bishop, 621. His miracles, 621. His many conversions, 729. Never fell.....	689
Gregory of Tours, S., his testimony to S. Gregory the Great's proficiency, 708; note.....	708
Gregory de Valencia, 548; note.....	548
Gregory VII, S., note.....	518
Gregory IX employed S. Raymond to put together "Corpus Juris".....	908
Gregory X, testimony to S. Thomas, 519, 533, 938. Two special objects of, 938. Commands attendance of S. Thomas at Second Council of Lyons.....	933
Gregory XIII, and Trent, note, 537. Orders a new edition of the Catechism of the Council of Trent to be made, note.....	542

	PAGE.
Gregory XVI, and Czar Nicholas, 514; note.....	514
Grenada, the Archbishop of, and the "Summa" at Trent.....	539
Grossetete, Robert, studied at Paris, note, 196. Pegge's life of.....	207
Grosvin.....	104
Guilferio.....	10
Gnells, 6, 15, 17. Rise, 31. Name first used, 32. Supposed origin of the name, 32.	
Many join the party of the.....	249
Guerrie, Brother, legend of his conversion.....	226
Guibert, Abbot of Westminster, his teaching on original sin.....	288
Guillot ordered to be exiled.....	489
Guilt, Abelard denied any in the newly-born, 287. No punishment without.....	287
Guimar.....	1
Guiscard, Robert.....	29
Gumiel d'Izan, Archpriest of.....	47
Gundisalvi, Archdeacon, translated philosophical works.....	154
Guy, Bishop of Auxerre.....	883
Guy Fulquois. <i>Vid.</i> Clement IV.....	
Guzman.....	47
HABIT, Dominican, its appearance on Saints.....	505
Hadarschan, Moses.....	153
Hadrian, note.....	625
Hales, Alexander, taught S. Bonaventure, 503. Prepared way for "Summa".....	891, 892
Hales, Alexander of, a Paris University student, 179, 180, 188, 229. Wrongly said to be master of S. Thomas, 232. His epitaph, note, 232. "Doctor Irrefragabilis," 261. His Commentary on "Sentences," 261. His history, note, 261. Introduced Aristotle in his Commentary on "Sentences," 261. His great reading, 262. His style, note, 262. Great knowledge of ancients, 263. First to treat God's Being and Essence scientifically, 264. His "Summa," note, 264. Hales not first to write a Commentary on "Sentences," 264. His view on knowledge of God, 264. How surpassed by S. Thomas, 265. His reputation, note, 265. Method of treating Lombard's "Sentences," note, 265. Simplicity of S. Thomas compared with, note, 266. Is a sacred science necessary? 274. Is theology science or wisdom? 275. On creation, 284. On original sin, 288. Held that there could be Sacraments even if man had not fallen, 302. Master of S. Bonaventure, note, 317. His saying of S. Bonaventure.....	319
Halgrin, Cardinal.....	111
Hall, Robert, his unconsciousness of sufferings, note.....	684
Halla, note.....	71
Halle, Sect of.....	458
Hamerleve, convent founded from S. Victor's.....	113
Hampden, Bishop, on the Schools, note, 502. On work of mediæval Doctors, note.....	426
Hanbal the Moslem, "Saint".....	149
Hannibal di Molara, perhaps Bachelor at S. James's when S. Thomas was doctor, 555. Made Cardinal, 555. Part of "Catena" of S. Thomas was dedicated to.....	740, 900
Haronn-al-Raschid, 150. Founded a college of translators.....	151
Hashemiah, the old capital of the Moslems.....	150
Hassan Ibn, the poet.....	151
Hatred of religions men, whence it springs.....	431
Haymo, drew up a "Catena".....	739
Heathens, how to refute the, note, 431. Difference between heroes of and Christ, note.....	435
Heavens, incorruptible according to Aristotle, note.....	832
Hebrew, the "Contra Gentiles" translated into.....	857
Hebrews, S. Paul's Epistle to.....	730
Hedwige, S.....	912
Heliopolis.....	552
Heloise, relation of Abelard to.....	90, 91
Helpidius, controversy with Manicheans.....	605
Helvidius, S. Jerome against.....	652
Henricians, the.....	35
Henry, founder of the Henricians.....	457
Henry, Archbishop.....	104
Henry, Cardinal of Ostia.....	484
Henry III of England, note, 500. His war with the Barons, note.....	910
Henry IV, father of Frederick II, his fall.....	21
Henry VIII, and Sir Thomas More, note, 518. Wrote apology for S. Thomas.....	551
Henry of Castile, 911. Made prisoner at battle of Tagliacozzo, 911. Set at liberty.....	911
Henry of Auxerre.....	187
Henry of Cologne, established Dominicans at Cologne, 171. Troubles.....	171
Henry of Gand, his opinion of the "Contra Impugnantes".....	368
Henry of Moravia at S. Sabina.....	57
Henry the Lion.....	32
Henry the Proud.....	32
Hephestion at Athens, 630. Poverty of, 630. Taught Rhetoric at Athens.....	631
Heraclea, Plato's villa at, note.....	789
Heracitus, explained Homer mystically, note, 773. The Ephesian doctrine of, 773. S. Anthony compared to, 775. His doctrine of eternal flux.....	786
Heresy, 302. In the early Church, note, 600. Treated by S. Thomas, 305. What it is, 305. What kind of sin it is, 306. Causes of, 307. Tendency of.....	575

	PAGE.
Heretics strive to destroy Christ.....	426, 427
Heric, 77. A preacher.....	240
Hermann of Dalmatia, gained science from Spain, 152. Translated the Planis- phericum of Ptolemy.....	154
Hermann of Germany, at S. Sabina, 57. Translated from the Arabic.....	154
Hermas.....	599
Hermias of Atarnens, Aristotle goes to, 804. His death, 804. Aristotle accused of worshiping.....	806
Hermits in England, note.....	597
Herod Atticus, note.....	628
Heredotus, on religion of the Greeks, note.....	772
Hierosim, teaching of Christ, surpasses Pagan, note.....	775
Hesoid, influence of, note, 532. Bible of Greeks, 772; note, 772. Explained mys- tically, 773; note.....	773
"Hexæmeron," S. Basil's.....	639
Hexameron of Hugh of Amiens.....	183
Hieron, less than Pindar.....	516
Hilarion, S., 481. Lived in a morass.....	587
Hilarinus, the magician.....	663
Hilary, S., made doctor, note, 533. On the Psalms transcribed by S. Jerome, 646, 669. S. Augustine to.....	907
Hildebert of Lavardin, and the "Tractatus Theologicus".....	133
Hildebert, Bishop of Mans.....	86
Hildebrand, difficulty of at once realizing, 513, 514. Great in will.....	515
Hilderic.....	9
Himerius, life of, note.....	630
Hincmar, controversy with Gotteschalch.....	77
"Hippias Major" of Plato.....	794
Hippo, 569, 571. S. Augustine goes to, 700. S. Augustine made Bishop of, 701. Besieged by Vandals.....	704
Hippocrates, resuscitated by Arabs.....	153
Hippolytus, S., misunderstood, note, 158. S. Ambrose studies works of.....	238, 421
Hirschau, William of, first drew out a syllogistic proof of God's existence, note.....	127
History, ignorance of in middle ages.....	228
Hobbes, Nominalism prepared the way for the Materialism of.....	89
Hohenstaufens, a Weibling family.....	32
Holland, William of.....	71
Holocaust, difference from sacrifice.....	412
Holy Land, recovery of, object of Gregory X.....	938
Homer, difficulty of at once realizing, 513. Influence of, note 570. Bible of the Greeks, 772; note, 772. Explained mystically, 773; note, 773. Plato despairs of becoming a poet after reading.....	784
Homilies of S. Gregory the Great.....	723
Honain.....	151
Honoratus, Bishop of Verceil, 682. Letter of S. Augustine to.....	703
Honoratus of Subiaco and S. Gregory the Great.....	712
Honorius III, tutor to Frederick II, 21. Approves Dominicans, 50. His gift of S. Sabina to the Dominicans.....	56
Hope, treated in the "Secunda Secundæ".....	918
Horace, influence of, note.....	532
Horarium of one of colleges of Cambridge, note.....	205
Horn, the Golden.....	573
"Hortensius" of Cicero, read and liked by S. Augustine.....	694
Hospital, brethren of, founded.....	38
Hospitallers, refuse to join Crusade of Frederick II.....	38
Hospites, the, of the Sorbonne.....	205
Hugh Metel.....	95
Hugh of Cyprus, "De Regimine Principum," written for, note.....	901
Hugh of Amiens, 95. His Hexameron.....	183
Hugh of Auxerre.....	104
Hugh of Metz, professor at Paris.....	251
Hugh of Ostia, papers on S. Luke, note.....	183
Hugh of Rouen.....	143
Hugh of S. Caro, 51. Cardinal, commissioned to examine the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," 453. Wrote papers on S. Luke, note, 183. "Correctorium Bibiæ Sorbonnicum," 184. "Concordantia S. Jacobi," 217, 230. Uses his in- fluence to get S. Thomas to Paris.....	250, 357, 364
Hugh of S. Victor's, 95. On solitude, note, 516, 891. Sent to Hamerleve, 113. Goes to S. Victor's, 114. Teaches, 114. Narrative of his last illness, 115, 116. Death, 117. Epitaph, 117, 123. Constant friend of S. Bernard, 124. Called Didascalus, 131. The real founder of the monastic method of theology, 131. His services to theology, 131. "De Sacramentis," 131. His teaching, 132, 133. The "Tractatus Theologicus" his work, 133. His writings, 133. His doctrines, 134. Disciples, 134. Founda the science of contemplation, 142. Composed a book of "Sentences," 143. Letter to the Bishop of Seville against Saracen learning, 153. Wrote papers on S. Luke, note, 153, 185, 189. A preacher, 240. Teaching on original sin, 258. View on increase of body, 290. Alligned in Adam in mass, held a separate soul to be a person, 296, 300. "De Sacramentis," 302. Exalted too much the Sacraments of the Old Law, 303. S. Thomas disagreed with, on the <i>opus operatum</i> of the Sacraments of the Old Law, 303. S. Thomas it was not necessary to anticipate the day of circumcision, 304. Held that a heretical priest could not consecrate, 304. On Blessed Virgin.....	329

	PAGE.
Hugo, Victor, his sketch of Paris life, note.....	499
Humbert de Romanis, appointed by the Pope to draw up a commission to examine the "Perils," 653. General of Dominicans, 655. Great trust in S. Thomas, 358. Appoints S. Thomas to oppose Amour.....	359
Humboldt and Albertus Magnus.....	71
Humility springs from self-knowledge, 493. The way to knowledge, 129, 132. Religious do not vow perfect.....	381
Hungary converted, note.....	585
Huns.....	584
Hutta, S., recluse, note.....	597
Huy, note.....	597
Hyacinth, S., 925. His labours, 54. At S. Sabina.....	57
Hygins.....	153
Hyksos, the, of Egypt, note.....	578
Hymettus, Mount, 4. Honey of.....	628
Hypostases—not two in Christ.....	295
IBN GABIROL, identical with Avicbron.....	159
Ibn Hassan, the poet.....	151
Ibn Roschd. See Averroës.	
Ibn Salg.....	153, 159
Ibn Tofeil, Arab mystic.....	155
Ibn Zohr, note.....	877
Ideas, Plato's theory of, 795, 797. S. Thomas on, in God, 814, 815. Aristotle on Plato's view of, note. 815. Doubtful whether Plato held separate, note.....	818
Idolatry, causes of, 322. Blending of Greek and Asiatic, note.....	581
Idols, the, of Bacon, note.....	518
Ignatius, S., 532. Partly formed S. Philip, note, 40. Misunderstood, note, 598, 599, Ignatius of Loyola, S., note.....	740
Ignatius, S., Martyr and Trajan.....	573
Ignorant, dogmatize most, note.....	327
Ignorance of middle ages, 228; note.....	513
Ildephonsus, S.....	229
Ilyssus.....	582
Ilyssus.....	779
Imagination, not the same as passive intellect, note.....	877
Immorality, one of the evils of the present age.....	436
Incarnation, the, treated in the third book of S. Thomas's Commentary on "Sentences," 732. Not a necessary consequence of the fall, note, 733. Three opinions given by the Lombard on the manner of, 733. These opinions refuted by S. Thomas, 734. Not two hypostases in Christ, 734. Christ did not assume a man, 734. Benefit of Christ's, to philosophy, 812; note.....	871
India, mission to, note.....	598
Innocent I, Pope, espouses cause of S. Chrysostom.....	671
Innocent II, visit to Clairvaux.....	98
Innocent III, tutor to Frederick II, 21. Vision of S. Dominic, 46. Interview with S. Thomas, 62, 63. Letter to Alfonso X on Saracenic learning, 153. His relations with the Paris University, 207, 209, 225. S. Thomas's exposition of two decrees of, 255. His view of original sin.....	288, 404
Innocent IV, note, 518. Would not allow family of Frederick II to inherit the crown, 908. Sides with the Mendicants in disturbances at Paris, 312. Death of.....	312, 405
Innocent V, 230. History of, 517. His appreciation of S. Thomas.....	520
Innocent VI, his testimony to S. Thomas.....	521
Innocent X, established universities in which S. Thomas's doctrines were to be taught, note.....	527
Innocent XII and Trent, note, 538. His testimony to S. Thomas, 526; note.....	526
Innocent, the, sermon of S. Thomas on.....	246
Instability one of the evils of the present age.....	436
Intellect, power of, over men, 476. Greatness of, superior to greatness of will, 516. A truly great, defined by Newman, note, 513. Some saints display power of, 515; note, 515. Great intellect and will seldom combined, note, 515. Men of, great thinkers, 515. Different from sense, 834. The passive, 835. Unity of, not held by Aristotle, 874. Passive intellect, 874. Operations of, not by corporal organs, 874. S. Thomas on passive, 875. S. Thomas's teaching on, 876. S. Thomas against unity of, 876, 879. Not same as imagination, note, 877. Follows the heart, 395. Its connection with morals, 427. An unsafe guide without moral habits, 428; note.....	429
" <i>Intellectus possibilis et agens</i> ," "Compendium Theologicum" on, note.....	415
Intention, a good, no excuse for evil doing.....	331
"Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" composed by Br. Gerard, 450. Its gist, and the part assigned to Franciscans, 450, 451. John of Parma its alleged author, note, 452. Publicly sold, 452. Used as a text-book, note, 452. Its condemnation desired, 453. Condemned and burned, 453. Its authors imprisoned, 454. S. Thomas in connection, 455, 456. S. Thomas had it in view in many parts of "Summa," 459. Its teachings on the New Law disposed of by S. Thomas, 459, 462. Written in defence of Regulars, 353. Some propositions of, condemned, 354. Errors of, note, 354, 355. Aim of William of S. Amour regarding, 355. Sent by Paris doctors to the Pope for examination.....	356
Investitures, rapture on.....	31
Ionia, cities of.....	584
Irenæus, S., 352. Only one work of, extant, 369. His date.....	360, 861
Irreverence, spirit of, 94. Period of, 312. Opposed to monasticism.....	345

	PAGE.
Iris, S. Basil's monastery on banks of, 636. S. Gregory at.....	640
Isaac, S. Thomas compared to, note.....	420
Isaac, the Arab.....	154
Isaias, S. Thomas's Exposition of, and method, 764. Samples of, 765, 766. Diffi- culty of comprehending, 513. S. Thomas wrote a commentary on.....	320
Isaurians, raids of, on Cucusns.....	671
Isidore, S., made doctor, note, 533. His Epistles, 734. Made a "Catena".....	739, 890
Isidore of Egypt and his monks meet Ss. Jerome and Paula.....	651
Isidore of Pelusium, S., number of his letters extant, note.....	727
Isidore, the Monk, went to Rome with S. Athanasius, note.....	605
Isidore, S., of Seville, dull when a boy, 66, 76. His "Etymologies," 185. As a preacher.....	239, 305
Isocrates, 629. Disciple of Socrates.....	783, 790
Ispahan.....	150
Italy, Plato goes to, 786. Insecurty of, for prelates in 13th century, 884. Invaded by Conradin.....	911
Ivo of Chartres.....	143
Ivo of Vergi.....	201
JACOB, S. Thomas compared to, note.....	420
Jacobites, Dominicans so called at Paris.....	349
Jacobs de Voragine, golden legend of.....	53
Jacquier, Nicholas.....	536
James the Deacon.....	111
James, S.....	571, 728
James, S., of Nisibis.....	588, 607, 669
James, S., the Apostle.....	401
James's, S., S. Thomas teaches at, 500, 501, 545. Too small for his audience, note, 501. Regent at, 554, 556. Preaches Lent at, 556. Professor at, 913. Leaves, James's, S., the Dominican school at Paris, 179. S. Thomas sent to, 179. Its many great men, note, 187, 215, 216. The lecture hall, 217, 230. The great names of, James de Vitry. See Vitry.....	915, 230
Jane of Chantal, S., note.....	573
Jansenius, five propositions of.....	526
Janula, Rocca.....	16
Japheth, note.....	573
Jarchi, Solomon.....	153
Jarrow.....	15
Jehan, the satirist.....	24
Jeremias, S. Thomas wrote a Commentary on, 320. Character of, not easily grasped, 513. S. Jerome's unfinished Commentary on, 764. Exposition of S. Thomas on, 764, 766. S. Thomas's work on, unfinished, 767. Examples from.....	767, 767
Jerome, S., 75. His explanation of Hebrew names, 185. Against idleness, 333. Love of Scripture, 340. Duty of the monk, 374, 375, 376. Taught, 376. On Sacred Scripture, 377, 379. Statement of, explained, 380. Confutes Jovinian and Vigilantius, 399. Monks avoid many dangers, 418. His character not easily grasped, 513. Powerful in intellect, 515. Love of solitude, note, 516, 517. Made doctor, 524; note, 533. S. Thomas filled with spirit of, note, 566, 568, 569, 571, 600. Went to Constanti- nople to be a disciple of S. Gregory Nazianzen, and his friendship for S. Gregory Nazianzen, 642. His character, 644. His memory, note, 644. Ordained Presbyter at Antioch, 645. His parentage, 645. Goes to Rome, 645. Studies, 646. His fall at Rome, 646. Is baptized, 646. Goes to Aquelela and Treves, and learns tradition of monastic life, 646. Evagrius describes Eastern monks to, 647. Goes to East, 647. In Chalcis, 647. His great trial, 647, 648. Love of classics, 649. His vision, 649. Goes to Antioch and Constantinople, 650. Goes to Rome to oppose Millettians, 650. Is known to Pope Damasus, and becomes his secretary, 650. Advocates principles of monastic life, 650. Marcella at Rome, 650. Leaves Rome for East, 651. Travels in East, 651. At Bethlechem, 651. Four monasteries erected, 651. Translates the Old Testament from Hebrew, 651. Translates Origen, 651. Other writings, 652. List of works, note, 652. Scenes at his last hours, 653-655. Death of, 655. Dates of his life, note, 655. Influence on S. Thomas, 656. Difference from Angelical, a human saint, 656. Contem- porary with S. Chrysostom, 669. Praises S. Ambrose's book on "Virginity," 673. Fell, but soon recovered, 689. Ever in battle, 706, 723, 727. Number of letters extant, note, 729. S. Thomas influenced by him in Scripture, 729; note, 729, 731. His Epistles, note, 732. Exposition on S. Paul to Galatians, 739, 747. Prologue of S. Jerome to "S. Matthew," 752. Contrasted with Antisthenes.....	928, 547, 599, 71, 560, 824, 108
Jeromites, their approval of S. Thomas.....	547
Jersalem, 573. Church founded at.....	599
Jesser, Dr., his opinion of Albertus Magnus.....	71
Jesuits, their approval of S. Thomas, 549. Declared S. Thomas the safest guide, 548. Received teaching of S. Thomas, 548. Famous teachers.....	560
Jews, the, "Contra Gentiles" written to enlighten, 855, 860. S. Thomas against, 872. S. Thomas disputes with their Rabbies, 872, 873. Rabbies converted, 873, 896. Spanish, their learning, 153. Philosophy of, 166. Sects of, Karaites and Orthodox, 167. Cabbalists, 167. Rationalistic influence of Aristotle on, 168. Decisions of S. Thomas regarding the, 258, 259. Guilt of in crucifying Christ.....	324, 108
Jezirah, the, when written.....	108
Joachim, Abbot, 450, 456. Accusations against Lombard, 444. Condemned, 144. His history and errors, note, 352, 353. Doctrines of, 353, 354. His works cor- rected by S. Thomas, 456. Fanaticism caused by writings of, 458. Said the Old Testament Law had passed, 459. Disproved by S. Thomas.....	460, 462

	PAGE.
Joanna d'Aza, mother of S. Dominic, her vision.....	46
Job, Commentary of S. Thomas on, 564, 723, 751. Most striking, 757. Authorities used in it, 759. Its length and object, 760. Its division.....	760, 761
John, Abbot.....	587
John Baptist, S., note.....	574
John Behn.....	356
John, the Deacon, wrote a life of S. Gregory.....	722
John VIII.....	861
John Francioge.....	357
John XXI, Censures by.....	543
John XXII, his testimony to S. Thomas, 520. By a Bull.....	521
John the Almoner, S., note.....	570
John of Blaise, his testimony to the assaults of the devil on S. Thomas.....	482
John of the Cross, S., teachings on charity, 494; note.....	573
John, S., Damascene, work of, 75. Translated, 186. His history.....	263
John of Damascus, S., great in intellect, 515-532. Greek Fathers, close with, note, 568, 570. Drew up a "Catena," 739, 867. His influence on schools.....	907
John of Germany, General of the Dominicans, 51. Journey with S. Thomas.....	65
John of Nivelle as a preacher.....	240
John of Paris.....	230, 232
John of Rochelle, master of S. Bonaventure, 232. S. Bonaventure lectures at Paris under.....	318
John de Roquignies founded a school for Premonstratensians at Paris.....	200
John of S. Alban.....	214
John of Salisbury, critical spirit of, 92, 94. His "Metalogue," 187; note, 193. His many masters.....	226
John à S. Facundo.....	40
John of S. Giles, legend of, 226. First Dominican professor of theology at Paris.....	230
John of Seville (Avendeath), introduced Algebra.....	154
John of S. Julian.....	61
John d'Ursini.....	357, 364
John of Vercelli, 913. General of the Dominicans.....	365
John de Hanteville's testimony to the degraded state of Paris University, 471; note.....	471
John of Jerusalem and S. Jerome.....	652
John de Meng and the "Roman de la Rose".....	453
John of Podomitis.....	536
John of Parma, reputed author of the "Introduction," 451; note, 451. Resigned his office of General, 453. His trial, 454. Death.....	455
John of Pisa, and S. Thomas.....	478, 479
John of Ragusa.....	536
John of Salisbury, his testimony to state of Paris University, 471; note.....	474
John à Santo Facundo.....	560, 571
John of Wilderhusen, and the conversion of the Arabs, note.....	856
John of Wildeshusen, preached in French.....	240
John the Deacon brought twenty-nine accusations against S. Chrysostom, note.....	670
John the Evangelist, S., his supernatural character and his spirit of contemplation described by Dr. Newman, 683. Exposition of S. Thomas on, with its peculiarity of style, 752. First five chapters written out by S. Thomas, rest by Reginald of Piperno, 753. Skeleton of S. Thomas's Exposition on, note, 753. Index to power of S. Thomas, 753. Its length and division, 754, 900, 906. Belief of his resurrection treated by S. Thomas, 395. Love of.....	422
John the Faster, aims at being Universal Patriarch, 721. And S. Gregory the Great.....	721
John the Grammarian.....	825
John the Sophist.....	77
Johnson, Dr.....	531
Jolanda.....	6
Jonah-ben-Gamach.....	153
Jonas the Holy.....	167
Jongleurs, the, note.....	453
Jordan of Saxony, the Dominican, established the Dominicans at Cologne, 171. Troubles, 171. Preached in French.....	240
Josaphat, note.....	570
Joscelin, Bishop of Soissons.....	95, 104
Joseph, note, 573. S. Thomas compared to, note.....	421
Joshua, note.....	573
Jovinian opposed the counsels, 390, 396. S. Thomas against.....	632
Jowett, Professor, on Plato's description of the Sophists, note, 784. His Plato, note.....	793
Judges have a right to put to death.....	334
Judgment, the, why to be feared.....	325
Julian, and S. Athanasius, note, 518. Drove S. Athanasius into exile, why.....	600
Julian, Governor of Cilicia.....	634
Julian the Rhetorician, 630. His love for Procerhus.....	631
Julien la Pauvre, S.....	501
Julienne, Revelation of B., regarding Corpus Christi, note.....	883
Julius Caesar's gift to Athens, note.....	628
Julius Pope, S. Athanasius appeals to, note.....	574
Juulèges, Abbot of, preached in French.....	240

	PAGE.
Just, how treated by the unjust, note.....	432
Justice, treated in "Secunda Secunda," 918. Divisions of.....	919
Justification, doctrine of, S. Thomas on, same as that of Trent, 538. Difference in the manner of justification of the Sacraments of the Old and new Law.....	303
Justin, S., 532, note, 568. Misunderstood, note, 568. His dialogue with Trypho, 184, 434	
Justina Empress, and S. Ambrose, 514. At Milau; Arian, 680. Orders S. Ambrose to give S. Victor's to Arians, 680. Orders him to give up Portian Basilica, 680. Strives to murder S. Ambrose.....	681
Justinian, Cardinal, and S. Thomas.....	538
KADMON, Adam.....	168
Kalteisen, Henry.....	536
Kant and Aristotle, note.....	72, 893
Karaïtes, a sect of schismatic Jews.....	167, 168
Keble, note.....	476
Kepler, not understood without study.....	513, 889
Kilwardby, Robert, his censure of Oxford teachings.....	224
Knights, Tentonic, founded.....	38
Knowledge, Dominican love of, 64; note, 64. Three methods of, 137. Desires and sensuality hinder, note, 429. All men desire and why.....	839
Koran translated, 154. Commentary on.....	156
LABBE and S. Thomas.....	551
Labour, manual, not necessary to religions, 389. When necessary.....	390
"Labour of Monks," the, of S. Augustine.....	388
Lacedemonians and Plato.....	790
Laconia, cities of.....	584
Lactantius, 533; note, 568. On the persecutors, note.....	582
Lallemant on purity of heart, note.....	426
Lando of Aquino.....	1
Landulf, father of S. Thomas, 1. His descent, 1. Partisan of Frederick II.....	6
Landulf, brother of S. Thomas, seizes the saint, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. His conversion.....	249
Landulf, Sinnebald. See Sinnebald.....	
Lanfranc—"Liber Scintillarum" against Berengarius, 77, 83. His eloquence, note.....	87, 209
Langton, Stephen, studied at Paris, note, 196. Taught at Paris, 196. A noted preacher, 243. His appellation, " <i>Lingua-tonantis</i> ," 244. Wrote a Commentary on "Sentences," note.....	264
Laodiceæ, a man of, healed by S. Anthony.....	593
Laon, Anselm of. See Anselm of Laon.....	
Lastheneæ.....	790
Lateral, Council summoned at, 33. Bishops thrown into prison on their way, 34. Third Council of, helped Paris University.....	194
Lateral Basilica, Prince Charles invested with kingdom of Sicily in.....	910
Latin Fathers end with S. Gregory, note, 568. Language represents action, note, 574. And Greek Churches, union of, object of Gregory X, 937. Impress of Latin mind, on Western Fathers.....	575
"Lauda Sion" composed by S. Thomas.....	881
Laureate, or <i>Magister Laureatus</i>	230
Law, the fourfold, of God to man, 330. Of Moses, 332. Difference between divine and civil.....	338
Law, New, said by Abbot Joachim to have passed away, 459. Considered by S. Thomas, 460, 462. Old, said by Abbot Joachim to have passed away, 459. This doctrine refuted by S. Thomas, 460. S. Thomas on the precepts of the, 758	
Lawrence the Englishman.....	214
"Laws" of Plato, 786; note.....	798
Leander, S., S. Gregory to.....	716
Learned, the, judge calmly, note, 513. To be consulted, note.....	730
Lecky, astounding ignorance of, regarding S. Thomas, note.....	481
Legislation, ecclesiastical, influence given to, at Trent, note.....	537
Leo, S., made doctor, note, 533, 513. And Attila, 514. Great in will, 515. Number of his letters extant, note.....	727, 861
Leo III, S.....	861
Leo IV, S.....	861
Leo the Mathematician.....	150
Leo of Ostia.....	10
Leonard, Brother, and the "Introduction," 450. Imprisoned.....	454, 458
Leontius conceals S. Ambrose.....	676
Lepanto.....	524
Leviathan, S. Thomas on the.....	760
Lewes, Mr., does not appreciate S. Thomas, note.....	511
Lexington, Stephen, introduces the Cistercians to Paris.....	197
Libanius, S. Basil studies under, 622. His reputation at Constantinople, 622. Dates of his life note, 622. S. Chrysostom studies under, 660. His esteem for S. Chrysostom, 660. His death.....	661
"Liber Elenchorum" of Aristotle, note.....	828
"Liber Regule Pastoralis," most valued work of S. Gregory the Great, 723. Translated into Greek.....	723
"Liber Scintillarum" of Lanfranc.....	77

	PAGE.
Liberals' hatred of Mendicants, 343. Causes of	343
Liberty, danger of spirit of, 457, 458. And Providence, S. Thomas on, note, 871.	
HUMAN, Richard of S. Victor's view of	137
License one of the evils of the present age	436
"Licentia Docendi," the	230
Liege, Theobald, Archdeacon of, chosen Pope under name of Gregory X.	938
Life, eternal, grace of God and will of man necessary for	328
Life of man, S. Thomas on, 760. Active and contemplative, S. Thomas on, 921, 922,	923
Lignano, battle of	32
Liguria, S. Ambrose appointed Governor of	678
Limenius, enemy of Libanius	622
Lincoln, Robert of, 179. Translated the "Testamentum Duodecim Patri-	
charum"	186
Lindisfarne	15
Literature, Saracenic, danger to Christianity from	153
"Littera Legibilis," the	218
Liturgy developed by S. Chrysostom	660
Loci Theologici owe to Abelard proofs from reason	94
Logic. See Dialectics, considered by S. Thomas not as an end, but as a means,	
note, 554. Divided according to acts of reason	825,
826	
Lombard, the, commented on by Bachelors, 468, 555. Great in intellect, 515, 561.	
Commentary of S. Thomas on, 563, 584, 728. Which testifies to S. Thomas's	
knowledge of the Fathers, 749, 862. Tends to synthesis	891, 892,
893	
Lombard, Canon John	111
Lombard League, 16. Overcome by Frederick II.	20
Lombard, Peter, influenced by Abelard's teaching, 94. Of S. Victor's, 111. Goes	
through the influence of S. Bernard, 112. Disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's, 134. His	
early life, 143. His "Sentences" gave unity to teaching, 144. Causes of success of	
the "Sentences," 145. Master of the "Sentences," 146. Bishop of Paris, 146. His	
humility, 147. Plan of the "Sentences," 147. His Commentary on the Psalter, note,	
148. One of the text-books of schoolmen, 182. "Sentences" of, studied, 218. S.	
Thomas grounded his teaching on the "Sentences" of, 253. "Sentences" of,	
expounded by S. Thomas, 261-308—see "Sentences" Borrows his doctrine on grace	
from S. Augustine, 265. Comparatively confused style of, 272. Not servilely fol-	
lowed by S. Thomas, 277. Teaching on charity, 278. Cause of his error in teaching	
on charity, 280. Held that angels could increase in merit, 281. On creation, 284. S.	
Thomas corrected his statements when wrong, 284. Opposed Abelard's theory on	
original sin, 287. On original sin, 288. Held the <i>in massa</i> theory, 290. View on	
increase of body, 291-293. Cause of accusation of Nihilism against, 294. Various	
opinions on the manner of the Incarnation, 294. His indecisive teaching, 296. Op-	
posed by Walter of S. Victor's, 296. Defects and false teachings of, developed, 297.	
Supposed proposition of, condemned, 298. Held a soul separate from body to be a	
person, 298, 300. Cause of the institution of the Sacraments, 302. No Sacraments if	
man had not fallen, 303. S. Thomas disagreed with, on the <i>opus operans</i> of Sacra-	
ments of the Old Law, 303. Circumcision, 304. Held that heretical priests could not	
consecrate, 304. Other differences of S. Thomas with, 305. S. Thomas's admira-	
tion of	307
Lombards, Arian, 719. In Italy, 719. Mediation of S. Gregory between Greeks	
and	720
Lombardy, Iron Crown of	31
Lombardy	911
Lord, Our, appears to S. Thomas	552
Lord's Prayer, S. Thomas wrote a treatise on, 319. Excellence of	327
Loreto	926
Loreto, Castle of, site, 18. Famine around	19
Lotulf, disciple of Anselm of Laon	88, 90,
91	
Louis, King, S., deputies of, return from Rome, 483. Brief of Pope to, 484. Helps	
to bring about peace at Paris, 491. Love of S. Thomas and S. Bonaventure,	
491. Helps to re-establish order, 499. Abstraction of S. Thomas at table of,	
673, 674. S. Thomas counsellor to, 791, 910. Friendship of, with S. Thomas,	
913. His likeness to S. Thomas, note	914
Louis VII of France, 103. Gifts of, to the Sorbonne	202, 203,
204	
Louis IX, S., his gifts to the Dominicans, 216. Anecdote of, 242. Return from	
Palestine, 314. His course in the disturbances at Paris, 314. His love of	
Dominicans and Franciscans, 314, 316, 349. His course in the disturbances	
of Amour at Paris	356,
357	
Louis of Valladolid	536
Louvain	208
Louvain, Brief of Pope Alexander VII to University of, in approval of S. Thomas,	
note, 526. University of, attaches itself to S. Thomas	546
Love, law of, 330. Its effects, 331. Degrees of perfect	411
Love of God, degrees of, 129. Boundless	399
Love of neighbour, 399. Degrees of, 413. Perfection of	415
Low Countries, converted, note	585
Lucca, 14. Born at Cordova	151
Lucca, S. Thomas approved by Dominicans in the General Chapter at	550
Luchan	659
Lucia, S. Villa, destroyed	8
Luke, S., Commentary of S. Thomas on	900
Lucrations	187
Luke, Master, brief of Innocent IV to, in favour of Mendicants	312
Lyceum Aristotle teaches at the	802, 803,
805	

	PAGE.
Lycias.....	629
Lycinus.....	631
Lying forbidden, why.....	338
Lyons, Council of, S. Thomas summoned to attend.....	519
Lyons, Poor Men of.....	35, 48
"Lysis" of Plato.....	785
"MA," worship of, in Pontus and Cappadocia.....	617
Macarius, S., 588. S. Athanasius, gave a cloak to.....	605
Macedon, Aristotle's father physician to king of, note.....	803
Macedonians, the, 600. Date of, note, 600. At Constantinople, 641. And S. Gregory Theologus.....	644
Macrina, S., sister of S. Basil, 618, 621; note.....	635
Macrina, S., grandmother of S. Basil.....	620, 621, 622, 625
Macrobin.....	876
Madura, S. Augustine leaves, 691. Fame of.....	691
Magdalene.....	422
Magicians, Valen's decree against.....	663
Magister Laurentius, office of.....	231
Magister Licentius, office of.....	230
Magister Mauritius, opposed the teaching of the Lombard.....	297
Magisterium, the, not an honour.....	381
"Magnum Spectulum".....	226
Mahadi, magnificence of.....	150
Mahomedans, rise and culture of.....	149, 150, 151
Mai, Cardinal, tests S. Thomas's quotations, note.....	869
Mai, his appreciation of Albertus Magnus as a botanist.....	71
Maizena, Castle of.....	938, 940
Maimonides, an active Aristotelian, 153. A pupil of Averroës, 190. Flees from Cordova, 160, 168. His life and the "More Nevochim," 169. Bruker's appreciation of, 307. Fend regarding his doctrine.....	169, 184
Maistre, De. on S. Thomas, note.....	550
Major, John, the Nominalist.....	544
Malaga.....	151
Malum, a privation.....	289
Malvenda.....	26
Man, influence of action on, note, 531. Has free will, note, 852. Formed by Church into likeness of Christ, 897. Transformed into child of God, 898. True principles of the Rights of, note, 932. Doctrine of Hugh of S. Victor's on.....	932
Manasses, one of the founders of S. Catharine's at Paris.....	104
Manasses II, Bishop of Meaux.....	104
Mannes, 324. Error of.....	375
Manfred, 32, 312. King of Italy, turbulence of, 883. Overthrown, 885. Besieges Rome, 883. Renders Italy, insecure, 885, 908. Cited by Pope Alexander IV, 909. Invades Sicily, 909. Crowned at Palermo, 909. Cited by Pope Urban IV, 910. Slain at Benevento.....	910
Manichæans, Substance Separate refuted by S. Thomas, 256. S. Thomas's opinion of, 322. Loathed by S. Anthony, 593. Date of, note, 600. S. Augustine joins, 692. He leaves, 694. Opposed by S. Augustine, 701. Mentioned in Exposition of S. Thomas on S. Paul.....	754
Manicheism rife in the 13th century.....	355
Mannon.....	198
Manual labour not necessary to religions, 388, 389. When necessary.....	389
Marburg, Henry.....	215
Murella and S. Athanasius, 164. And S. Jerome, 211. Death of.....	213
Marcellians at Constantinople.....	641
Marcellina, sister of S. Ambrose, 675. Provided for by S. Ambrose.....	676, 678
Marclonites, S. Chrysostom preaches against the.....	666
Marcomanni, letter of S. Ambrose to Queen of the.....	680
Marcus.....	630
Marcus Aurelius, note.....	628
Margaret, Duchess of Flanders, her relations with S. Thomas.....	250
Maria della Porta, S., Convent founded by Matthew della Porta.....	912
Marini Leonard, one of the compilers of the "Catechism of the Council of Trent,"	542
Mark, Abbot.....	587
Mark of Tripoli.....	154
Mark, S., School of, 621. "Catena" on, 739. Commentary of S. Thomas on.....	900
Mark of Ephesus, Greek champion at Florence, 534. Obstinaey of.....	534
Marriage impedes the soul, 373. Renunciation of, leads to perfect love.....	411
Marseilles.....	572, 584, 910
Marsilius Ficinus and Plato. note.....	809
Martin of Tours, S., his election opposed on account of his unimposing appearance, note, 506, 639. Did not create a theology.....	890, 891, 922
Martinet of Paris.....	206
Martini, Pietro.....	26
Martin's, S.....	501
Martyrdom, highest manifestation of Fortitude.....	920
"Mary," meaning of, 330. See Virgin Blessed.	
Mary, S., note.....	570
Mary, S., of Egypt, note.....	570

	PAGE.
Mary Magdalene, S., her unearthly nature	684
Master-mind, definition of a, note.....	498
Matanorus	544
Materialism, Nominalism prepared the way for.....	89
Mathematics, subject of, note, 828. Limited knowledge of.....	153
Mathurin's, S. Trinitarian school at Paris.....	636
Matilda, Countess.....	29
Matrimony, Sacrament of.....	302
"Matter," according to Plato, eternal, 799. The " <i>hyle</i> " of the Academy, 818. S. Thomas oversets Plato's theory on.....	814-815
Matthew of Paris.....	213, 226
Matthew, S., Servorum Dei, monastery of.....	7, 8
Matthew, S., Homily of S. Chrysostom on Gospel of, 666. One of S. Chrysostom's master-pieces, 666. " <i>Catena</i> " on, dedicated to Urban IV, 740. Specimens, 741, 743. Authorities used by S. Thomas in " <i>Catena</i> " on, note, 741. Exposition of S. Thomas on, 752. Was taken down by Br. Peter Andrea, 752. Difference of style from that on S. John, 752. Its length, division and method, 752. Its subject—Humanity of Christ, 753; note.....	753
Matthew della Porta, Archbishop.....	912
Munrice, Emperor, and S. Gregory the Great	720
Maurice de Silly, mission of the Apostles, note.....	239, 240
Manritius Hispanus forbidden.....	222
Maurus, S., offered as a child to religion	398
Maxentius	675
Maximian, death of, note.....	582, 620
Maximin, death of, 582. Persecution of.....	592, 671
Maximus defeated by Theodosius.....	680
Maximus, friend of S. Chrysostom, 661. In solitude	663
Maximus, the Monk.....	680
Medicine, knowledge of	153
Mediterranean.....	577
Medura.....	545
Megara, Plato journeys to	786
"Mekôr Chajim" discovered by Munk.....	159
Melchior Canus indebted to Vittoria, 544, 545. <i>Vide Canus</i>	
Meletians, S. Jerome goes to Rome to oppose the, 649. Loathed by Anthony	593
Meletius, S., made S. Chrysostom Lecter, 662. Ordains S. Chrysostom Deacon, 665. Succeeded by Flavian.....	666
Melissus.....	829, 828
Melito, " <i>Clavis</i> " of.....	184
Meloria	34
Melun	85
Meln, Robert of, composed a book of " <i>Sentences</i> ".....	143
Memory exercised in the Middle Ages, note	59
Memphis	584
Men compared in Scripture to " <i>vessels</i> ," why, 755-757. Formed on " <i>Summa</i> ,"	994
Menchaca	544
Mendicancy, its difference from voluntary poverty	391
Mendicants, decrees in favour of the, enforced at Paris, 489, 490. The Doctors of Paris receive the, 490, 491. Famed for learned professors, note, 197. Position in the theological world in the 13th century, note, 262. Disturbances at Paris with secular professors, 309, 310, 311. Refuse to take the oath of the Paris Doctors, 311. Appeal to Rome, 311. Pope Innocent IV sides with, 312. Excluded from the University by the Paris Doctors, 312. Re-established at the University by Alexander IV, 313. Arrangement with the Doctors, 315. Continue to lecture in the schools of Paris, 316. Raised to oppose disorder, 342. Why hated, 343, 344, 345, 346. Attacked in the " <i>Perils</i> " 348. Amour specially hated the poverty of, 349. Amour's speech against, 349. Why persecuted, 351. William of S. Amour's arguments against, 791, 792. " <i>Introduction to the Eternal Gospel</i> " of, 353-355. In fight with liberals, 356. Crisis in the case of, 358. Defence of S. Thomas against Amour, 362. Triumph of, 363-364. William of S. Amour's continued hatred of, 365. S. Thomas's " <i>Contra Impugnantes</i> " in defence of, 365-393. Slanders of Amour's against, 392. Lives of.....	424
Mendoza, Alphonsus de	545
Mercy, Order of, its approval of S. Thomas	545, 546
Mesopotamia, note.....	572, 575
Messina, Bishop of, commissioned to examine the " <i>Introduction</i> "	16, 453
Mesneh, John, translated Aristotle.....	151
Metaphysics, of John of Salisbury.....	187
"Metaphysics," S. Thomas on Aristotle's, 823, 824. Subject-matter of the various books of Aristotle's, with S. Thomas's Commentary on, 836; note, 838. Prooemium to S. Thomas's Commentary, 837. S. Thomas's view on science of, with relation to other sciences	838-839
Metellus, master of Plato.....	784
"Meteorologia," S. Thomas on Aristotle's treatise on	833
Metheodorus of Lampsaens explained Homer mystically, note.....	773
Methodius of Patara	841
Methodius, S., misunderstood, note.....	598
Mettenleiter on the " <i>Summa</i> ," note	805
Michellet, opinion of, on S. Thomas, note	532
Michael III, Emperor	152
Michael de Corbeil.....	198

	PAGE.
Michael Scott.....	23
Milan, and "Summa," 569, 571, 606. Election of S. Ambrose at, 675. S. Ambrose, Bishop of, 679. S. Augustine teaches rhetoric at, 695. S. Thomas at.....	900
Milanese overcome by Frederick II.....	17
Mill on Plato's theory of ideas, note, 793. Nominalism prepared the way for the materialism of.....	89
Milton, influence of, note.....	89
Minims, the, approve S. Thomas.....	104
Minutius Felix, note.....	72
Mischna, 167. When written.....	168
Mitylene, Aristotle goes to.....	804
Modena famous for law.....	194
Moderation, Albertus Magnus' love of, note.....	66
Modestus, and S. Basil, 514. S. Basil before.....	636, 637
Morbeka, William of.....	155
Moklades, his magnificence.....	149
Molina.....	548
Monastic schools at Paris.....	212
Monastic state, next in eminence to episcopal, 930. Poverty, chastity and obedience instruments of perfection in, 331. Principles of, progress, stability, freedom.....	932
Monasticism, no counterpart of, outside the Church, 458; note, 458. Saints on, 575. Introduced by Christ and Apostles, note, 612. S. John Chrysostom on S. Matthew, speaks in praise of, note, 664. Love of, note, 670. S. Augustine founds himself on, 698. Is struck by, at Rome, 698. Introduced by S. Augustine into his episcopal palace, 701. S. Augustine expresses principle of, 702. Love of, in S. Gregory the Great, 710-713. Fathers and S. Thomas bound together by, 725. Of the Pythagoreans, 757, 768. Spirit of, 14, 119. Decay of, 15. Influence of, 38. Decline, 39. Its power, 123. Principle of, adverse to false philosophy, 806. Struck at by Amour, 834, 835. Defence by S. Thomas, 835, 846, 860, 861. Enemies obliged to admire, 862. Influence of, on the intellect, 866. Its possible effects, 868. Requisites of philosophy same as those of, note, 869. In England, 871. Decay of, no excuse for destruction of, 872. Mr. Church's inability to comprehend, note, 874. The cross its measure, 875. Power of, order, 875. What it is, 876. Made S. Thomas, 876, 877. Scope of, 877. Development of S. Augustine's principle, "Frui et Uti," note.....	877
Monks, the early, their great number, note, 209. Mr. Church on, note, 423. Normal condition of, note, 466. Have no sympathy with dialectics, note, 469. All men not called to be.....	932
Monnica, S., 685. Mother of S. Augustine, 686. Loves S. Augustine, 687. Her tenderness towards S. Ambrose, and joy at S. Augustine's conversion, 687. Illness of, 688. Death of.....	689
Monologue of S. Anselm.....	125
Montalembert and Eastern Saints, note.....	575
Montanists, note.....	600
Monte Cassino. See Cassino.	
Monteflascone.....	33
Montenegro, John of, at Council of Florence against Greeks.....	534, 535
Montmartre, Augustinians at.....	197
Montpellier, Synod of, 48. School of Medicine founded, 153. Dominican school founded.....	234
Moors, "Contra Gentiles," written to enlighten the.....	855
Moral without Dogma vain, note.....	932
Morals, connection of with faith, note, 424. Connection with the intellect, 427, 428; note.....	429
More, Sir Thomas, note.....	518
"More Nevochim," chief work of Maimonides.....	169
Morinus, his opinion on S. Thomas, note.....	107
Morley, Daniel of.....	154
Morra, Grand Justiciary, 6. Fortifies Monte Cassino, 7. Opposes Clavissignati, 7. Defeated.....	8
Mortagne, Walter de.....	91, 95
Moses, Abbot.....	587
Moses, Law of, 332. S. Thomas compared to, note, 421, and note.....	422
Moses-ben-Maimon. See Maimonides.	
Moses, Rabbi.....	323
Moslem culture, rise of.....	149
Moslems and Christians, similitude between.....	151
Mostansor, Caliph.....	150
Motakhallim, school of.....	156, 167
Motazalite, school of.....	156, 167
Motion, spirit of, 15. Aristotle on, note, 828. S. Thomas on, in "De Physico Auditu," 829, 830. Kinds of.....	830
Mozart, anecdote of, note.....	26
Murcia.....	151
"Mystagogia Spiritus Sancti" of Photius.....	861
Mysterics, Eleusinian, of Greeks, note.....	774
Mysticism, sweets of, note, 473. Its grades, 129. Teaching of Richard of S. Victor's on, 137. Its foundations, 138, 139. Its six steps, 139. Not the <i>via ordinaria</i> to God, 142. Scientific founders of, 142. Text-books of.....	183
NABOTH.....	680
Naples, 15. Its site, 20. University opened by Frederick II, 22. Local advantages	

	PAGE.
for site of University, 24. Best professors called to, 24, 25, 26. Attached to S. Thomas, 546. S. Thomas at, 557, 560, 571. S. Thomas's ecstasy at, during Mass, 735. S. Thomas appointed to Archbishopric of, 866, 900. S. Thomas at, 926. King and people at, petition for S. Thomas, 924. S. Thomas leaves Bologna for, 924. The city turns out to meet S. Thomas, 925. Romanus appears to S. Thomas in Church at, 935. Rapture of S. Thomas in Chapel of S. Nicholas at, 936. S. Thomas ceases writing at, 936	
Natalis Alexander ou "Summa," note.....	907
Nations, causes of fall of, note, 433. Cannot endure without religion.....	439
Nature, human, the Church has gift of healing, note.....	564
Naucratius, brother of S. Basil, 618. Most gifted of all his family, note.....	618
Navagius, brother of S. Augustine.....	688
Nazarlo, note.....	475
Nazarus and Celsus, SS., relics of, discovered by S. Ambrose.....	682
Nazlaunus, S. Gregory Nazianzen's father made Bishop of, 623. S. Gregory Nazianzen at.....	340
Nebrius, dilemma of.....	695
Nectarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, death of.....	668
Neo-Casarea, 617. Capital of Pontus.....	617
Neptune, fabled father of Plato.....	783
Nero, death of, note.....	582
Nestorians, the, 600. Date of, note.....	600
Nestorius, 547. Error of.....	476
Nevers, Count of.....	105
New World, fame of S. Thomas carried to, note.....	546
Newman, Dr., on the activity of the reason in the 13th century, 426. His admiration of intellectual men, note, 476. On Gibbon, touching the spread of Christianity, note.....	582
Newton, note, 72. Difficulty of at once realizing, 513, 570. Indebted to Galileo and Kepler.....	889
Nicaea, 600. Date, note, 600. Council of, 607. List of some Bishops at, 607. S. Athanasius at, 608. No doubt as to Consubstantiality of Son, after, 611. S. Basil defended, 637. Theodosius embraced Creed of, 641. Defended by S. Gregory Nazianzen, 644. S. Chrysostom goes in exile to.....	670
Nicholas III, Pope.....	11
Nicholas V, and S. Thomas.....	522, 536
Nichomachus, father of Aristotle, physician to king of Macedon, 803; note.....	803
Nicephorus.....	532
Nicholas, S., Our Lord and S. Thomas in Church of, at Naples, 552. Vision of S. Thomas in Church of.....	736
Nicholas of Bar-sur-Aube, deprived of all honours.....	316, 356
Nicholas of Lyre, his Glossa, note.....	183
Nicholas, Czar, and Pope Gregory XVI, 514; note.....	514
Nicholas Jacquier.....	536
Nicholas, S., du Louvre.....	501
Nicholas.....	731
Nihilism, Lombard accused of, 294. Gilbert de la Porree and Abelard, said by John of Cornwall to be authors of.....	297
Nile, banks of the, 574, 577. Valley of the note.....	578
Nilus, S., number of letters extant of, note, 727. Epistles of, note.....	734
Nineveh.....	576, 584
Nischapur, Nestorian school of.....	151
Nitria, S. Jerome travels to.....	650
Nocera, colonies of Saracens at.....	22
Nominalism, 77. Taught by Roscelin, 80. Opposed by S. Anselm, and William of Champeaux, 81. Overthrown by Abelard, 89. Prepared way for Materialism, 89	
Nonna, S., mother of S. Gregory Nazianzen.....	623, 626, 633
Norbert, S. founded Premonstratensians, 37, 38. Hated by Abelard, 91. College of, at Paris.....	201, 433
Normans.....	21
Notker Labeo, 188. His epitaph.....	240
Notre Dame, chair of at Paris held by William of Champeaux, 84. By his disciples, 86, 87. By Abelard, 89, 92. Possessed MS. of Lombard's "Sentences," 146. At Paris, note, 184. School of, founded by Charlemagne, 197. Cathedral of, 198. Its books lent to students, 198. Library of, 199. Its chapter, 199. Choir of, note.....	199
Novas on Clement IV, note.....	884
Novatians at Constantinople, 641. S. Ambrose on "Penance," against the.....	681
Novatins, schism of, note.....	600
Nubia, evenings in, note.....	576
Numerals, Arabic, introduced by Gerbert.....	153
Nuns, S. Augustine wrote a Rule for.....	701
Obedience, 930. Principal vow of religion, 413. Of Christ.....	423
Obizon, gifts to S. Victor's, 111. Disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's.....	134
Obstinacy, a sin against the Holy Ghost.....	408
Octavian.....	579
Odo of Cambrai, "Gospel Harmonies" of.....	183
Odo of Donay deprived of all honours, 316, 356. His oath to support Mendicants at Paris.....	364
Odofried, note.....	194
Œcumenius composed first Greek "Catena".....	730

	PAGE.
Olfred, ...	208
Olympias, S. Chrysostom's three letters to, from Cucusus, note.....	671, 742
Onar, burning of the Alexandrian library.....	150
Omniades overthrow Abbassides.....	149
Onuphrius, S.....	587
<i>Opus Operans</i> of Sacraments of the Old Law, difference of opinion between S. Thomas and the Lombard on.....	303
<i>Opus Operatum</i> of the Sacraments of the Old Law, difference of opinion between S. Thomas and Hugh of S. Victor's on.....	303
Orators quoted in "Summa," note.....	587
Orders, religious, go to Paris, 197. Influence of, note, 344. S. Thomas saves from overthrow, 345. Attackd in the "Perils," 343. The "Contra Impugnantes" a defence of, 368-394. New ones forbidden to be founded, note, 38. Approve S. Thomas, 516. The monastic, and Christ, 927. Defence of, why made a cardinal point, note.....	931
Orders, Sacrament of.....	302
"Organon," the, of Aristotle.....	893
Origen, 75. Great power of intellect in, 515, 533; note, 568, 598. Suspected, 599. Date, note, 599. Not quite sound, or he would have been made a Doctor, note, 599. Taught S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, 620. Opened a school at Caesarea, 620-621, 626. S. Gregory Theologus copies his writings, 640. They are translated by S. Jerome, 652. Influence of, over S. Basil and S. Gregory Theologus, 659, 660. S. Ambrose studies works of, 677, 731, 741. And S. Thomas, 738. Doctrines of, refuted by S. Thomas, 256. Said to have dictated to many scribes, 257. Maintained that souls were created before bodies.....	398
Orleans, famous for law.....	195
Ormuzd.....	34
Orthodox school in the Middle Ages, 94, 95. Motto of.....	95
Orvieto, our Lord appears to S. Thomas at, 552. S. Thomas's vision at, 688. Urban IV at, 883. Feast of Corpus Christi instituted at, note, 884. Citation of Manfred fixed on church door at, note, 884.....	910
"O Salutaris" composed by S. Thomas.....	881, 882
Osiris.....	34
Osins, Cardinal, and S. Thomas.....	551
Osma, Bishop of.....	493
Ostia, Leo of.....	458
Ostia, S. Monica falls ill at, 688. Dying scenes at, 688. Death of S. Monica at.....	689, 911
Ottoboni, Cardinal, and John of Parma.....	454
Otto, Bishop of Troyes.....	104
Otto of Freisingen.....	94
Otto the Great, interference of, in the election of Popes.....	31
Otto III, 1. His question to Gerbert.....	188
Ovid, 17. His description of envy, note.....	431
Oxford, 572. Disturbances at the University, 207. Number of students at, 208. False teachings at, 224. Dominican school founded at.....	234
Ozanam on Christian tendency of Plato.....	792
PACHOMIUS, S., 575, 587. And S. Athanasius.....	605
Padua, University of, attached to S. Thomas, 546. Famous for the arts, 195. Number of its scholars.....	208
Paganism, heroes of, held up in England as models, 433. Real position of heroes of, note.....	433
Palaquerna. See Falaguerna.....	
Palencia, University of.....	45
Palermo, Manfred crowned at.....	909
Palestine, 571, 572; note, 572. S. Gregory Nazianzen goes to, 576, 577, 625. S. Basil visits, 635. S. Jerome travels in.....	650
Pallavicino and S. Thomas.....	551
Pammachius, death of.....	652
Pamphilus.....	626, 861
Pandulf d'Alagna, Legate of Gregory IX, 6. Capture of Monte Cassino, 8. Driven from Monte Cassino.....	8
Pandulf da Stephano, elected Abbot of Monte Cassino.....	17
Pantaenus, 599. Date, note.....	599, 621
Pantheismi, grew out of Paris teaching, 467. Eastern, 860. Refuted; false views of creation refuted, 915. Occasioned by Realism, 89. Springs from excess of Quies.....	118
Papacy, principle of, 29. Explained.....	29, 30
Paphnutius, who had lost an eye in the persecutions, 587. At Nicæa.....	608
Parents, love of, 333. Reward of love of.....	607
Paris, 15. Familiarity of University students with people at, note, 451. Exalted state of University of, 467. Infidel propensities of, 467. Conduct in the schools of, 468-470. Ignorance of professors at, 470, 471, 472. Excellence at, on return of contending parties from Rome, 487. Alexander IV enforces the decrees in favour of the Mendicants at, 488, 489, 490. Submission of the Doctors at, 490, 491. People of, desire the re-appearance of S. Thomas and S. Bonaventure, 492. S. Thomas's defence at, 500. His life at, note, 500, 501-502. University of, on S. Thomas, 542, 543. S. Thomas approved by General Chapter of Dominicans at, 550. Our Lord approves S. Thomas at, 552. University of, petitions S. Thomas to return to, 556. S. Thomas at, 558, 561, 571, 572. Vision of S. Thomas at, 736-737. Professors of, apply to S. Thomas on the question of "Accidents," 737, 738. Dangerous influence of Easterns in University of,	

820. Philosophic gifts of S. Thomas prized at, note, 822. Grief at, on death of S. Thomas, note, 889. S. Thomas goes to, 912. General Chapter of Dominicans at, 913. Lectures of S. Thomas against Averroës and others at, 914. Applies for S. Thomas, 924. Sister of S. Thomas appears to him at, 935. Its many famous scholars, 180; note, 180. Famous for Divinity, 187. Chief seat of science, 191-192. University, beginnings of, 193, 194. Became great school of theology, 194-195. Many students necessitated order, 194-195. University, basis of, 195. Its development, 195. Its students, 196. Entry of religious orders, 197. Various colleges at, 197, 198. Classes of students, 205. Their riotous lives, 206. Troubles at, 206, 207. Model of Universities of Germany and England, 208. University held in high honour, note, 209. Elements of contention among students, 210. Characters of students, 210. The Cornfield, 211. Departure of students on account of secular interference, 211, 212. Their recall, 212. Monastic schools at, 212. The many reforms of the University, note, 212. Its teachings corrupted by Arab learning, 221. Errors publicly taught at, 221-224. Disturbances at University of, 309. Secular professors refuse to teach, 309, 310. The Doctors gain their cause, 311. Draw up an oath to be taken by all, 311. Mendicants refuse to take the oath, 311. Mendicants excluded from the University of, 312. Bull of Alexander IV to the University, 312. Mendicants re-established at, 313. Amour and secular Doctors not content—appeal to Rome, 314. S. Louis in connection with the disturbances at, 314. Arrangement between seculars and Mendicants, 315. The arrangement annulled by Alexander IV, 315. Renewed war with Regulars at, 345. Secular Doctors persecute Mendicants, 350. Some erroneous propositions held in schools of, note, 352. The University of, sends a deputation to the Pope against Mendicants, 356. Excitement as to issue of the contest, 356. Deputation reaches Amagui, 357. The deputation at Amagui protests against the condemnation of the "Perils" 358. The deputation obliged to subscribe to the condemnation, 364. Excitement at, on account of the banishment of Amour, 365. Review of the contest waged against the Mendicants at, 366. Causes of the contest, 366. Hatred of religious life at, 394. Difficult position of Regulars at, note, 407. Alarming state of, 419, 420. An opponent needed against, 420, 421. Defence of religious against, by S. Thomas.....	421
Paris, Synod of, condemned the doctrines of Amalric of Bena, and David of Dinanto.....	221
Paris, William of.....	179
Parisians, the.....	451
Parmenides, doctrine of, 773. Contrast with S. Athanasius, 775. A voluntary, 775. His theory studied by Plato.....	786, 787, 829, 833
Parnassus.....	631
Parthenon, dedicated to our Lady, note.....	628
Pascal II, confirms S. Victor's.....	111
Paschusius, Radbertus.....	77
Passion, influence of on reason, note.....	428
Pastena captured.....	6
Patience, how shown.....	324
Patricius, the magician.....	663
Patritius, father of S. Augustine, 686. Baptized.....	686
Paul, S., writings of S. Jerome on, 652. At Antioch, 660. Grotto of, shown in days of S. Chrysostom, 664. Short in stature, 667. Words of, help to convert S. Augustine, 692. S. Augustine studies, 736. S. Thomas's vision, of S. Peter and, 736. Epistle of, to Galatians, Exposition on, 739. S. Thomas's explanation of Epistles of, 751. Exposition of S. Thomas on, its length, 754. Its method, 754. Fathers less used here than elsewhere, 754. Authorities cited, 754; note, 754. Compared to a vessel, and why, 755, 757. Sample from Exposition on, 755, 758. Epistles of, division of, 758. Wrote fourteen Epistles, and to whom, 758. Subject-matter and number of Epistles of, 758. On Epistle of, to Romans, best Exposition of S. Thomas, 759, 847, 848, 907, 920. Manual labour of,.....	389, 398, 404
Paul the Deacon, 9. Patron of letters, 9, 76, 198. Wrote a life of S. Gregory the Great.....	722
Paul de Burgos, Jew converted by S. Thomas.....	872
Paul, S., the Hermit, embraced S. Anthony, 514. S. Thomas filled with spirit of, note, 566, 587. And the cloak of S. Anthony.....	604
Paul V, approves all done in regard to S. Thomas.....	526
Paul, Warnefrid, preacher.....	240
Paula, S., follows S. Jerome to Antioch, 650. Travels in East, 650. At Bethlehem, 651. Constructs a hospice at Bethlehem, 651. Death of.....	652
Paulinus, S., accompanies S. Jerome to Rome against Meletius, 650. Number of letters extant of, note, 727. S. Jerome recommends the study of Scriptures to.....	340, 376
Paulinus, secretary to S. Ambrose, 682. Sees the flame over the head of S. Ambrose.....	682
Pavia.....	911
Peace and wisdom, connection between, note.....	271
Pegge, his life of Grosseto.....	207
Pelagia, S., note, 570. Martyred at Antioch.....	660
Pelagians, the, 600. Date, note, 600. S. Jerome against the, 652. S. Augustine against the.....	701
Pelagius.....	375
Pelagius II, carried off by pestilence.....	717
Penance, Sacrament of, 302. S. Ambrose on, against Novatians, 681. Treatise on,.....	926
Pentapolis.....	29
Perception, intellectual, pleasure of, note.....	400
Pereira, Benedict, 548; note.....	548
Perfecti, the.....	35
Perfection, perfect type of, 929. In what it consists.....	399

	PAGE.
Perfection, Evangelical, makes a man most like to Christ.....	435
"Perfection of the Spiritual Life," the, of S. Thomas, 397. A constructive treatise, 409. In what spiritual life consists, 409. Degrees of love of God, 410, 411. The vows of religion tend towards, 411, 413. Obedience the chief vow, 413. Degrees in love of one's neighbor, 413, 415. Vows give a double perfection to acts, 415. Perfection of Bishops, 416. Bishops, their state more perfect than that of religions, 416, 417. Bishoprics not to be coveted, 417. Religious more perfect than they who have the cure of souls, 418. Further objections against religions, resolved.....	418, 419
Pericles.....	629, 630, 774
"Perihermenias," S. Thomas on the, of Aristotle, 824. Of Aristotle, note.....	825
"Perils," the, 450, 451. Ordered to be burnt at Paris.....	489
"Perils of the Last Times," 347. Its object, 347. Attacked the Holy See, 352, 355. Sent to Rome for examination, 356. Given to S. Thomas for examination, 359. S. Thomas's defence of religions against, 362. Report of the Committee of Cardinals on, damnatory, 363. Condemned by Alexander IV, 363. Burnt before the Pope, 363. Defended by Amour.....	364, 365
Peripatetics, Aristotle founded the, 806. Philosophy of, beneficial to Church, 808. Their doctrine on anger.....	335
Perron, Cardinal dn, on S. Thomas.....	544
Persecutions of the Church, dates of, note.....	600
Persecutors, the death of, note.....	582
Persius.....	14
Perugia, S. Thomas visits, 557. Urban IV dies at.....	883, 910
Peter and Paul, SS., S. Thomas's vision of, 736. At Antioch.....	627
Peter, S., brother of S. Basil.....	618
Peter Crescentia popularized the discoveries of Albertus Magnus.....	71
Peter de Bruys.....	35
Peter Martyr, S., tomb of, at Milan, 900. S. Thomas visits it, 900. Life of, note.....	900
Peter's, S., ad-aran, monastery of, revenues of, offered to S. Thomas.....	886
Peter Chrysologus, S., made Doctor, note.....	533
Peter Damian, S., made Doctor, note.....	538
Peter the Fat and Clement IV.....	885
Peter of Blois.....	37
Peter of Cells.....	213
Peter of Pisa.....	76, 198
Peter of Poitiers, 95, 111, 143. The "Quæstiones" of, 199. Teaching on original sin, 288. Held a separate soul to be a person.....	298
Peter of Spain.....	188
Peter of Verona.....	51
Peter the Cantor.....	198, 211
Peter the Hermit as a preacher.....	240
Peter the Simple, S.....	587
Peter of Tarantasia and S. Thomas.....	193
Peter's S., at Rome, the immensity of, not all at once realized on account of its exquisite proportions.....	511
Peter the Venerable, 91. His relations with Abelard, 107, 108. His epitaph on Abelard.....	108
Phædo.....	782
Phædrus, of Plato, 785; note.....	793, 790
Phænarete, mother of Socrates, note.....	778
Pharao.....	376
Phidias.....	629
Philebus of Plato, note.....	799
Philemon, Epistle to, subject-matter of.....	758
Philip, companion of S. Francis.....	44
Philip, Abbot of Goodhope.....	213
Philip Augustus and the Paris students.....	207
Philip, S., note.....	40
Philip of Tripoli.....	154
Philip Neri, S., approved S. Thomas, 551; note.....	573
Philippians, Epistle to the, subject of..... note.....	758
Philistines, cunning of the.....	370
Philo and the mystery of numbers.....	167
Philosopher, characteristics of a true, note.....	701
Philosophers, quoted in "Summa," 563. Greek, contrasted with Fathers, 774, and seq.....	
Philosophy, with Rationalists hold first place, 287. Adverse to monasticism, 366. the course of the Church in regard to, 426. Requisites of philosophy those of monasticism, note, 427. S. Thomas's power in, note, 567. Pagan, S. Thomas's preparation in, note, 565. His study of, for "Summa" 565. Powerless to create Religious life, note, 771. Greek, grows darker, note, 773. Powerless to produce good men, 790. Benefit of Incarnation to, 812. True, cannot contradict Theology, note, 821. Natural, note, 828. Of S. Thomas not solely Aristotelian.....	888
Photians at Constantinople.....	642
Photinus.....	323
Photius and the "Mystagogia Spiritus Sancti".....	861
Physics, S. Thomas's knowledge of, note.....	567, 828
Physiology, unconsciousness of physical suffering explained by.....	684

	PAGE.
Pico of Mirandola and S. Thomas, note.....	551
Piedimonte taken.....	7
Pietro d'Ibernia.....	24, 25
Pietro Martini.....	25
Pignaturo ravaged.....	7
Pisa, S. Thomas's influence at Council of.....	536, 909
Pisidia.....	638
Pitt, William, foppery of, note.....	801
Pityus, S. Chrysostom banished to.....	671
Pius IV, 540. Ordered three Dominicans to draw up "Catechism of Council of Trent".....	542
Pius IX, difficulty of at once realizing faith of.....	513
Pius V, S., made S. Thomas Doctor, 524. Reason for so doing, note, 525, 537. Influence of, and S. Thomas at Trent, 538; note, 538. Made Toletus Cardinal, 245. Love for doctrine of S. Thomas.....	548, 568
Placid, S., offered as a child to religion.....	398
Planudes, Maximus, translated "S. Thomas" into Greek.....	535
Plato, effect of the study of, 77. Abelard's love of, 91. School of, 117. Principle of, rest, 118. Studied by S. Thomas, 284. His view of man, 300; note, 419. Republic of, note, 429. The just and the unjust, note, 432. Influence of fables on children, note, 435. Sadness of, proverbial, note, 505. Difficulty of at once grasping merits of, 513. Influence of, over the Fathers, note, 531, 558. Pattern thinker, 570; note, 570, 629. S. Basil "the Christian Plato," 634. Greek gods and, note, 773. Blindness of, note, 775, 777. Disciple of Socrates, 783. Parentage of, 783. Legends of his birth, 783. Education of, 784. Master of, etc., as a boy, 784. His love for painting, note, 784. On the Sophists, note, 784. Studied many systems, 785. Influence of Pythagoreans and other schools over, 785. Journey to Megara, Italy, etc., 786. Character of, 788. Orthodoxy of, how accounted for by some, note, 788. Journey to Egypt of, 788. Projected journey to India, 789. Return to Athens, at the Cramicus, 789. Villa at Heraclea, note, 789. Love of solitude, 789. Fame of, 789. Anecdotes of, note, 789. Attracts many of all nations to himself, 789, 793. Surrounded by disciples, 790. Generosity of, note, 790. Likeness of, to S. Thomas, 790, 791. Cause of divergence, 791, 792. Ozanam on the Christian tendency of, note, 792. Death, 793. Method of, 793. His style, 793; note, 793, 794. Mill on his theory of Ideas, note, 794. Self-contradictions of, 794. Works of, note, 794, 795. Philosophic theory of, 795, 797. Explanation of theory of, 797, 798. More Christian than Aristotle, note, 798, 799. Spirituality the cause of his influence, 799. Elevating power of, note, 799. Errors of, 800. Taught immortality of the soul, note, 800. Imagination of, note, 800. False teachings of, on God, 800. Contrast to Aristotle, 801; note, 806, 807, 808. Worried by Aristotle, 802. Antithesis of Aristotle, 802, 803. Difference of his works from those of Aristotle, note, 803. Charmed with Aristotle, attractive character of, 806. Patristic, 806. More religious than Aristotle, 808; note, 808. Benefit of, to the Church, 809. Revival in Italy in favor of, note, 809. His teaching on God, 809. His teaching on immortality of soul, 809, 810. S. Thomas compared with, 810, 811, 812. S. Thomas's advantage over, 811, 812. Ideas of Aristotle on, note, 816, 817. Philosophy of S. Thomas better than that of, 818. Eternal gods of, 818. Doubtful whether he held separate ideas, note, 818, 823. His doctrine of reminiscence, 826, 827, 847, 876. S. Thomas's grasp of, note, 878, 888, 889. Influence of his school on Church, 890. Reproduced by writers of Middle Ages, 890, 891. His system erratic, 892. Indecision of, note, 892. Dialogues of, 893. Platonist, doctrines of, refuted by S. Thomas, 256. S. Augustine's study of the, 695. S. Thomas against the, note.....	901 877 876 826 563 585 731 599 629 6 698
Plotinus.....	877
"Poetics" of Aristotle, note.....	876
Poets quoted in "Summa," note.....	826
Poland converted, note.....	563
Polybins.....	585
Polycarp, S.....	731
Polygnotus, painter, 629; note.....	599
Pontescelerato.....	629
Pontitianus, story of, to S. Augustine.....	6
Pontus, 616. Its situation, 617. Idolatry of, 617. Temples and gods of, note, 617. Birthplace of S. Basil's father, 618, 627. S. Basil in, 635. Changed by his preaching, note, 635. S. Gregory in.....	698
Poor, S., Bonaventure's "Apologia," for the.....	640
Poor Men of Lyons.....	421
Pope, note.....	35
Pope, the poet.....	72
Pope and Empire, collision between.....	531
Popes, titles given to S. Thomas by the, 530. Words of the, not merely rhetorical, note, 530. Quoted in "Summa," note, 564. S. Thomas on the Supremacy of the, 867. S. Thomas on Primacy of the, 867, 870. And the Empire.....	31 908
Poppo.....	188
Porphyry, the "Dicere Reensaho" of, 78. First commented on by Rabanus Maurus.....	197
Porson, difficulty of at once realizing.....	513
Portaleone, his opinion of Albertus Magnus.....	71
Portian Basilica ordered to be given up to Adrian by Justinian.....	680
Porto Pisano.....	34
Portugal in the 16th century.....	587
Possidins, and S. Augustine's love of poverty, 699. Says that Africa drew many Bishops from S. Augustine's monasteries, 701. Testimony of, to S. Augustine's many writings, 701. On the order of S. Augustine's palace, 702. S. Augustine attended at death by.....	704

	PAGE.
"Posterior Analytics" of Aristotle, 825. Object of, 825; note.....	826
Posthumus, note.....	570
Potammon at Nice.....	607
Potona, mother of Plato.....	783
Ponjonlat on S. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei".....	707
"Poverty of Christ," S. Bonaventure's treatise on.....	421
Poverty of Rome, note, 580. S. Augustine on, 700. Instrument of Perfection.....	930
Poverty voluntary, held in special hatred by Amour, 349. Good, 390. Difference from mendicancy, 390, 391. In Christ.....	421
Power, the temporal.....	29
Powerlessness of the mind all at once to grasp a large subject.....	510
Practice, S. Ambrose highest master of.....	685
Præpositivus, teaching on original sin.....	288
Prayer, fervour in.....	327
Preaching in the 13th century, 239. Early preaching, 239. Its course, 240. Language of the sermons of the middle ages, 240. To clergy in Latin, 240. Sermons in rhyme, 241. Took place after Gospel, 241. People how addressed, 241. Influence of schools on, note, 241. Preacher interrupted by doctrine wrong, 241. Or if he spoke harshly, 242. Subjects of, 242. Influence of popular preaching great, note, 242. The manner of rousing sleepers, 243. Waned in the latter half of the 13th century, note, 243. Kind of sermons, 243. Modern fashion of preaching, 244. Works of S. Thomas which help in.....	320
Predetermination, controversy on.....	77
"Predicaments" of Aristotle, note.....	825
Premonstratensians, the, 500. Founded, 88. School at Paris.....	200
Prévostin studied at Paris, note.....	196
Pride, the principle of all sects, note, 459. S. Augustine on.....	381
Priesthood, S. Chrysostom on.....	644
Priests, even if heretics, can consecrate, 743. Hatred of, whence it springs.....	431
"Prince of Peace," the.....	582
Princes, duties of, towards subjects.....	259
Principle, the influence of, note.....	612
"Prior Analytics" of Aristotle, note.....	825
Priscian.....	13
Proeresius at Athens, 630. Poverty of, 646. Quits, and returns to Athens, 631. Statue of, at Rome, 631. Giant stature of, 631. Introduced to Ennapius, note.....	631
Probus makes S. Ambrose governor.....	675
Procession in Trinity.....	871
Procopius.....	739
Prodicus.....	774
Professing, importance attached to, in 13th century.....	266
Prooemium of S. Thomas on the Psalms, note.....	761
Prosperity, desire of, one of the evils of present age.....	434
Protagoras of Abdera, doctrine of, 773, 774. Exile of.....	774
Protasius and Gervasius, SS., relics of, discovered by S. Ambrose.....	682
"Providence," S. Chrysostom on, 665. And "Liberty," S. Thomas on, note.....	871
Prudence treated in "Secunda Secunde".....	918
Psalms, S. Jerome transcribed S. Hilary on the, 646. S. Thomas on the first fifty, 761. Method pursued, relation of, to Redemption, 762. Samples from S. Thomas on the, 762, 763. Commentary of S. Thomas on the.....	926
Ptolemies.....	578
Ptolemy.....	24
Ptolemy Philadelphus, note.....	628
Puglia, 24, 909. Conradin marches into, 911. Gulescard did homage for.....	29
Pulleyn, Robert, first English Cardinal, 95; alias White, composed a book of "Sentences," 143. Teaching on original sin, 291. View on increase of body, 291. Held the soul separate from the body to be a person.....	298
Punishment, none without guilt.....	287
Purgatory, S. Thomas on.....	871
Parity, S. Ambrose defends and preaches.....	239
Parity of heart, note.....	425
Pythagoras, difficulty of at once realizing, 513. Doctrine of, 773. Division of virtues according to, note.....	786
Pythagoreans, their influence over Plato, 786. Their schools, 786. Strictness of their life, 787, 788. Plato with the.....	789
Pythias, daughter of Hermia of Atarneus, marries Aristotle, 667. Aristotle accused of worshipping.....	806
QUADRIVIUM, the.....	76
"Questiones Disputatæ," the, of S. Thomas.....	563
"Quare," the, of Simon the Theologian.....	185
"Quasi Lignum," the Bull.....	489
"Quies," effects of excess of, 118. S. Thomas introduced into schools the Benedictine spirit of, 479. The principle of, note, 727. In S. Thomas.....	728
Quintilian.....	17
"Quodlibeta," the, of S. Thomas.....	563
RABANUS MAURUS, 77. Spoke of Universals, 78. Comments on Porphyry, 188. A preacher, 190. Drew up a "Catena," 739, 740. One of the principal guides of S. Thomas in the study of the Latin Fathers, note.....	742, 890, 892

	PAGE.
Rabbies, Jewish, and S. Thomas, 872. Dispute with Angelical, 872, 873. Conversion of.....	873
Rainald, brother of S. Thomas. See Reginald.	
Rainald or Reginald, confessor to S. Thomas, testimony to S. Thomas's manner of study, 238. Testimony to his spirit of prayer, 252. Treatise addressed by S. Thomas to.....	256
Rainald, son of Landulf.....	1
Rainald of Spoleto, representative of Frederick II, at Naples.....	16
Raphael, note.....	26
Ratchis.....	5
Rationalism, opposed in second book of S. Thomas's Commentary on the "Sentences," 286. Original sin the favorite doctrine denied by, 286. Period of, 342. Overthrown by S. Thomas, 345. Opposed to monasticism, 345. S. Thomas's influence over.....	425
Rationalistic school, 94; note.....	95
Rationalists, inconsistency of, note.....	373
Raymund, Archbishop of Toledo, founded a college of translators.....	154
Raymund, S., of Pennafort, note, 73. His "Summ," note, 183; note, 186. "Contra Gentiles" written at request of, 855. His early life and career as a Dominican, 856. His wish to convert the infidel, 856. His desire of a Catholic theology, 856. Has Dominicans instructed in Arabic, note, 856. Wishes S. Thomas to write the "Contra Gentiles," 857. Establishes a college in Spain for study of Oriental tongues.....	857
Reading, spiritual, Fathers of the Church good, note.....	571
Real, Alessandro, on S. Thomas and Infallibility, note.....	867
Realism, 77, 81. Its teaching, 86. Refuted by Abelard, 87. Precursor of Pantheism.....	89
Reason, its failure, 74. Days of, 79. Its freedom in 13th century, 425. United to revelation in defence of doctrine, note, 426. Influence of passions over, note, 428. S. Thomas on, 760. Logic divided according to acts of, note, 825, 826. S. Thomas raised up to show harmony between faith and, note, 848. Does not contradict faith, 878, 879. Argument of, in first part of "Summa".....	906
Reasoning, S. Thomas's various "Opuscula" on, note.....	820
Rectitude necessary to the understanding of Divine things, note.....	603
Redemption, relation of Psalms to.....	762
Reformation, the, and Luther.....	96
Reginald. See Rainald.	
Reginald, Brother, of Bologna.....	51
Reginald, or Rainald, brother of S. Thomas, seizes the saint, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Converted.....	249
Reginald of Piperno, <i>socius</i> of S. Thomas, 485. He narrates S. Thomas's vision of SS. Peter and Paul, 736. He wrote out Commentary of S. Thomas on S. John, 753. "Compendium Theologiae" dedicated to, note, 853. Cured by S. Thomas, 925. Tried to persuade S. Thomas to continue writing, 937. Went to Lyons with S. Thomas.....	938
Regulus forbidden to learn secular law, note, 181. Difficult position of, at Paris, note.....	407
Reinard of S. Burchard.....	118
Reinard, Count of Blankenberg, 113. Bishop of Halberstadt, 113. Invites to his diocese the Canons of S. Victor's.....	113
Relics, worship of, note.....	60
Religion, derivation of the word, 371. Its meaning, 372. Vows of, a sacrifice, 373. In what the perfection of, consists, 374. Can those in religion teach? 374-383. Objections against, answered, 385, 387, 402. Manual labour not necessary to those in. 388-389. Poverty of, lawful, 390-391. Slanders against, 392, 393. Perfection of, consists in practice of the second degree of love, 410. Defined, 412. In England, Archbishop of Westminster on, note, 934. With pagans a matter of expediency, note.....	800
"Religione, De Vera," of S. Augustine.....	707
Religions, first named after place, now after founders.....	587
Religions, bishops more perfect than, 417. More perfect than those who have the cure of souls.....	418
Religious life, love of, 361-362. Opposition to, note.....	364
Religious state, what it is, 379. Twofold meaning of.....	380
Remigius of Auxerre, 77. His Scripture labors, 183; note, 186. Founds the first public school at Paris.....	198
Reminiscence, S. Thomas and Plato's theory of.....	826
Renan's "Life of Jesus," note.....	422
Renard the Satirist.....	24
Reparation, causes of the.....	293
Republic, Plato's, note, 429; note, 432; note.....	432
Res and Signa, Lombard's distinction between, note.....	277
Rest, spirit of.....	15
Resurrection treated in the fourth book of S. Thomas's Commentary on "Sentences," 301. S. Thomas on the.....	326
Revelation, and the construction of the "Summa," 565. Illumination of, 811; note, 811. Reason added to, in defence of doctrine, by the mediæval Doctors, note.....	426
Reverence introduced by S. Thomas into the schools, note, 479. Spirit of, in S. Thomas, 494. The principle of monastic theology.....	122

	PAGE.
Rhapsodists among Greeks.....	772
Rheims, Council of.....	94
"Rhetoric" of Aristotle, note.....	826, 893
Rhetoricians, the, of Athens.....	779
Richard, one of the founders of S. Catharine's at Paris.....	200
Richard de Bury.....	217
Richard of S. Victor's, 95. A disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's, 134. Early life, 135. Completed the monastic system of theology, 135. His ability, 135. Self-distrust, 136. Teaching on the soul, etc., 136. Contemplation, 138, 142. Not the <i>via ordinaria</i> to God, 142. Made the science of contemplation, 142. Great in intellect.....	515, 862, 891, 905
Richard, Cardinal, rabbies and S. Thomas at house of, 872, 873. S. Thomas visits, Richenau.....	925
Richenau.....	14
Riches of the Church, 41. Impede the soul.....	372
Riches, true and false, sermon on, by S. Thomas.....	247
Ripon.....	14
Ristoro, Fra.....	53
Ritter on Socrates, note.....	781
Roads, the great Roman.....	579
Robert Courton.....	222
Robert de Toronte, Bishop of Liège, first keeps the feast of Corpus Christi, note...	883
Robert, son of Count of Flanders.....	883
Robert of Douai.....	204
Robert Kilwardby.....	224
Robert of Lincoln, 155, 179. Translated the "Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum," 186, 188. His errors, 279. Legends about his death.....	225
Robert of Melun, 143. Wrote a Commentary on "Sentences," note, 264. Opposed the false teaching of the Lombard, 297. Held a separate soul to be a person, 298	
Robert Pulleyn. See Pulleyn.	
Robert Refinesis, gained science from Spain, 152. Translated the Koran.....	154
Robert of Sorbon, founder of the Sorbonne, 202. Birth, 203. Foundation of the Sorbonne, 203. His assistants, 204. His works, note, 204. Death, 205. Rules for study, 213, 241. Manner of rousing sleepers during sermons.....	242, 243, 366
Robert di Varano.....	24
Rocca d'Arce.....	7
Rocca Janula, 7. Fortified.....	16
Rocca Sicca, taken from Monte Cassino, 1. Fortress of Aquino, 2. Six miles from Monte Cassino.....	4, 10
Rochelle, 478. Taught S. Bonaventure.....	503
Rod, B. Virgin a.....	765
Roffred Beneventum.....	25
Roger Bacon, his witness to false teachings at Oxford.....	224
Roland of Cremona joins the Dominicans, 51. Taught at S. James's, Paris.....	230
"Roman de la Rose," by John de Meung.....	4
Romanians.....	251
Romans, the Epistle to the, S. Thomas's Exposition on, perhaps his best, 751, 758. What it treats of.....	757
Romans the Monk.....	842
Romanns, S., martyred at Antioch.....	660
Romanns, Br., 916. Vision of.....	935
Rome, its mission, 30, 31. Council of (1078) ordains cathedral schools, 193. Obedience to, 386. Its governing power, note, 487. Enforces the decrees in favour of the Mendicants at Paris, 488, 489. Suarez taught at, 545. S. Thomas at, 558. And the "Summa," 569, 571, 572, 578. Empire of, 579. Vastness of, note, 579. Its roads, 579. Great populations of, note, 579. Depravity of, 580. Corruption of, 581. Disintegration of, 583, 597. Empire of death, 583. Persecutions of Christians at, 583, 585. Founded in pride, 585. Church founded at, 599. S. Athanasius at, 605, 607. Its teaching power, 645. Its wickedness, 646. Sacked, 653. S. Augustine goes to, 695. His second journey to, 698. Monasticism and S. Augustine at, 698, 699. S. Gregory Precent of, 709. Inundation at, in S. Gregory the Great's day, 717. Pestilence at, 717. Prince Charles goes to, his reception at, 910. Courtdit at, his reception, 911. Petitions of, for S. Thomas, 924. Sister of S. Thomas appears to him at.....	935
Roncaglia, diet of.....	31
Roscelin, history of, 80. False teaching on Universals, 80. False teaching on God, 85. Character of his school, 82-83. Abelard first master, 84. Condemned at Soissons, 86. Contention with Abelard.....	92
Rose, S., of Luna, a Dominican.....	53
Rosweide, "Vite Patrum" of, note.....	579
Rubins of Alcalá.....	545
Rufinus, 75. Translated Greek Fathers, 186. His discord with S. Jerome.....	632
Ruggieri, Hyacinth, put "Summa" into verse, note.....	847
Rule, the Holy, of S. Benedict, declared by saints to be inspired, 121. Its principles, love and humility, 121. The person of Christ, 121, 122. Monastic principles of S. Basil's.....	639
Rupert of Dentz.....	183
Russia converted, note.....	585
Ruteboun, the Satirist, 24. His scorn of the Dominicans, 349. "Complainte de Constantinople" of.....	452
SAADIAH FAJJUMI, first Jew to make use of Aristotle.....	168, 169
Sabbath, the, why kept holy, 333. Work may be done in four circumstances, 333. Three duties on.....	333

	PAGE.
Sabellians at Constantinople, 641. S. Chrysostom preaches against the.....	606
Sabellius, 323. His error	375
Sabina, S., relics of	56
Sabina, Santa, its history and site, 56, 57. Clement IV, Cardinal of, 884. Monastery of, at Rome, S. Thomas at	925
"Sacramentis De" of Hugh of S. Victor's	131
Sacraments, remedies against effects of sin, 302, 303. Cause of institution of, note, 302. Could there be, if man had not fallen, 302, 303. Did not confer grace, note, 303. <i>Opus Operatum</i> of Sacraments of Old Law, 303. <i>Opus Operans</i> of Sacraments of Old Law, 303. Sacraments of Old Law if accompanied with charity meritorious, 304. S. Thomas wrote on.....	319
Sacrifice defined, 373. The cultus which belongs to God, 422. Three-fold of religion, 422. In what it differs from a holocaust.....	423
Sagavelli, Gerard	35
Saints troubled by apparitions of Satan, note, 482. Biographies of the, note, 510. Canonization a title to reverence, note, 510. Some display power of will, or of intellect, or of both, 515. Shrink from high responsibility, note, 669. Natural man sees not the beauty of the.....	433
Salamanca, University of, 522. Kept feast of S. Thomas with pomp, note, 522. Suarez taught at, 545. University of, bound its members to defend "S. Thomas," 545. The Carmelites of, 549, 572. "Sacris Solemnis," composed by S. Thomas	881
Salerno, 24. Convent of S. Maria at, 912. Celebrated for medicine	180, 195
Salisbury, John of	225
Samarcaud	150
Sampson, Archbishop of Rheims	104
Samson, S. Thomas the, of the schools	426
Samuel, note	573
Sands of the East	576
Sanseverino, Count	4
Sanseverino, Countess of, sister of S. Thomas, visited by him	937
Sapientia, Dominican degrees made equal to those of the.....	529
Saracens, "Contra Gentiles" written to enlighten the, 855. S. Thomas's treatise against the, 870, 871, 873, 896. Driven from southern Italy, 1. Colonies at Nocera, 32. Danger to Christianity from the learning of.....	153
Sasina, Anthimus, Bishop of	640
Satan, as angel of light, 759. S. Thomas on power of.....	760
Satyrus, brother of S. Ambrose, 676. Provided for by S. Ambrose.....	676
Savelli, palace of the	56
Saxons converted	585
Scandal, S. Thomas on	758
Scapular, the Benedictine, worn by S. Thomas during his whole life, note.....	943
Septicism, Socrates' method tends to, note	781
Schism, Greek, 860. Pope Urban IV and the, 860. <i>Opusculum</i> of S. Thomas against the, 860. Chief errors of the, on Holy Ghost, Pope, Eucharist, and Purgatory, 860. Fathers of the, 861. S. Thomas writes on Holy Ghost in opposition to the	862, 864
Schools, cathedral free, established, note, 77. Episcopal, founded, 192. Monastery at Paris, 212. Influence of on preaching, note, 241. Catechetical, of Alexander, 599; note, 599. The Eleatic	786
Science, mediæval, developed the same time as theology, note.....	189
Science, Theological, S. Thomas's mastery of, note	567
Sciences, Dr. Newman on the, note, 555. S. Thomas on order of the.....	831
Science and sense, relation between, note	273
Scipio, family of	605
Scopas	629
Scott, Michael, 23. Gained knowledge from Spain, 153. As translator.....	154
Scott, Sir Walter	531
Scott, Thomas, of Acton Sandford, note	472
Scotus, Erigena, story of his death, note, 471. See, also, Erigena.....	
Scourgings, necessity of, note	481
Scripture, Holy, decision of Council of Trent concerning, note, 537. Placed on table of Council of Trent, 539. S. Chrysostom's knowledge of, 668. He learned it at S. Giovanni, 750; note, 751. Method of S. Thomas in, 768. S. Thomas knew it by heart, note, 768, 769. S. Thomas's mastery of, 887. An element in formation of "Summa," 888. First part of "Summa" and the, 806. One of the text-books of schoolmen, 182. Study of, 183. Order to be observed in study of, 184. Importance given to in middle ages, 219. S. Jerome on the love of, 340. S. Thomas's great knowledge of	341, 393
Seythians converted, note	585
Sebastian	9
"Secunda Secunda," complete, 668. Greatest work of S. Thomas	568
Secundus, father of S. Chrysostom	660
See, Holy, its governing power, 487. Enforces its decrees at Paris, 488, 489. Is never precipitate in action, note	490
Segovia, Suarez taught at	545
Seleucia, pity of, for S. Chrysostom	671
Seleucia, S. Gregory Nazianzen at	584, 641
Self, mistrust of, opposed to spirit of the world, note	497
Self will impedes the soul, 373. Renunciation of, leads to perfect love.....	411
Seneca, 17. Born at Cordova, 151, 417. Real position of, note	417, 418, 419

	PAGE.
Sens, second condemnation of Abelard at, 91. Council of, called at the request of Abelard, 101. A day chosen for the Council, 102. Cathedral of, 102. The Council opened at	103
Sense and science, relation between, note	273
Senses, the, Aristotle's teaching founded in, 807. Contrasted with the intellect...	834
Sensuality, the great sin of the world, 624. Hinders knowledge, note	429
"Sentences," Lombard's book of established unity in teaching, 144. Commentaries on, 144. Causes of its success, 144, 145. Manuscript of, at Notre Dame, note, 147. Its plan, 147. The great authority of in theology, 165. S. Thomas wrote his Commentary on at S. James's, 217. Studied, 219. S. Thomas grounded his teaching on, 253. Expounded by S. Thomas, 261. Hales' Commentary on, 261. Changes introduced by Hales, 262, 263. Other commentaries on, written by William of Auxerre, Robert of Melun, and Langton, note, 264. S. Thomas's commentary on, 266. Theological science of middle ages built on, note, 266. Prologue to, 271. Crabbed style of, 271. S. Thomas's Commentary on Prologue to, 272, 273. Style of, note, 272. S. Thomas's second book of Commentary on, 283. On Creation, against Errors and Rationalism, 283, 286. On original sin, 286, 294. On Incarnation, 294, 296. A separate soul held to be a person, 296, 298. Prologue to the fourth book of Commentary on "Sentences," 301. The Sacraments treated, 301, 304. Other wrong opinions on Circumcision, etc., 304, 306. The, the usual books commented on by Bachelors in Theology, 555, 558, ...	561
Sententiarii, the	219
Sephiroth, note	168
Seraphion	587
Seraphis, 34. Temple of, at Alexandria, note	573
Sermons, see preaching, S. Thomas's Notes of	245
Severus, Septimus, death of, note	582
Servility in Rome, note	579
Sessa, Thaddæus of	25
Severino, S., monastery of	26
Seville	150
Servites, approve S. Thomas, ...	547
"Servus Servorum Dei," origin of the term, note	720
Severus, Septimus, death of, note	528
Shakespeare, 513, 531; note	532, 570
Shem-Tob-Ibn-Falaquera	159, 169
Shorthand, in middle ages, sample of	199, 218
Shyreswood, William of	179
"Sic et Non," Abelard's	93
Sicily, Plato goes to, 786, 909, 910. Conferred on Charles of Anjou by Clement IV, 910. Conradin, king of, 911. Charles of Anjou, king of, 924. Code of laws given to by Frederick II, 922. Its students sent to Naples	24, 25
Sickness, effect of Adam's sin	301
Sienna	909
Signa and Res, distinction of Lombard between, note	277
Sigay, the abode of William of S. Thierry	96
Silvius, 783. Masks of, note	783
Silo, disciple of Simon of Tournay	221
Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, 708. Abandons the world	708
Silvius, Theologian at Douai, his love for S. Thomas	546
Simeon, Stylites S., note	570
Simmias, disciple of Socrates	782
Simon the Theologian, "Quare" of	185
Simon of Tournay	220
Simplicianus, S. Ambrose studies under, 677. In contact with S. Augustine	696
Simplicity and Benignity, special notes of the Benedictines, note	466
Sin, original, S. Thomas on, 758. Connection with intellectual error, note, 428. Hinders knowledge, note, 429. Denied by Rationalists, 236. Abelard's view of, 287. S. Anselm's view of, 287. S. Anselm said its essence consists in privation, 288. Puleyn, and others say its essence consists in concupiscence, 288. Some say no guilt in the Semen, 288. First fully treated by S. Thomas, 288. Importance of doctrine on, note, 289. A deordination of nature, 290. Connection with Incarnation, note, 289. Argument of S. Thomas on, how propagated, 291. Only penalty of deprivation of the sight of God, 293. Importance of the establishment of right doctrine on	293
Sinnebald, Landulf, chosen Abbot of Monte Cassino, 5. Difficulties of his situation, 6. Joins the Pope against Frederick II, 8, 10, 16. Death	16
Sinners, not to be excluded from religion	399
Sirmium	399
Sisto, Fra	53
Siva	34
Sixtus II, S., Church of, site	55, 56
Sixtus V, testimony of, to S. Thomas, 525. And Council of Trent, note	537
Slaves, trade in, stopped by S. Wolstan at Bristol, note	480
Society, state of, in 10th century, note, 524. Vagueness of terms used in modern, note, 780, 932, 933. Christ-principle can convert, 935. Whence salvation of, is to be looked for	935
Socii, the, of the Sorbonne	204
Socinians, the, note	523
Socrates, 513. Powerful both in intellect and will, 516, 568, 577. His birth, 778. His youth, 778. His hatred of Sophists, 778, 779. He does not travel, 779. His power of mind, 779. Courage of, note, 779. Contempt of, for wrangling Athenians, 780. His pride, 781. Root of his philosophy, note, 781. His dissolute life, 781. Xenophon's	

	PAGE.
picture of, note, 781. His method tends to scepticism, 781. Sacrifices a cock to Æsculapius before his death, 782. His influence at Athens, 782, 793. His antipathy to Rhetoric, note, 782. His ugliness, 783. He seeks society to teach it, note, 783. Alcibiades' description of, note, 783. Plato his disciple, 783. Influence of, at zenith when Plato came, 784. Dictum of, 780; note, 784. His influence on Plato, 784. He was not a learned man, 785. School of, dispersed at his death, 785. His influence survived, note, 785. Owes his immortality to Plato, 785. Strong points of system of, note, 784, 806, 809. Reform of, 816, 888, 907. Dream of, 4. Abelard's resemblance to, note.....	109, 434
Sohar, the, when written.....	168
Soissans, Council of, condemns Roscelin, 88. Condemns Abelard.....	90
Solitaries, Sozomen on life of the, note, 604. Loved by S. Athanasius, 603, 605. Influence of the, on S. Basil, 635. They people the mountains of Syria, 663. Their influence on S. Augustine, 696. They are founded on Christ.....	927
Solitude, love of, in great souls, 516. Shows itself in monastic men, note, 516. Great churchmen votaries of, 517. Père de Ravignan and Montalembert on, note, 599. Lacordaire on, note.....	172
Solomon, S. Thomas compared to, note.....	424
Solon, greater than Croesus, 516. Ancestor of Plato.....	783
Son, the Divine, Image of the Father, S. Thomas on, 759. How an Image.....	862
Soothsaying, is it a sin? note.....	765
Sophar.....	786
Sophisms, nomenclature of, among the Greeks, note.....	779
Sophists, rise of the, 774. Their contempt for the gods, 774. Socrates' hatred of the, 778, 779. Socrates put down the, 780. Refutation of the, by Socrates, 782. Plato on the, note, 784. They are despised by Plato because they teach for gain.....	787
Sophocles.....	629
Soproniscus, father of Socrates.....	778
Sophronius.....	532, 634
Sopolis.....	631
Sora, the Babylonian Academy of.....	168, 169
Sora, Count of.....	908
Sorbonne, its orthodoxy, 596. Its origin, 641. The first really theological school in Paris, note, 642. Foundation of, 643. Enlarged, 643. Approved by Popes, 644. Requisites for entry, 644. Its member Socii and Hospites, 644. Its administration.....	644
Sorrow, S. Thomas on the lawfulness of.....	760
Soto, scholar of Vittoria.....	545
Soul, simple yet has intellect and will, 515. "Questiones Disputate," on nature of the, note, 851. "Compendium Theologicæ," on the, note, 854. The human soul, Richard of S. Victor's view of.....	136
Soul, separate, held by some a person, 298. Doctrine refuted by S. Thomas.....	299, 300
Sozomen, transcribed.....	9
Spain, its many academies, 151. Cause of the intellectual movement of, 147. Beginning of science in, 152, 153. In 16th century, 537. Universities of, drew their teaching from Paris, 544, 583. Philosophers of, confronted in "Questiones Disputate".....	855
Spanish, "Contra Gentiles" translated into.....	857
Species, intelligible, Avicenna on the.....	835
Speusippus.....	791
Spinoza.....	89
Spirit, Brothers and Sisters of Free, 35, 458. Largeness of Benedictine, 721. Monastic, 14. Decay of, 15. Of motion, 15. Of rest.....	15
Spirit, the Holy, how "poured out," 765. Fathers on, 862. Not Image of the Father or the Son, 862. Yet how he may be called Image, 863-864. Belief in Procession of, necessary to salvation, 866. Procession of.....	871
Spirits, belief in, of the Middle Ages.....	225
"Spiritual life, Perfection of," of S. Thomas, 409. What spiritual life is, 409. Degrees of love of God, 410-411. Vows, 411. Obedience, principal vow, 413. Degrees of love of neighbour, 413, 414. For perfection it is not only necessary to do, but to vow what is perfect, 415. Double perfection of bishops, 415, 416. Errors refuted.....	418
Spyridion.....	587
Stability, S. Thomas on.....	761
Stadingh, heretics of 13th century, doctrines of, note.....	350
Stagira, Aristotle born at, 803. Site of, note.....	803
Stagyrians.....	685
Stanley, Dean, his inability to comprehend the Church, note, 537. On Alexandria, note.....	573
Statins.....	17
Staudenmaier, his opinion of scholastics.....	319
Stelechius, S. Chrysostom wrote his treatise on "Compunction" at the request of, Stephen, Abbot of Cîteaux, his Scripture labours.....	664
Stephen II, Bishop of Paris, censures by.....	664
Stephen III, Bishop of Paris, censures by.....	543
Stephen, S., martyred at Antioch.....	659
Stephen, S., founds the Order of Grammont.....	38
Stephen, S. Harding, note.....	131
Stephen di Cervario, elected Abbot of Monte Cassino, 16. Conciliated the Emperor.....	17

	PAGE.
Stephen Lexington introduces the Cistercians to Paris.....	197
Stephen of Auxerre.....	232
Stephen of Bourbon, best historian of his day, note.....	228
Stephen of Senlis, Bishop, his gifts to S. Victor's, 111. Epitaph of, note, 111; note, 103.....	195
Stephen, S., at Sens.....	103
Stephen of Tonray, a disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's.....	13
Stilico, saying of, at death of S. Ambrose.....	683
Stöckl, his opinion on S. Thomas, note.....	552
Stoics placed virtue in peace of mind.....	335
Strabo, "Glossa Ordinaria" of.....	183
Strabo, Walafrid, drew up a "Catena".....	739
Strido, S. Jerome born at.....	645
Study, long course of, in Middle Ages, 208. Prosecuted at various universities, 209. Robert of Sorbonne's rules for, 213. S. Thomas's rules for.....	228
Studies, commission on Dominican.....	556
Stadins joined the "Watchers," note.....	588
Stylite, or Pillarists, note.....	587
Subbia, house of, 21. Conrad of, 32. End of family of.....	911
Snarez, disciple of Toletus, 545, 548; note, 548. His opinion of S. Thomas, 551. On monastic life, note, 575. On grace, note.....	812
Subiaco.....	574
Subjectivity, action of, on men's views.....	518
Substances, separate, the gods of Aristotle, 846. Aristotle and Plato, note.....	877
Suffering, ignorance of physical, 677, 679. Explained by facts of physiology.....	878
"Summa Theologica," first idea of S. Thomas on the, note, 498. One of the three books on Council table at Trent, 538, 539. Instance of its influence at Trent, 539; note, 551, 560. The result of a fixed plan, 562; note, 562. Meaning of the term, note, 562, 563. Philosophers quoted in the, note, 563. Definition of the, 564. Popes quoted in the, note, 564. Councils quoted in the, 564. Necessary preparation in revelation, tradition and philosophy for writing the, 565, 566. The, too great for one man to finish, 566, 567, 568. The "Secunda Secunda" complete, 567. Vielmus on the, note, 567. Is full of quotations from Fathers, 568. Vielmus' view of formation of the, note, 568. Its encyclopedic character, 569. The principles of S. Anthony's life here thrown into order, 612. "De Civitate Dei," S. Augustine's "Summa," 707. S. Thomas and the, 708. One advantage of S. Thomas in constructing the, note, 725. Aristotle and the, note, 726. It rests on S. Augustine, 729. Tradition necessary for construction of the, 730. Its logical form, 730. Well digested in all its parts, 731. It could not have been written without knowledge of the Fathers, 731. Conception of the, 809; note, 811. Prologue to the, note, 816. Preparation of S. Thomas for writing the, 824. Put into verse, note, 848. "Contra Gentiles" more scientific than the, 857. Jews met in the, 872. Would not have been written by S. Thomas if he had accepted the Archbishopric of Naples, 886. Elements of the, 888. None before S. Thomas could have written a, 829. The Archbishop of Westminster on the, note, 889. It reconciles the philosophy of Plato with that of Aristotle, 889. Why none before S. Thomas could write a, 891. Compared to "De Civitate Dei," 893, 894. Compared to a fortress, 894, 895. Compared to work of an architect, etc., note, 895. Compared with a general attack after reconnoiterings, 895, 896. Church's mind and doctrine reproduced in the, 897, 898. It is not only theoretical, but practical, 898, 899. Divisions of the, 899. Never contemplated by S. Thomas, 899, 900. S. Thomas's labour on the "Prima Pars" of the, 902. Its length and division, 903. Subjects treated in first part of the, 903. Creation brought to bear against Averroës and materialists in first part of the, 903. On angels, the world, etc., 904. On wisdom, prologue to first part of the, note, 904. First part of, complete in itself, 905. Its subject-matter 905, 906. Fathers, etc., 906. "Prima Pars" published, 912, 913. Grand division of the, into "Prima Pars" and "Secunda Pars," 916. "Secunda Pars" of the, subdivided into "Prima Secunda" and "Secunda Secunda," scope of "Prima Secunda," 916. Its organism, 916. Man's end treated, 915, 916. Moral actions treated, etc., 917. Sin and Satan treated, 917. "Secunda Secunda," its length, etc., 918. Its scope, note, 918. Treats of Faith, Hope and Charity, and the Cardinal Virtues, 918-920. Other subjects treated of, 920. Movement of, 920. On contemplation, 922-923. Its first appearance, 924. Special authorities cited in it, note, 924. "Tertia Pars" of the, commenced by S. Thomas at Rome, 925, 926. Its length, 926. It dwells on Incarnation of Son of God, the Sacraments of the New Law, and the General Judgment, 926. Treats Christ's assumption of human nature, 926. Its scope, 927. Scheme of Redemption drawn out, note, 927. Influence of the whole "Summa" as instrument of teaching, note, 928. Breadth of the, 928. Theory of the, corresponds with its impress on the soul, 928. Practical object of the, 930. Educating power of the, 933. It is compacted of Tradition, Reason and Scripture, 934. Man, when formed on the, 934. S. Thomas ceases his work on the, 936. Stopped at the tractate on Penance.....	936
Suicide unlawful.....	335
Summa, the, owes its origin to Albertus Magnus.....	60
"Summa de Casibus Conscientie" of S. Raymond.....	856
"Summa Philosophica." Vide "Contra Gentiles."	
Sun, worship of the, in Egypt, 581; note.....	581
Superstition of Middle Ages.....	225
Susni, or Mystics.....	167
Swearing, when lawful.....	332
Sweden converted, note.....	585
Sword, Brethren of the.....	38
Syllogism, note, 825, 826. Demonstration adds science to the.....	828
Symmachus, 675. Appoints S. Augustine professor of rhetoric at Milan.....	686
"Symposium," the, note.....	799
Synedria, the, of Pythagoreans.....	786
Synods, S. Hilary on the, transcribed by S. Jerome.....	646
Synthesis, tendency towards, in 13th century.....	563

	PAGE.
Syria, 572, 576, 577, 579, 580. Cities of, 581. S. Basil visits, 635. Mountains of, peopled by Monks.....	664
Syrian Desert.....	577
TAGLIACOZZO, battle of.....	911
Tajo.....	75, 76
Tahmidists.....	166, 167
Tanchelin.....	457
"Tantum Ergo," composed by S. Thomas.....	881
Tarantasia, Peter of, approves of S. Thomas, 505. Perhaps Bachelor at S. James's while S. Thomas was Doctor there, 556. One of the commission on Dominican studies.....	557
Tarentum, Pythagoreans at.....	788
Tarsus.....	573
Teaching in Middle Ages, fragmentary, note, 185. Is it lawful to religions? 374-376. Proofs of its lawfulness, 376, 377. The Councils do not forbid, 378-380. Not against the vows of religion, 380-381. Not against humility, 381-382. Objections against, answered.....	382, 383
Temperance treated in "Secunda Secunda".....	918, 920
Templier, Stephen, Bishop.....	915
Templars refuse to join the Crusade of Frederick II, 6. Founded.....	38
Temporal power, the.....	29, 30
Temptation defined.....	328
Terence.....	9
Termini.....	7
Teresa, S., note.....	573
Terra di Lavoro.....	909, 910
Ternaina, 938. Miracle of the fish at, 939; note.....	939
Terullian, 532. Held that the soul increases with the body, 291; note, 568. Fell into heresy, 599. Date, note.....	599
Testament, Old, translated by S. Jerome, 651. Figure of New.....	872
Teutonic Knights founded.....	37, 38
Text-books of students in the Middle Ages.....	182
Thabet-ben-Corrah.....	154
Thaddens of Sessa.....	25
Thagaste, S. Augustine's birth-place, 686. S. Augustine taught rhetoric at, 692. S. Augustine goes again to.....	700
Thais, S., note.....	570
Thales, the Milesian, difficulty of at once realizing, 513. Strong both in intellect and will, 516; note, 516. Doctrine of.....	773
Theatre, Idol of the, note.....	519
Thebes, 577. Temple and palaces of, note, 578. Oldest city in the world.....	585
Thecla, S., Ambrose on.....	678
Theft forbidden, 337. Reasons for avoiding.....	338
Themistius.....	874, 876
Theobald, Abbot of Monte Cassino.....	9
Theobald, Archbishop of Paris, his gifts to S. Victor's.....	111
Theobald, Archdeacon of Liège, chosen Pope under the title of Gregory X.....	938
Theobald of Champagne.....	104, 105
Theodora, mother of S. Thomas, I. Her wishes as regards S. Thomas, 20, 25, 26. Her anger at S. Thomas taking the Dominican habit, 55. At Rome, 57. Advice to take S. Thomas prisoner, 57, 58. Interview with S. Thomas, 58. Her grief at his escape, 62. Her end.....	63
Theodore of Mopsueste, one great mind of School of Antioch.....	659
Theodore of Canterbury.....	15
Theodore, friend of S. Chrysostom, 661. In solitude, 663. Letters of S. Chrysostom to, on his fall.....	664
Theodoret, 533. Number of letters extant of, note.....	727
Theodorus, Plato probably studied geometry under.....	786
Theodosius, the Emperor, S. Ambrose before, note, 518. Abolished idolatry in Greece, note, 628, 641. Defeated Maximus, 680. S. Ambrose and.....	681
Theodota.....	781
Theodotus.....	731
Theodulus.....	13
Theogenes explained Homer mystically, note.....	773
Theognostus.....	861
Theology, monastic, synthetic, 122, 123. Its importance in the Middle Ages, 181. Scholastic, in what works contained, note, 188. A science, note, 273. Its position, 273, 274. Definition by S. Augustine, 275. Is it science or wisdom? 274. Position given it by S. Thomas, 274. Its wide embrace, 276. The articles of faith its <i>prima principia</i> , 276. Depends on the light of faith, 276. Its growth, note, 426. The test of pride, note, 427. A constructive, needed, 560. S. Thomas's pre-eminence in, note, 567. Moulded by Greek and Latin minds, 575. Cannot contradict philosophy, note.....	821
Theophannus.....	9
Theophilus, consecrated S. Chrysostom Archbishop of Constantinople.....	669
Theophrastus.....	629, 825, 874
Theophylact drew up a "Catena".....	739
Theory, S. Thomas highest master of.....	685
Thesens, temple of, dedicated to S. George, note.....	628

	PAGE.
Thesperiis, S. Gregory Nazianzen's master in Palestine.....	625
Thessalonians, two Epistles to the, what they treat of	758
Thierry, William of S., a theologian, 96. His energy against Abelard, 96. Letter to S. Bernard and Godfrey of Chartres, 97. His horror of Abelard not the effect of passion	118
Third Order of S. Dominic.....	49
Thomas, S., parentage, 1. Of royal descent, 2. Birth foretold, 2. Legend of his childhood, 4. His sister's death, 4. Sent to Monte Cassino, 4. His reception there, 10. His manner of life, 10, 11. Character of his early youth, 12. Personal appearance, 13. Contrasted with Aristotle, 13. His question, "Quid esset Deus," 13. Early education, 13. Driven from Monte Cassino, 17. Goes to the Castle of Loreto, 18. His charity towards poor, 19. Sent to Naples, 20. Studies theology under Erasmus the Benedictine, 25. Stays with the Benedictines, at Naples, 26. His brilliancy, 26. Benedictine influence on, 28. View of the world, 38, 39. Admiration of Dominicans, 38, 39. Becomes a Dominican, 40. His age at the time, note, 40. Reception of Dominican habit, 53. His mother's anger, 55. Sent to Rome, 56. At Rome, 57. Sent to Paris, 57. Taken by his brothers, 57, 58. Interview with his mother and imprisonment, 58. Trial, 58, 59. Reads Lombard, Bible and Aristotle, 59. His great temptation, 60. His vow of chastity, and vision, 60. Order of release by Emperor, 61. His escape, 61. His interview with the Pope, 62. Offers unaccepted, 63. Cessation of persecution, 63. Further education, 64. Goes to Paris and Cologne, 65. His love of S. John Chrysostom, 65. Automaton of Albertus Magnus, 71. Influence of Abelard on, 93. At Cologne, 171. Causes of his silent habits, 172. His companions, 173. His supposed dullness, 173, 174. "The Dumb Sicilian Ox," 174. His monastic mindedness, 175. The "Flying Ox," 175. His gentleness, note, 175. His talent becomes known, 176. Albertus Magnus discovers it, 176. Publicly defends a thesis, 176. His success, 177. Prophecy of Albert, 177. S. Thomas's love of Cassian's "Collations," 178. Sent to Paris, 180. Work of, in the schools, 189. Wrote his "Summa, Contra Gentiles" at S. James's, also his Commentary on "Sentences," 217, 229. His masters at Paris, 231. Statement of Wadding refuted, 231. His favorite work, Cassian, 232. His abstraction at table, 238. Sent as <i>Magister Studentium</i> to Cologne, 234. Beginning of his fame, 235. His perspicuity, 234. His power as a teacher, 235. " <i>De Ente et Essentia</i> " and " <i>De Principiis</i> " composed, 236. His self-possession and gentleness, 236. Anecdotes of his gentleness, 237. His manner of life, 237. His views on study, 238. Ordained priest, 238. His devotion at Mass, 239. Daily employment of his time, 239. His preaching, 239. His power as a preacher, 243. Style of preaching, 244, 245. His "notes" of sermons, 245. Sermon on "The Innocent," 246. On "Riches," 247. His prayers for his brother's conversion, 249. His return to Paris, 250. Brought about by Albertus Magnus and Hugh of S. Caro, 250. His journey, 251. Duchess Margaret, 251. Made Bachelor, 251. S. Thomas in the school of Elias Brunetis, 251. His influence over young men, 252. Wisdom his spouse, 252. Prayer the secret of his success, 252. God in his conversation, 253. Authority his standpoint, his teaching grounded on the "Sentences," 253. Quies his spirit, note, 253. Regarded as an oracle, 254. Egidius Columna, his disciple, 254. His many disciples, 254. His many communications on theological questions, 254. Influence of the Areopagite on his teaching, 255. His Opusculum, on Divine and Human Word, 255. Treatise, "Ad Fratrem Reginaldum," on the Angels, 256. His acquaintance with the ancient philosophers and Arabic learning, 256. His refutation of errors, 256. Well read in the Fathers, 257. Other works of the Saint, "Against the Eternity of the World," 257. " <i>De Sortibus</i> ," " <i>De Fato</i> ," and " <i>De Potentia Anime</i> " of the period, 257. Dictated to many scribes, 257. Works of the Saint's Bachelorship, note, 257. His teaching on Jews, 258, 259. His success in exposition, 260. Influence of Hales on S. Thomas's Commentary on Lombard, 261. The method of Hales followed by S. Thomas, 263. His holding to tradition, 264. Added to theology principles regarding the Blessed Trinity, 264. Commentary on "Sentences," 274. His view of position of theology, 274, 275, 276. First book of Commentary on "Lombard" treats of the Trinity, 277. Method of, 277. Not follower in all of Lombard, 277. Teaching on charity, 278. Charity not Holy Ghost but created, 278. His keenness, 280. Acquaintance with Aristotle, 281. His standpoint, 281. His independent mind, 281. Not a dangerous thinker, 281. Reverence for tradition, 282. Success depended upon his stability, 282. Second book of Commentary on "Sentences," 282. On creation against Eastern error and Rationalism, 283. Explanation of Aristotle's theory of eternity of world, 284. In what he surpassed Hales and Albert, 284. His knowledge of ancient philosophers, 284. His argument and theory on eternity of world, 284. Creation not demonstrable, 285. Original sin, 286. Abelard's view of original sin opposed, 287. Original sin first thoroughly treated by S. Thomas, 288. Manner of treatment, 288, 289, 290. Opposed Lombard's doctrine on increase of body, 291. Argument on original sin against the " <i>in massa</i> " theory, 291, 292. Third book of Commentary on "Sentences" on Incarnation, 293. Incarnation not a necessary consequence of the fall, note, 293. On three opinions as regards the manner of Incarnation, 295. S. Thomas on sixth division, third book of Lombard, 295-296. Accuracy in doctrine, 296. Other differences with Lombard, 297. A separate soul not a person, 300. The Sacraments, 301, 303. Sacraments of the Old Law, 303, 304. Teaching on Circumcision, 304. Heretical priests can consecrate, 304. On heresy, 304, 305. Commentary on "Sentences," the Summa undigested, 306. His stability and monastic qualities, 306, 307. Causes of his influence at Paris, 307. As Licentiate, 316. Exceptional way in which he was made Licentiate, 317. His friendship with S. Bonaventure, 317. Contrast of character with S. Bonaventure, 318. Visits to S. Bonaventure, 318. An angel seen by S. Bonaventure inspiring S. Thomas, 319. Died same year as S. Bonaventure, 319. His works as Licentiate, 319. Teaching on Faith, 320. On idolatry, 322. Other questions, 323. Against heresies, 323. Lessons from the Cross, 324. The last day, 325. The Church, 325. Communion of Saints, 326. Resurrection, 326. Lord's Prayer, treatise on, 327, 329. Angelical Salutation, 329, 330. On the four-fold Law, 330, 332. On the Commandments, 332, 340. His powers obscured the talents of those less able, 344. Saves the Religious Orders, 344, 345. Represented authority against Amour, 346. Desired by Alexander IV. to examine the "Perils" of S. Amour, 357. Sent for to Italy, 357. His defence of the Mendicants surpassed those of S. Bonaventure and Albert, 358. Confidence of the General in, 359. At Anagni, 359. Appointed by the General to refute the "Perils," 359. Seeks	

help in prayer, 360. The result, 361. Defence against Amour, 361. And before the Pope, 362. The Pope commands the professors to receive him at Paris, 363. New works against Amour's "Collectiones Sacre Scripturæ," 365. His work and self-possession, 367. "Contra Impugnantes" of, the most perfect apology, 368, 369. Desires of the opponents of religion, 370. Division of, 371. What religion is, 371. Other teachings of, 371, 374. Teaching lawful to religions, 374, 383. Amour's doctrines dimmable, 383, 384. Other questions concerning religions treated, 384, 393 (see "Contra Impugnantes"). His grasp of Monasticism, 395, 396. "Contra Retrahentes," 397, 402 (see "Against Those who hinder," etc.). Importance of his defence of religions, 407, 409. His "Perfection of the Spiritual Life," 409, 419 (see "Perfection," etc.) 420. Compared to Isaac, note, 420. To Jacob, note, 420. His defence against the University and the anti-religious spirit, 421. Compared to Joseph and Moses, note, 421. His life exemplified monastic principles, 423. His stability, 429. Compared to Solomon and S. Thomas, the Apostle, note, 424. His characteristic excellencies, 425. Fought the battle of revelation, 426. The Samson of the schools, 426. Manifestation of the monastic system, 430. Character of, by Tocco, 430, 436. Genius cannot despise the saluts of the saint, 435, 436, 438. Bucer on, 449. His self-oblivion, 449. And the "Introduction," 454, 455. He corrects the works of Abbot Joachim, 456. The cause of his security, 458, 459. On the "New Law" and against "Eternal Gospel," 460, 461. His proofs, 461, 462. His knowledge of human spirit, 463. And of doubt, 463. Wisdom of God in him takes place of experience, 463. His tenderness towards others, 463; note, 463. His native power, 464. His serenity, 464. His influence over men, 465, 466; note, 466. Introduces mildness into the schools, 466. Represents "System," 472. His sway over minds, 472. His power derived from mystic theology, 473, 474. His mind Platonic, 474. His repression of self, 475. His influence at the University, 475, 476, 477. His gentleness, 477. His discussion with John of Parma, 477, 478. The self-control shown in his writings, 479. His climatization of the body, 480. Is troubled by Satan, 481, 482. Is ordered to return to Paris, 483. His audience with Alexander IV, 484, 485. His farewell to his brethren, 484, 485. His protection from shipwreck, 485, 486, 487. His arrival at S. James's, 487. His welcome there, 488. Is a favourite of S. Louis, 491. People of Paris clamour for his appearance, 492. He shrinks from being made Doctor, 492. He is ordered to prepare for his degree, 493. His love of retirement explained, 494. His contemplation of our Lord, 495. His vision, 491, 492. His thesis, 497. His gifts, 498. Excitement at Paris, 499. His fame as Bachelor, note, 499. All Paris on the move to witness his defence, 499, 500. Description of the Aula, 500, 501; note, 501, 502. His rivalry with S. Bonaventure in humility, 502. His public defence, 505. His portrait, 505, 506. His fame for sanctity, 506, 507. The text chosen for his defence, 507. Development of text, 507. His thesis, 508. He is invested with insignia of the doctorate, 508. Ceremony of making him Doctor, 508, 509. The danger of being carried away in writing his life, 510, 511. His greatness, note, 514. Importance of determining his position, 514. He is great in intellect, 515. Testimony of the Popes to, 519, 522. He is made Doctor of the Church, 525. Reasons why he is made Doctor, note, 525. More Pontifical testimonies, 525, 526. He is misinterpreted by Jansenists, 527. Benedict XIII speaks of him, 527. Clement XII and Bull "Verbo Dei" in praise of, 527, 528, 529. Some of the titles conferred by the Popes on, 529, 530, 531, 532. He is declared Doctor by Pope Pius V, note, 533. Is the Latin champion against the Greeks, 533. John of Montenegro is formed on, 534. His influence against the Greeks, 535, 536. The Greeks study his works, 535. Which are translated into Greek, 535. His influence at the Councils, 536, 537. At Trent, 536. A witness to his sway at Trent, 533. "Summa" one of books on the table at Trent, 533. Instances of his prestige, 539. De Burgos praises him, 540. His influence at Trent, 540, 542. University of Paris lands him, 542, 543. His relation to Spain, 544. Expulsion of his school, 545. Religious Orders approve his teaching, 545. Salamanca obliges its members to defend him, 545. His fame in the New World, note, 546, 547. Is approved by the great Religious Orders, 548. By the Jesuits, 549. The Dominicans, 549, 550. And by learned men, 551, 552. By Christ Himself, 552. Ranked amongst the Fathers, 553. The reason why his teaching is preferred to that of others, note, 552. He is made *Regens Primarius* at S. James's, 554. The duty of a Doctor in 13th century, 555. His views on logic, note, 555. He preaches the Lent at S. James's 556. He is elected member of the commission on Dominican studies, 556. The University petitions his return to Paris, 557. His position in the schools, note, 557. He is summoned to Rome by Urban IV or Alexander IV, 507. His career not desultory, 557, 558. He is a life-long student, 558. Intellect is supreme in him, 558. He surpasses the Fathers in his synthesis, 558. His illuminations in early life, note, 558. Is constructor of theology, 559. His exceptional opportunities, 559. His abstraction, 560. The work he had to do, 560. What his life points to, 561. The "Summa" his destiny, 562; note, 562, 563, 564. He quotes the philosophers, note, 563. And the Popes, note, 564. As well as the Councils, 564; note, 564, 565. His preparation in pagan philosophy, note, 565. He prepares for the "Summa," 566. He is filled with spirit of S. Jerome and S. Paul, note, 566, 557. Did not complete the "Summa," 567. The "Secunda Secundæ" is complete, 567. His relation to the Fathers, 568, 569. Velmus' view of the "Summa," note, 569. His gift of assimilation, 569. His a Model Theology, 569. His mastery over Fathers, note, 571. "Collationes Patrum," his favourite Work, 571, 572. He spends his life preparing his scheme of Theology, 611. His connection with S. Athanasius, etc., 611. His love of Christ, 613, 614. He manifests Christ in Works, 614, 615. His likeness to S. Gregory Nazianzen, 623, 624, 625. He is perhaps braver than S. Gregory, 626. S. Jerome can be seen in his "Opuscula," 656. His services to Truth, 657. His difference from the Fathers, they *human* Saints, he, *Angelic*, 657. He is influenced by schools of Antioch and Alexandria, 659. The distinct note of his character as compared with the Fathers, 672. His abstraction of life, 672. At the table of S. Louis, 673, 674. His interview with the Papal Legate, 674, 675. He laboured in first order of greatness, 683. His unconsciousness of physical suffering, 683, 684. He is supreme in intellect, 685. And the highest master of Theology, 685. He was never stained by an impure thought, 689. Christ with him, 692. His likeness to S. Augustine, 692. His mind resembles that of S. Augustine, 698. His "Summa" as compared with S. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," 709, 716. His mind cannot be understood without the Fathers, 724. He lived in days of peace, 725. And had time for labour, 725, 726. His bond with Fathers, 726, 727. His delicate nature, note, 727.

Ventura praises him, note, 727. The elements of his character, 727, 728. His perfect acquaintance with the Fathers, 728. How he knew them so well, note, 728. His masters in Dogma, Scripture and Moral, 729. He pressed S. Augustine's Rule, 729. His harmony with S. Augustine, note, 729. His study of Patrology, 729, 730. He is not a scholastic merely, 730, 731. He differs from Fathers in repressing self, 731, 732, 733. How he became acquainted with the lives of the Fathers, note, 732. His spirit of union, 733. Incident of his obedience, 733, 735. His ecstacy at Mass at Naples, 735. He prays for light in every difficulty, 735. S. Peter and S. Paul illuminate him on a passage in Isaiah, 736. More ecstasies, 736. The Crucified speaks to him, 737. His vision at Paris, 737, 738. Authorities quoted in the "Catena," 739. The method of the "Catena," 740. With a specimen, 741, 746. His power of bringing out the characters of Fathers in "Catena," 747. Character of S. Chrysostom as drawn in "Catena," 747, 748. He quotes Fathers from memory, 749. He never forgets anything, 749. His knowledge of Fathers necessary for "Summa," 749. Authors quoted in his Works, note, 749. He knows Scripture by heart, 750. His various methods, note, 750. His Explanations of S. Paul's Epistles, 750. Difference between his Exposition and the Homilies of S. Chrysostom, note, 750, 751. His Exposition on Epistle to Romans perhaps his best, 751. List of his Expositions in the schools, 751. His Commentary on S. Matthew, 751. Divisions, etc., 752. On S. John, 753. This the best index to his power, 753, 754. His Exposition on S. Paul's Epistle, 754. His method, etc., 755. A sample, 755, 758. Commentaries on various Epistles, 759. On Job, 760. His gift of analysis, 760. Subjects treated in his Commentary on Job, 761. On the Psalms, 761, 762. His love in the Exposition on the Canticles, 764. His Exposition on Isaiah and method, 763. Samples, 765-767. His Exposition on Jeremiah, 767. Specimens, 767-768. His method of treating Scripture, 768, 769. His "form" not patristic, 771. He is compared with S. Augustine, note, 771. Likeness to Plato, 791, 792. Why he differs from Plato, 792. His use of Plato, note, 799. Why he is influenced by Plato, 803. He combines the loftiness of Plato with the accuracy of Aristotle, note, 807. Plato and Aristotle united in him, 807. He is indebted to both Philosophers, 806, 809; note, 810. His superiority over Aristotle and Plato, 811. His greater advantages, 812-814. His gift of Wisdom, note, 814. His treatment on "Ideas" in God, 814, 816. His knowledge of ancient philosophers, note, 815. Influence of Socrates on the "form" of the "Summa," 816. Prologue to the "Summa," note, 816. He draws truth from all sources, 817, 818. His views on controversy, note, 817. His Philosophy superior to that of Plato and Aristotle, note, 818. How he harmonize Plato and Aristotle, note, 819, 869. His confusion of false philosophy, 819, 819. He is a thorough master of Aristotle, 820. His writings on Aristotle, note, 820. Draws Aristotle over to service of the Church, 820, 821. He combats fundamental error, note, 821. His study of Aristotle at S. Giovanni, 822. The Editions of his Works, note, 822. Procures a new translation of Aristotle, 822, 823. His Commentary on the "Metaphysics" of Aristotle, 823. His keenness in detecting differences of version, note, 802. Length of his Works on Aristotle, 824. Aristotle made useful in the schools, 824. His Exposition of the "De Interpretatione," or, "Perihermenias," 824. He illustrates one portion of Aristotle by another, 824. Supports Aristotle against the Academy, 825. The "Posterior Analytics," 825. He treats acts of reason in relation to Logic, note, 825, 826. And "Demonstration," 826. His Commentary on the "De Physico Audit," his treatment of motion, etc., 829, 830. "Matter" and "form," note, 829. On the "De Caelo," 831; note, 831. A sample from it, 831, 832. His books, "motion" is its principal subject, 832, 833. His Commentaries on the "De Generatione et Corruptione," the "De Meteorologia," 833. And on the "De Anima," 833. He clears Aristotle from misconstruction, 834. How intellect is different from sense, 834, 835. His various other Expositions on the Works of Aristotle, 835. The "Metaphysics" of Aristotle, 835 and seq. His view of this science, and of its relations, 838, 839. How all men desire knowledge, and why, 839. His treatment of the "Ethics" of Aristotle, 840. The corresponding "Lectures," 840, 846. His picture in the Church of S. Catharine at Pisa, 847. Gaddi paints him also, note, 847, 848. He is raised up to show the harmony of Faith and Reason, note, 848. His "Questiones Quodlibetales," 849, 850. "Questiones Disputate," 849, 850, 852. His "Compendium Theologicum," 852, 855. He dies before it is finished, 853. He writes the "Contra Gentiles" at the request of S. Raymond, 855. The "Contra Gentiles" is addressed to the intelligence and the heart, note, 856. He is ordered to write the "Contra Gentiles," 857. Instance of his love of holy Poverty, 857. The "Contra Gentiles" more scientific than his other Works, 857. Its completeness, 858. Its Books, 858, 860. His other Works, 860. His "Contra Errores Græcorum," 860, 861, 862. His view on the Holy Spirit as "Image," 862, 864. His knowledge of Greek, note, 864. His views on heretics, 865-866. On the Primacy of the Pope, 866-870. He founds his teaching on Scripture not on Greek Fathers, note, 866, 867. He teaches Papal Infallibility, note, 867. The accuracy of his citations, note, 869. His treatise against the Saracens, 870, 871. And against the Jews, 872. He overthrows the Jewish Rabbies at Cardinal Richer's, 872. And converts them, 873. "De Unitate Intellectus," against Averroës, etc., 874, 879. He is instructed by Urban IV to write Mass and Office for Corpus Christi, 880. The beauty of his hymns, "Tantum Ergo," "O Salutaris," "Lauda Sion," etc., 881, 882. State of the world during his labors, 883, 884. His merit is recognized by Clement IV, 885, 886. He is appointed Archbishop of Naples, etc., 886. He refuses the See, 886. Why the Archbishopric was offered to him, note, 886. His mastery over the Fathers, 887. His place as a Theologian, note, 887, 895. His mastery over Scripture, 887. And over Aristotle and the Philosophers, 887, 888. His Philosophy not Aristotelian merely, 888. Elements of his "Summa," 889. No one before him could have written a "Summa," 889. He introduces "System" into the Church, 893. His "Summa" compared with the "De Civitate Dei," 893, 894, 895. All his other works as reconcoiling forces previous to the general attack, 895, 896. He never indulges in invective, note, 896. His life is spent in ministering Church's intellect, 897, 898, 899. What his aim is in writing at all, note, 899. The "Summa" was never finished, 900. Commentaries on S. Mark, etc., 900. He republishes his Treatise on Religious Life against S. Amour, 900. He is summoned to Bologna, 900. He professes there, 900. He visits Milan on his way to Bologna, 900. His lectures at Bologna students through around him 901. His "De Regimine Principum," note, 901. His desire to compose the "Summa Theologia," 902. Advance made by him in Theology, note, 902. "Prima Pars" of "Summa,"

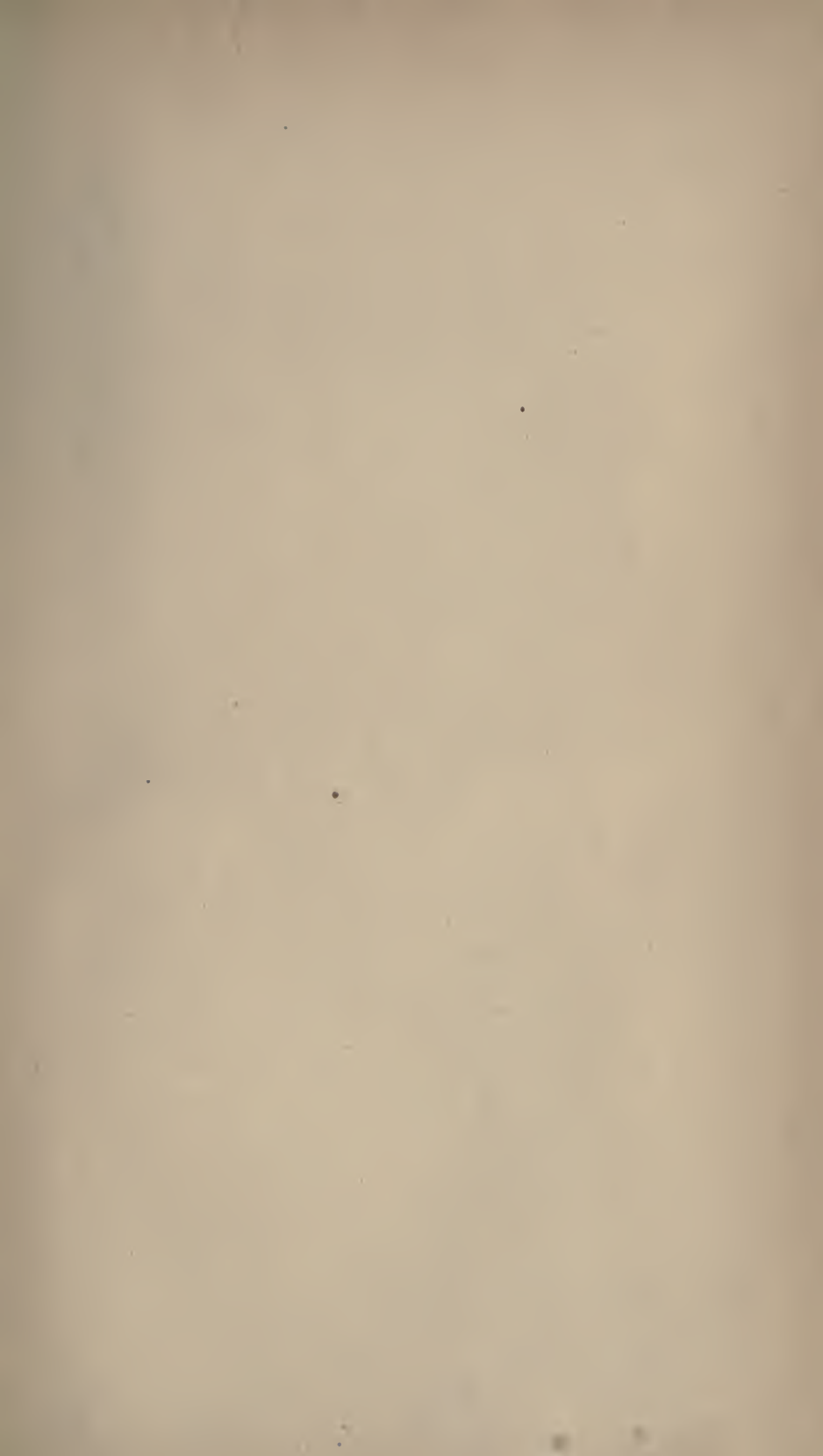
903, 907. He goes to Paris, 913. His friendship with S. Louis, 913, 914. His likeness to S. Louis, note, 913. He lectures against Averroes, 914. His other teachings, 915. His "Secunda Secunda," 918. His logic in his mystic works, note, 923. He is petitioned for by several Universities, 924. He goes to Naples, 924, 925. He works a miracle on Reginald, 925. His desire to form a Christ-making theology, 928. His teaching on the Immaculate Conception, note, 929, 933. He becomes more than ever absorbed in spiritual things, 935. His visions, 935. The principal editions of his Works, note, 935. His marvelous rapture in the Church of S. Nicholas at Naples, and he finally ceases writing, 936. Summary of his labours, note, 937. He is urged to write by Reginald, 937. He visits his sister, 937. His vision, 937-938. Commanded by Gregory X to be present at II Council at Lyons, he sets out with Reginald, 937. The Miracle of the fish, 939, note, 939. He is invited by the Benedictines to the Abbey of Fossa Nuova, 939. There he bides, 939. His miracles (over 90), note, 939. His sickness at Fossa Nuova, 940. Many visions accorded to holy people, note, 940. He expounds the "Canticle of Canticles" to the monks, 940. The spotlessness of his life, note, 941. He receives the Holy Viaticum, 941. He is anointed, 942. His gifts, 942. His sweet <i>transitus</i> ; he passes away surrounded by his Benedictine brethren, 943. He wore the Benedictine badge, or Scapular, all his life long, note... 943
Thomas, father of Landulf..... 1
Thomas of Canterbury, S., note..... 518
Thomas of Cantimpré, 155. His vision..... 225
Thomasinus, his opinion on S. Thomas's teaching, note..... 549
Thornbush, S. Benedict's turned to roses, note..... 19
Thoughtlessness, one of the evils of the present age, note..... 436
Thrace..... 669
Tiberius, S. Gregory the Great's mission to..... 716, 717
Timæus, the, of Phlo..... 793, 847
Timothy, two Epistles to, what they treat of..... 758
Tiraboschi, note..... 901
Titles given to S. Thomas by the Popes..... 530
Titus, Epistle to, what it treats of..... 758
Titus Bostrensis drew up a "Catena"..... 739
Tivoli destroyed..... 34
Tocco, testimony of, to power of S. Thomas, 466. And to his influence..... 477, 505
Toledo, 151. College of Translators, 154. Famous for mathematics, 194. Council of..... 404
Toletus, history of, 545. And S. Thomas, 551. On scope of "Summa," note..... 921
Tolomeo da Lucca, confessor to S. Thomas..... 900
Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino, 53, 938. His teaching..... 61
"Topics," the, of Aristotle, 811, note..... 825
Toscane..... 33
Tostatus, Alfonsus, epitaph of, note..... 72
Toulouse, University of, Urban V recommends S. Thomas to, 522. Its admiration of S. Thomas..... 546, 572
Tonrairie, Carmelites of, and S. Thomas..... 546
Tournaments, the Church opposed to, note..... 18
Tonron..... 25
Tours, Council of (1163), discusses one of the Lombard's propositions..... 297
"Tractatus Theologus," the work of Hugh of S. Victor's..... 133
Tradition, S. Thomas's study of, for "Summa," 561, 565. A necessary element of "Summa," and a guide in Scripture Exegesis, 730. S. Thomas's knowledge of, 750. Its illumination, note, 811. "Summa" rests on it, note..... 923
Traini, his picture of S. Thomas..... 847
Trajan and S. Ignatius Martyr..... 327
Transcription in the middle ages, note, 67. Its rapidity, note, 112; note..... 188
Trent, Council of, S. Thomas's influence at, 536. Greatness of its work, note, 537, 538. The three Books on its Table..... 538, 539, 541, 909
Treves, 606. S. Jerome goes to, 646, 647. S. Ambrose perhaps born at..... 675
Tribe, Idol of the, note..... 519
Trinitarians, 501. Founded, 38. At Paris..... 197
"Trinitate, De," the, of S. Augustine..... 707
Trinity, the, first treated scientifically by S. Anselm, 125. The first book of S. Thomas's Commentary on "Sentences" treats of, 274. Not demonstrable..... 285
Trinity, the Holy, S. Ambrose on, 679. S. Thomas, on, etc., note..... 906
Tripoli, Mark and Philip of..... 154
Trivium, the..... 76
Troubadours, note..... 18
Troyes, Godfrey of..... 36
Troyes, Otto of..... 104
Truth, not made the object of dialectical dispute, note, 469. Definition of, note, 511. Its lasting influence, note, 584. Men are ever seeking it..... 922, 933
Tuscany..... 909, 910
Tyana..... 617
Tyre..... 606
Ubal dini, Cardinal..... 23
Ubricchi, Guglielmo..... 34
Ugolino..... 34
Ulpian, master of Proterusius..... 630
Union of Greek and Latin Churches, aim of Gregory X..... 958
Unity, desire of, in the 12th century, 143. Many attempts at, in teaching..... 143
Universals, question of, 78. Rise from Porphyry, 78. Importance of, 79. What

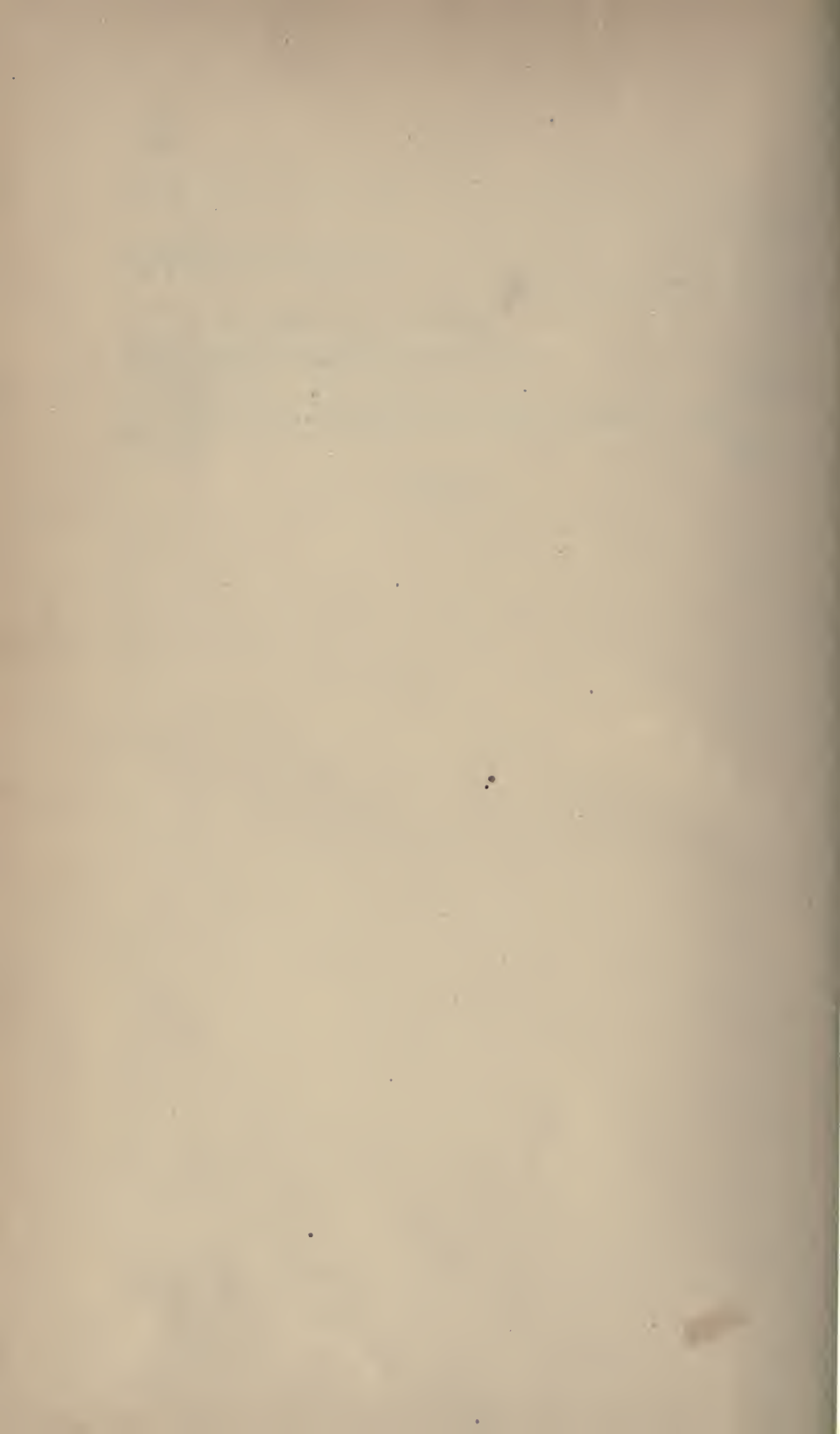
	PAGE.
are they? 79. Disputes on, brought to a head by Roscelin, 80. False teachings on, 80. Roscelin's views, 81. William of Champeaux's realism, 86. Realism refuted by Abelard, 87. Abelard's theory of conceptualism.....	89
Universities, the, on S. Thomas, 543. Replace monasteries, 15. Their beginning, 193. Of Europe, date and order of their foundation, note, 199. Numerous students of European Universities, 209. European, sixty-six in number.....	209
University life, advantage of, note	196
Urban IV permits S. Amour to return to Paris, 365. His testimony to S. Thomas, 519, 557. S. Thomas dedicated "Catena" on S. Matthew to him, 740. He tries to unite the Greeks and Latins, 860. Employs S. Thomas in this work, 861. Requests SS. Thomas and Bonaventure to write office of Corpus Christi, 880. His death, 883. Sketch of his life, 883. First to distinguish Popes of the same name by numerals, note, 883. His activity against Manfred, 883, 910. He institutes feast of Corpus Christi at Orvieto, note, 883. His death and his successor	910
Urban V, his testimony to S. Thomas, note	521, 522
Ursini, Cardinal de', presided at the trial of John of Parma, 454. Perhaps a Bachelor at S. James's while S. Thomas was Doctor there	555
VACARIUS	209
Valencia	151
Valenciennes, General Chapter of Dominicans at	556
Valens, and S. Athanasius, 607. Arians at Constantinople during reign of, 641. His severity against magicians, 663. An Arian	679
Valentine	324
Valentinian, half-brother of Emperor Gratian, 679. His love of S. Ambrose, 681. Death	681
Valentinian and S. Gregory the Great	712
Valerian, Cardinal, and the Catechism of the Council of Trent, note	543
Valerian, and Athens, note, 628. Death of, note	582
Valerius, Bishop, S. Augustine preaches for, 791. He makes S. Augustine Bishop of Hippo, 791. Dies	701
Vallius, disciple of Toletus	545
Vallombrosians founded	484
Vandals in Africa	703, 704
Vasquez, disciple of Toletus, 545, 548; note	548
Vatican, Library, Nicholas V one of its founders, 522. Council of the, note	537
Vandois	240
Ventura, his appreciation of S. Thomas, note	727
"Verba Seniorum," depth and simplicity of the, note	586
"Verbum Supernum Prodicium," by S. Thomas, note	880
Vercelli, John of	60
Vercelli, Honoratus, Bishop of	682
"Veritate, De," the, of S. Thomas	811
Verona, Peter of	31
Verona taken by Conradin	911
Verus	630
Vessels, men compared to, in Scripture	755
Vicenza, John of	51
Victor, S., Catholic basilica of, ordered by Justina to be given to the Arians	680
Victorines, 731. Their influence on S. Thomas, note	927
Victorinus	696
Victor's, S., 85. Its site, note, 85. School of, founded by William of Champeaux, 85, 86, 92, 93, 99. Increase of, 111. Its professors made Canons of the cathedral, 111. Its extent, 111. Plan of life at, 111. Scriptorium of, 111, 112. Charity to poor students, 112. Abode of the rich and foreigners, 112. The monastic school of theology, 123. Rules of library of, note	186
Vielnus, his testimony to S. Thomas's learning, note, 567. On the formation of the "Samma," note, 567. His high opinion of the "Contra Gentiles," note, 559	559
Vigilantius, opposed the counsels, 390, 397. S. Jerome against	652
Vigilius, Pope	861
Vigne, Pietro Delle, chancellor to Frederick II	22, 23, 24, 25
Villa, S. Lucia, destroyed	8
Vincent Ferrer, S., and S. Thomas	551
Vincent de Paul, S., note	573
Vincent of Beauvais, wrote an encyclopædia, 179, 183, 189. Pupil at S. James's	230
Virgil, influence of, note	532, 570
Virgin, Blessed, model of virgins, according to S. Ambrose, 678. Compared to a "Rod," 765. Alone kept faith after the passion, 241. Assumption of, treated by S. Thomas, 270. Sinless, 328. An angel revered man for the first time in the case of, 329. Hugh of S. Victor's on, 329. Free from concupiscence	339
Virginity, S. Gregory Nazianzen in praise of, note, 624. S. Ambrose's three books on, 678. His tract on	679
Virtues, Plato's division of, note, 786. The Cardinal, treated in "Secunda Secundæ"	892
Visigoths converted	585
Visions, S. Thomas on, 760. The, of S. Thomas, 330. Of many holy people during sickness of S. Thomas, note	940
"Vite Patrum," largeness of view in the, note	579
Vitelleschi, Mutio, approves S. Thomas	549, 550

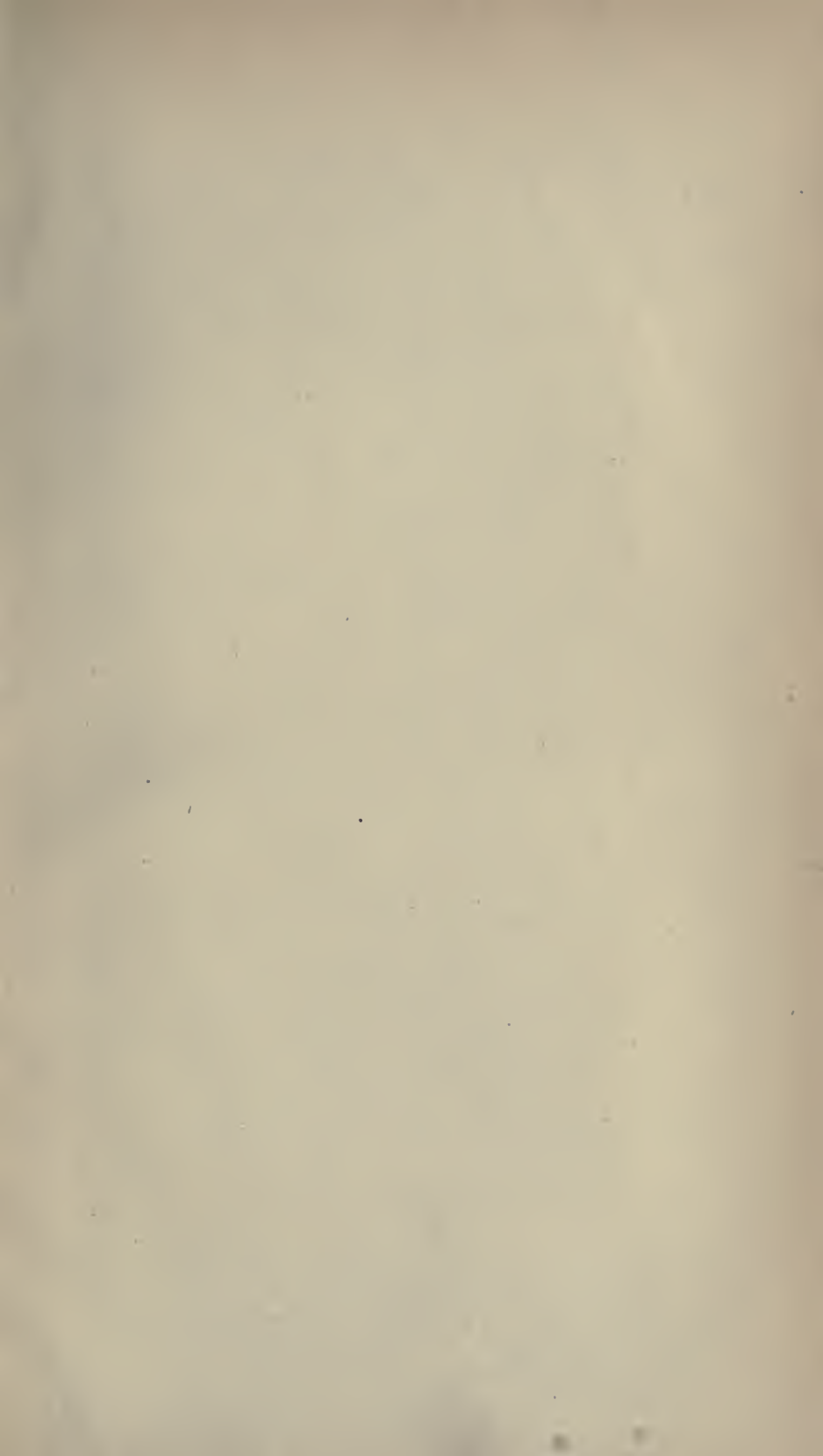
	PAGE.
Viterbesi humble Frederick II.....	62
Viterbo, S. Thomas visits, 557. Conclave at, 885, 886. Clement IV buried amongst Dominicans at, 912. Taken.....	62
Vitry, James de, Cardinal, testimony to laxity of clergy, 36. His panegyric of S. Victor's, 112. His appreciation of theology, 181. A good historian for his day, note, 228, 240. Manner of rousing sleepers when asleep at preaching... 243	
Vitry, testimony of, to ignorance of Paris professors.....	470, 471
Vittoria, De, history of, 544. His scholars.....	545
Vows of religion a sacrifice, 373. Do not forbid religions to teach, 380-381. Of religion lawful, 402. Increase the value of a work, 403. At what age may be taken, 403-404. Objections against, answered, 404-406. Necessary to perfection, 415. Double perfection of.....	415
WADDING, attempts to prove that Hales was master of S. Thomas, 232. Denies John of Parma to be author of the "Introduction," note.....	454
Walafrid Strabo drew up a "Catena".....	739
Waldenses, the.....	547
Waldo, followers of.....	48
Walter, a disciple of Hugh of S. Victor's, 134. His opinion of Peter Lombard's "Sentences," 144. Opposed the Lombard.....	296
Walter de Mortagne.....	91, 95
Warfare, angelic, established, 60. Approved.....	61
Warnefrid, Paul, as a preacher.....	240
"Watchers," life of the, note.....	588
Wearmouth.....	14
Weber, his views on the spread of Christianity, note.....	584
Weibling, family of.....	32
Welf.....	32
Welf II, husband of the Countess Matilda.....	32
Werner on the "Contra Gentiles," note.....	860
West, faith in the, 75, 76. Theology of the, 575. Character of.....	576
Westminster, Archbishop of, on the "Summa," note, 889. Archbishop of, on religion in England, note.....	934
Widows, S. Ambrose's tract on.....	678
Wieluns, his testimony to the authority of S. Thomas at Trent (see Vieluns).....	541
Wilfrid, S.....	14
Wilhelmina of Bohemia.....	35
Will, some Church heroes display power of, 515. Intellect and, seldom combined in highest proportions, 515. Men of great, legislators, 515. Its greatness inferior to that of intellect, 516. It is free in man, note.....	852
William, founder of S. Catharine's at Paris.....	200
William, Bishop of Paris.....	224
William of Anvergne, 168. Gave chairs to Dominicans in Paris University, 219. His censures of false propositions.....	225, 264
William of Auxerre, his Gloss on the "Sentences," note.....	
William of Champeaux, 890, 901, 905. Opposes Roscelin, 81. Holds the chair of Notre Dame at Paris—his realism, 84. Abelard becomes his disciple, 85. Returns from Notre Dame to S. Victor's, 85. Opens a school, 86. His realistic teaching, 86. Overthrown by Abelard, 87. Goes into deeper solitude, 87. Comes forward to oppose Abelard, and is again beaten, 87. Bishop of Paris, 89. Founds S. Victor's, 110. Prior of S. Victor's, 110. Made Bishop, 111. A disciple of Anselm of Laon, 123. S. Bernard's influence with, 123. Composed a book of "Sentences".....	143
William of Hirschan, the first to give a syllogistic proof of God's existence, note...	125
William of Holland.....	71
William of Merbeka.....	155
William of Paris.....	179
William of Shyreswood.....	179
William of S. Amonr. See Amonr.	
William of S. Thierry, a theologian, 95. His energy against Abelard, 96. Letter to S. Bernard and Godfrey of Chartres, 96. His horror of Abelard not the effect of passion.....	117
Winsherg, battle of.....	32
Wischnu.....	34
Wisdom, specially predicable of the Son, 267. Manifestation of the Divinity belongs to God's, 267. This manifestation principally made by the Son, 267. Production of creatures belongs to God's, 268. Specially made by the Son, 268. Restoration the work of God's, 268. Specially perfection of things in their end, the work of, 269. Specially effected by the Son, 270. According to S. Thomas, note, 566. S. Augustine's love of, 693. S. Thomas endowed with, note, 814. Treated in first part of "Summa".....	904
Wisdom and peace, connection between.....	271
Witness, false, forbidden.....	558
Wolstan, S., stops slave trade at Bristol, note.....	480
World, on the, of God.....	743, 745
Works, mentioned in "Summa," note, 569. The uncertain and spurious, of S. Thomas, note.....	934
World, before Christ, 74. Influence of, over S. Gregory the Great, note, 709. Its end looked forward to by S. Gregory, 720. It adumbrates God, 896. Not reformed by great ideas alone.....	992

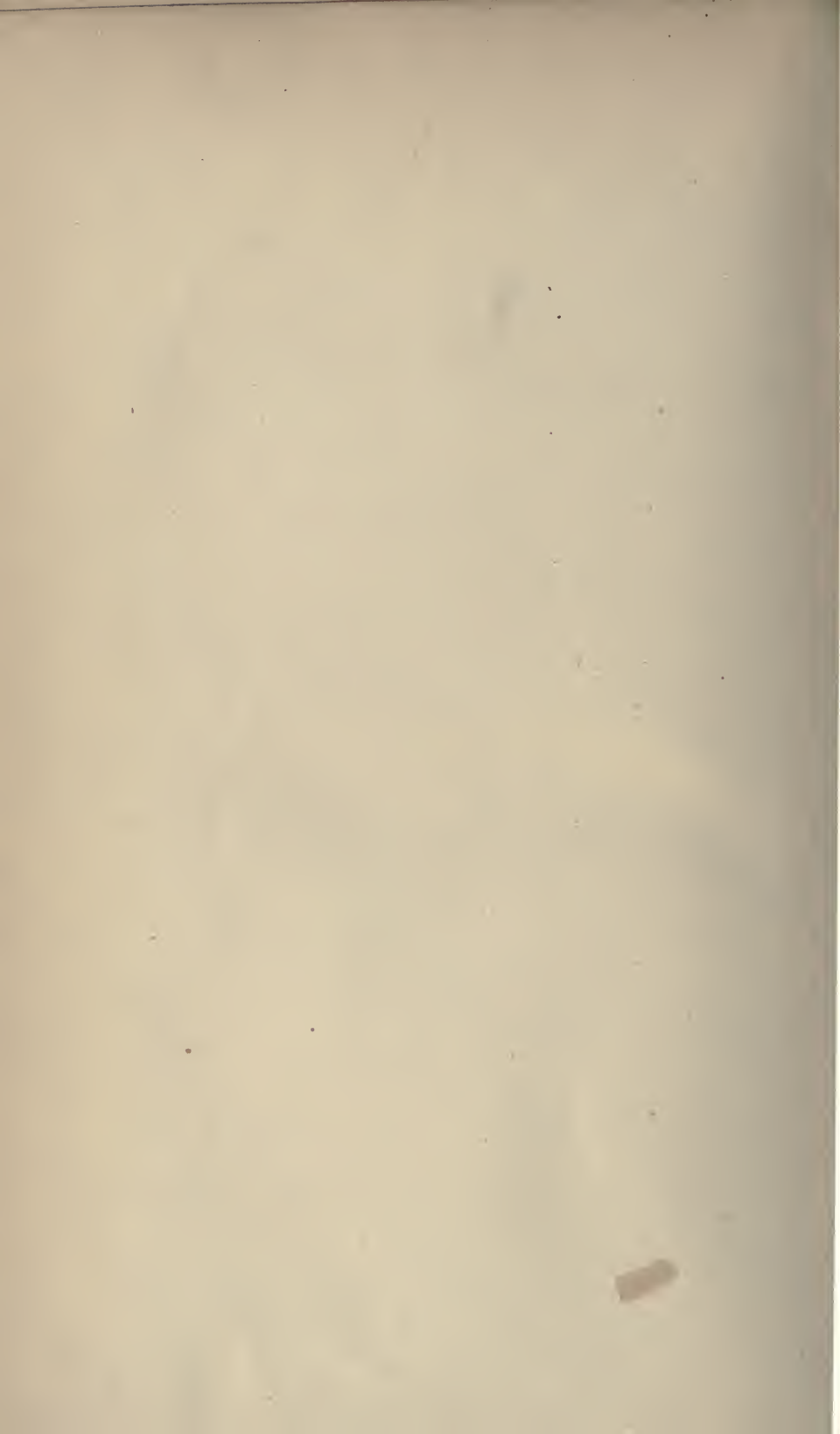
	PAGE.
Writers. between S. Augustine and S. Thomas reflect Plato and S. Augustine, note.....	890
XENOCRATES	790
Xenophanes of Colophon, his doctrine	773
Xenophon, his picture of Socrates, note, 781. His enthusiasm for Socrates, 782; note	783
YOUTH, education of, one of S. Benedict's objects.....	10
ZACHARY. Pope, privileges granted by, to Monte Cassino	861
Zachary of Besançon, "Gospel Harmonies" of	16
Zeal, S. Gregory on.....	417
Zeno, S.....	861
Zeno, 629, 778. His teaching, note, 778. His influence on Socrates, 781. He attends the teachings of Socrates, 782. He is studied by Plato	785, 786
Zens, note.....	580
Zions, note.....	906

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